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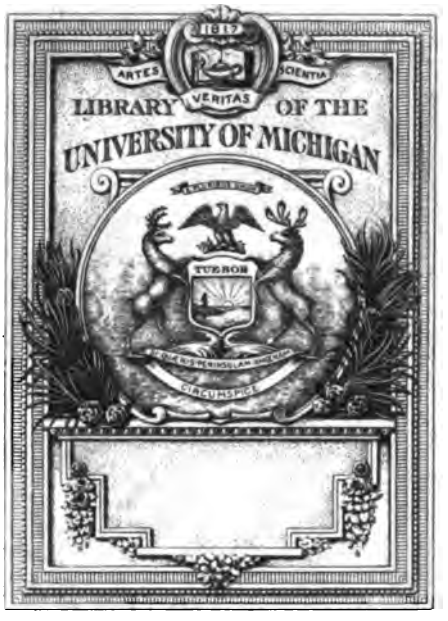

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A MONTHLY REVIEW

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES

VOL. XIX.

JANUARY—JUNE 1886

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XIX.

	PAGE
PROEM TO GENESIS: A PLEA FOR A FAIR TRIAL. By *W. E. Gladstone*	1
POSTSCRIPT TO THE PRECEDING ARTICLE	176
THE FALLACY OF 'IMPERIAL FEDERATION.' By *Sir Henry Thring*	22
FEDERAL UNION WITH IRELAND. By *R. Barry O'Brien*	35
HOME RULE IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. By *David Kay*	41
MYTHS AND MYTHOLOGISTS. By *Andrew Lang*	50
THE LITTLE ONES AND THE LAND. By *Rev. Dr. Jessopp*	66
A PEDANTIC NUISANCE. By *Frederic Harrison*	87
THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NAVY, 1880–85. By *Sir Thomas Brassey*	106
IRISH EDUCATION. By *Viscount Powerscourt*	127
THOMAS MIDDLETON. By *Algernon Charles Swinburne*	138
THE BATTLE OF ABU-KLEA. (*With Plan.*) By *Lieut.-Col. the Hon. R. Talbot*	154
'DAWN OF CREATION:' an Answer to Mr. Gladstone. By *Dr. Réville*	160
AN AMERICAN VIEW OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT. By *E. L. Godkin*	177
MR. GLADSTONE AND GENESIS. (1) By *Professor Huxley.* (2) By *Professor Henry Drummond*	191
'SHALL WE DESERT THE LOYALISTS?' By *H. O. Arnold-Forster*	215
RURAL ITALY AND PEASANT PROPERTIES. By *Lady Verney*	226
WILLIAM COBBETT. By *C. Milnes Gaskell*	238
A COURT OF LUNACY. By *Lord de Mauley*	257
HAVE WE AN ARMY RESERVE? By *Sir Arthur Hayter*	263
FOOD ACCESSORIES: THEIR INFLUENCE ON DIGESTION. By *Dr. Burney Yeo*	270
SENSATIONALISM IN SOCIAL REFORM. By *Rev. Samuel A. Barnett*	280
SAMOA. By *C. Kinloch Cooke*	291
ALTERNATIVE POLICIES IN IRELAND. By *James Bryce*	312
THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF IRELAND TO GREAT BRITAIN. By *Robert Giffen*	329
THE EVOLUTION OF THEOLOGY. By *Professor Huxley*	346, 485
MR. GODKIN ON POPULAR GOVERNMENT. By *Sir Henry Sumner Maine*	366
THE FREE-TRADE IDOLATRY. By *Lord Penzance*	380, 590
TURNER'S DRAWINGS AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY. By *W. G. Rawlinson*	396
IN FRENCH PRISONS. By *Prince Kropotkin*	407

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PAGE

HOME RULE. (1) Precedents. By *G. Shaw Lefevre*. (2) In Austria. By *Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*. (3) For Scotland. By *Arthur D. Elliot*. (4) The Impending English Answer. By *Frank H. Hill* 424

THE CHURCH AND THE VILLAGES: WHAT HOPE? By *Rev. Dr. Jessopp* 507

THE SECOND PART OF 'FAUST.' By *Professor Blackie* . . 528

THRIFT AMONG THE CHILDREN. By *Miss Agnes Lambert* . . 539

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. By *Mrs. Chapman* 561

THE FACTORS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION. By *Herbert Spencer* 570, 749

LIBERAL ELECTION ADDRESSES. By *Lord Ebrington* . . 606

THREE ATTEMPTS TO RULE IRELAND JUSTLY. By *R. Barry O'Brien* 620

A 'NATIONALIST' PARLIAMENT. By *W. E. H. Lecky* . . 636

THE NADIR OF LIBERALISM. By *Matthew Arnold* . . . 645

A FEW MORE WORDS ABOUT NAMES. By *Frederic Harrison* . 664

THE JUBILEE OF THE REFORM CLUB. By *W. Fraser Rae* . . 673

WHENCE CAME THE COMETS? By *Richard A. Proctor* . . 689

MR. DONNELLY'S SHAKESPEARE CIPHER. By *Percy M. Wallace* . 697

THE NATIONAL INDIAN CONGRESS. By *John Slagg* . . . 710

THE CASE OF GALILEO. By the *Rev. J. Murphy* . . . 722

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE: a Reply. By *Mrs. Fawcett* . . . 740

RAILWAY TRAFFIC AND CHARGES. By *Ernest Moon* . . 771

THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL. By *Frank H. Hill* . . 779

AMERICAN HOME RULE. By *E. L. Godkin* 793

THE LION'S SHARE OF THE WORLD'S TRADE: a Reply to Lord Penzance. By *George W. Medley* 807

GENIUS AND PRECOCITY. By *James Sully* 827

LIGHT AND WATER-COLOURS. By *J. C. Robinson* . . . 849

JOHN WEBSTER. By *Algernon Charles Swinburne* . . . 861

THE CRUSADE AGAINST SILVER. By *Edward Albert Sassoon* . 882

WOMEN AND POLITICS. By the *Countess of Galloway* . . 896

ALLOTMENTS. By *Lady Verney* 902

THE GREEK HOME ACCORDING TO HOMER. By *E. W. Godwin* . 914

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE IRISH BILL: a Nonconformist View. By *Rev. J. Guinness Rogers* 923

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE IRISH BILL: a French View. By *Joseph Reinach* 930

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. CVII.—JANUARY 1886.

PROEM TO GENESIS: A PLEA FOR A FAIR TRIAL.

Vous avez une manière si aimable d'annoncer les plus mauvaises nouvelles, qu'elles perdent par là de leurs désagrémens. So wrote, *de haut en bas*, the Duchess of York to Beau Brummell, sixty or seventy years back;[1] and so write I, *de bas en haut*, to the two very eminent champions who have in the *Nineteenth Century* of December entered appearances on behalf of Dr. Réville's *Prolégomènes*, with a decisiveness of tone, at all events, which admits of no mistake: Professor Huxley and Professor Max Müller. My first duty is to acknowledge in both cases the abundant courtesy and indulgence with which I am personally treated. And my first thought is that, where even disagreement is made in a manner pleasant, it will be a duty to search and see if there be any points of agreement or approximation, which will be more pleasant still. This indulgence and courtesy deserves in the case of Professor Huxley a special warmth of acknowledgment, because, while thus more than liberal to the individual, he has for the class of Reconcilers, in which he places me, an unconcealed and unmeasured scorn. These are they who impose upon man a burden of false science *in the name of religion*, who dictate as a Divine command 'an implicit belief in the cosmogony of Genesis;' and who 'stir unwisdom and fanaticism to their depths.'[2] Judgments so severe should surely be supported by citation or other evidence, for which I look in vain. To some they might suggest the

[1] *Life*, by Jesse. Revised edition, i. 260.

[2] *Nineteenth Century*, December 1885, pp. 859, 860.

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idea that Passion may sometimes unawares intrude even within the precincts of the temple of Science. But I admit that a great master of his art may well be provoked, when he finds his materials tumbled about by incapable hands, and may mistake for irreverence what is only want of skill.

While acknowledging the great courtesy with which Professor Huxley treats his antagonist individually, and while simply listening to his denunciations of the Reconcilers as one listens to distant thunders, with a sort of sense that after all they will do no great harm, I must presume to animadvert with considerable freedom upon his method; upon the sweeping character of his advocacy; upon his perceptible exaggeration of points in controversy; upon his mode of dealing with authorities; and upon the curious fallacy of substitution by which he enables himself to found the widest proscriptions of the claim of the Book of Genesis to contain a Divine record upon a reasoned impeachment of its scientific accuracy in, as I shall show, a single particular.

As to the first of these topics, nothing can be more equitable than Professor Huxley's intention to intervene as a 'science proctor' in that part of the debate raised by M. Réville, 'to which he proposes to restrict his observations' (*N. C.* p. 849). This is the part on which he proposes in his first page to report as a student—and every reader will inwardly add, as one of the most eminent among all students—of natural science. Now this is not the cosmogonical part of the account in Genesis. On Genesis i. 1–19, containing the cosmogony, he does not report as an expert, but refers us (p. 859) to 'those who are specially conversant with the sciences involved;' adding his opinion about their opinion. Yet in his second page, without making any reference to this broad distinction, he at once forgets the just limitation of his first, and our 'proctor for science' pronounces on M. Réville's estimate, not of the fourfold succession in the stratification of the earth, but of 'the account of the Creation given in the Book of Genesis,' that its terms are as 'respectful as in his judgment they are just' (*ibid.*). Thus the proctorship for science, justly assumed for matters within his province as a student, is rather hastily extended to matters which he himself declares to be beyond it. In truth it will appear, that as there are many roads to heaven with one ending, so, provided only a man arrives at the conclusion that the great Proem of Genesis lends no support to the argument for Revelation, it does not much matter how he gets there. For in this 'just' account of the Creation I have shown that M. Réville supports his accusation of scientific error by three particulars (*N. C.* p. 639): that in the first he contradicts the judgment of scholars on the sense of the original; in the second he both misquotes (by inadvertence) the terms of the text, and overlooks the distinction made so palpable (if not earlier) half a century ago, by

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the work of Dr. Buckland,[3] between *bara* and *asa*; while the third proceeds on the assumption that there could be no light to produce vegetation, except light derived from a visible sun. These three charges constitute the head and front of M. Réville's indictment against the cosmogony; and the fatal flaws in them, without any notice or defence, are now all taken under the mantle of our science proctor, who returns to the charge at the close of his article (p. 859), and again dismisses with comprehensive honour as 'wise and moderate' what he had ushered in as reverent and just. So much for the sweeping, undiscriminating character of an advocacy which, in a scientific writer, we might perhaps have expected to be carefully limited and defined.

I take next the exaggeration which appears to me to mark unhappily Professor Huxley's *method*. Under this head I include all needless multiplication of points of controversy, whether in the form of overstating differences, or understating agreements, with an adversary.

As I have lived for more than half a century in an atmosphere of contention, my stock of controversial fire has perhaps become abnormally low; while Professor Huxley, who has been inhabiting the Elysian regions of science, the *edita doctrinâ sapientûm templa serena*,[4] may be enjoying all the freshness of an unjaded appetite. Certainly one of the lessons life has taught me is, that where there is known to be a common object, the pursuit of truth, there should also be a studious desire to interpret the adversary in the best sense his words will fairly bear; to avoid whatever widens the breach; and to make the most of whatever tends to narrow it. These I hold to be part of the laws of knightly tournament.

I do not, therefore, fully understand why Professor Huxley makes it a matter of objection to me that, in rebuking a writer who had treated evolution wholesale as a novelty in the world, I cited a few old instances of moral and historical evolution only, and did not extend my front by examining Indian sages and the founders of Greek philosophy (*N. C.* p. 854). Nor why, when I have spoken of physical evolution as of a thing to me most acceptable, but not yet in its rigour (to my knowledge) proved (*N. C.* p. 705), we have only the rather niggardly acknowledgment that I have made 'the most oblique admissions of a possible value' (*N. C.* p. 854). Thus it is when agreement is threatened, but far otherwise when differences are to be blazoned. When I have spoken of the succession of orders in the most general terms only, this is declared a sharply divided succession in which the last species of one cannot overlap the first species of another (p. 857). When I have pleaded on simple grounds of reasoning for the supposition of a substantial correspondence between Genesis i. and science

[3] *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i. pp. 19–28. Chap. i.: 'Consistency of Geological Discoveries with Sacred History.'

[4] Lucr. ii. 8.

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(*N. C.* p. 696), have waived all question of a verbal inspiration, all question whether the whole of the statements can now be made good (*N. C.* p. 694), I am treated as one of those who impose 'in the name of religion' as a divine requisition 'an implicit belief in the accuracy of the cosmogony of Genesis,' and who deserve to have their heads broken in consequence (*N. C.* p. 860).

I have urged nothing 'in the name of religion.' I have sought to adduce probable evidence that a guidance more than human lies within the great Proem of the Book of Genesis (*N. C.* p. 694), just as I might adduce probable evidence to show that Francis did or did not write Junius, that William the Third was or was not responsible for the massacre of Glencoe; I have expressly excepted detail (p. 696), and have stated (*N. C.* p. 687) that in my inquiry 'the authority of Scripture cannot be alleged in proof of a primitive revelation' (*N. C.* p. 687). I object to all these exaggerations of charge, as savouring of the spirit of the Inquisition, and as restraints on literary freedom.

My next observation as to the Professor's method refers to his treatment of authorities.

In one passage (*N. C.* p. 851) Mr. Huxley expresses his regret that I have not named my authority for the statement made concerning the fourfold succession, in order that he might have transferred his attentions from myself to a new delinquent. Now, published works are (as I may show) a fair subject for reference. But as to pointing out any person who might have favoured me with his views in private correspondence, I own that I should have some scruple in handing him over to be pilloried as a Reconciler, and to be pelted with charges of unwisdom and fanaticism, which I myself, from long use, am perfectly content to bear.

I did refer to three great and famous names: those of Cuvier, Sir John Herschel, and Whewell (*N. C.* p. 697). Mr. Huxley speaks of me as having quoted them in support of my case on the fourfold succession; and at the same time notices that I admitted Cuvier not to be a recent authority, which in geology proper is, I believe, nearly equivalent to saying he is, for particulars, no authority at all. This recital is singularly inaccurate. I cited them (*N. C.* p. 697), not with reference to the fourfold succession, but generally for 'the general accordance of the Mosaic cosmogony with the results of modern inquiry' (*ibid.*), and particularly in connection with the nebular hypothesis. It is the cosmogony (Gen. i. 1–19), not the fourfold succession, which was the sole object of Réville's attack, and the main object of my defence; and which is the largest portion of the whole subject. Will Mr. Huxley venture to say that Cuvier is an unavailable authority, or that Herschel and Whewell are other than great and venerable names, with reference to the cosmogony? Yet he has quietly set them aside without notice; and they with many

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more are inclusively bespattered with the charges, which he has launched against the pestilent tribe of Reconcilers.

My fourth and last observation on the 'method' of Professor Huxley is that, after discussing a part, and that not the most considerable part, of the Proem of Genesis, he has broadly pronounced upon the whole. This is a mode of reasoning which logic rejects, and which I presume to savour more of licence than of science. The fourfold succession is condemned with argument; the cosmogony is thrown into the bargain. True, Mr. Huxley refers in a single sentence to three detached points of it partially touched in my observations (p. 853). But all my argument, the chief argument of my paper, leads up to the nebular or rotatory hypothesis (*N. C.* 689–94 and 697–8). This hypothesis, with the authorities cited—of whom one is the author of *Vestiges of the Creation*—is inclusively condemned, and without a word vouchsafed to it.

I shall presently express my gratitude for the scientific part of Mr. Huxley's paper. But there are two sides to the question. The whole matter at issue is, 1, a comparison between the probable meaning of the Proem to Genesis and the results of cosmological and geological science; 2, the question whether this comparison favours or does not favour the belief that an element of divine knowledge—knowledge which was not accessible to the simple action of the human faculties—is conveyed to us in this Proem. It is not enough to be accurate in one term of a comparison, unless we are accurate in both. A master of English may speak the vilest and most blundering French. I do not think Mr. Huxley has even endeavoured to understand what is the idea, what is the intention, which his opponent ascribes to the Mosaic writer: or what is the conception which his opponent forms of the weighty word Revelation. He holds the writer responsible for scientific precision: I look for nothing of the kind, but assign to him a statement general, which admits exceptions; popular, which aims mainly at producing moral impression; summary, which cannot but be open to more or less of criticism in detail. He thinks it is a lecture. I think it is a sermon. He describes living creatures by structure. The Mosaic writer describes them by *habitat*. Both I suppose are right. I suppose that description by *habitat* would be unavailing for the purposes of science. I feel sure that description by structure, such as the geologists supply, would have been unavailing for the purpose of summary teaching with religious aim. Of Revelation I will speak by-and-by.

In order to institute with profit the comparison, now in view, the very first thing necessary is to determine, so far as the subject-matter allows, what it was that the Pentateuchal or Mosaic writer designed to convey to the minds of those for whom he wrote. The case is, in more ways than one, I conceive, the direct reverse of that which the Professor has alleged. It is not bringing Science to be tried at the

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bar of Religion. It is bringing Religion, so far as it is represented by this part of the Holy Scriptures, to be tried at the bar of Science. The indictment against the Pentateuchal writer is, that he has written what is scientifically untrue. We have to find then in the first place what it is that he has written, according to the text, not an inerrable text, as it now stands before us.

First, I assume there is no dispute that in Genesis i. 20–27 he has represented a fourfold sequence or succession of living organisms. Aware of my own inability to define in any tolerable manner the classes of these organisms, I resorted to the general phrases—water-population, air-population, land-population. The immediate purpose of these phrases was not to correspond with the classifications of Science, but to bring together in brief and convenient form the larger and more varied modes of expression used in verses 20, 21, 24, 25 of the Chapter.

I think, however, I have been to blame for having brought into a contact with science, which was not sufficiently defined, terms that have no scientific meaning: water-population, air-population, and (twofold) land-population. I shall now discard them and shall substitute others, which have the double advantage of being used by geologists, and perhaps of expressing better than my phrases what was in the mind of the Mosaic writer. These are the words—1, fishes; 2, birds; 3, mammals;[5] 4, man. By all, I think, it will be felt that the first object is to know what the Pentateuchal writer means. The relation of his meaning to science is essential, but, in orderly argumentation, subsequent. The matter now before us is a matter of reasonable and probable interpretation. What is the proper key to this hermeneutic work? In my opinion it is to be found in a just estimate of the purpose with which the author wrote, and with which the Book of Genesis was, in this part of it, either composed or compiled.

If this be the true point of departure, it opens up a question of extreme interest, at which I have but faintly glanced in my paper, and which is nowhere touched in the reply to me. What proper place has such a composition as the first Chapter of Genesis in such a work as the Scriptures of the Old Testament? They are indisputably written with a religious aim; and their subject-matter is religious. We may describe this aim in various ways. For the present purpose, suffice it to say they are conversant with belief in God, with inculcation of duties founded on that belief, with history and prophecy obviously having it for their central point. But this Chapter, at the least down to verse 25, and perhaps throughout, stands on a different ground. In concise and rapid outline, it traverses a vast region of physics. It is easy to understand Saint Paul when he speaks of

[5] I wish to be understood as speaking here of the higher or ordinary mammals, which alone I assume to have been probably known to the Mosaic writer.

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the world as bearing witness to God.[6] What he said was capable of being verified or tested by the common experimental knowledge of all who heard him. Of it, of our Saviour's mention of the lilies —and may it not be said generally of the references in Scripture to natural knowledge?—they are at once accounted for by the positions in which they stand. But this first Chapter of Genesis professes to set out in its own way a large and comprehensive scheme of physical facts: the transition from chaos to kosmos, from the inanimate to life, from life in its lower orders to man. Being knowledge of an order anterior to the creation of Adamic man, it was beyond verification, as being beyond experience. As a physical exposition in miniature, it stands alone in the Sacred Record. And, as this singular composition is solitary in the Bible, so it seems to be hardly less solitary in the sacred books of the world. 'The only important resemblance of any ancient cosmogony with the Scriptural account, is to be found in the Persian or Zoroastrian:' this Bishop Browne[7] proceeds to account for on the following among other grounds: that Zoroaster was probably brought into contact with the Hebrews, and even perhaps with the prophet Daniel; a supposition which supplies the groundwork of a recent and remarkable romance, not proceeding from a Christian school.[8] Again, the Proem does not carry any Egyptian marks. In the twenty-seven thousand lines of Homer, archaic as they are and ever turning to the past, there is, I think, only one[9] which belongs to physiology. The beautiful sketch of a cosmogony by Ovid[10] seems in considerable degree to follow the Mosaic outline; but it was composed at a time when the treasure of the Hebrew records had been for two centuries imparted, through the Septuagint, to the Aryan nations.

Professor Huxley, if I understand him rightly (*N. C.* pp. 851–2), considers the Mosaic writer, not perhaps as having intended to embrace the whole truth of science in the province of geology, but at least as liable to be convicted of scientific worthlessness if his language will not stand the test of this construction. Thus the 'water-population' is to include 'the innumerable hosts of marine invertebrated animals.' It seems to me that these discoveries, taken as a whole, and also taken in all their parts and particulars, do not afford a proper, I mean a rational, standard for the interpretation of the Mosaic writer; that the recent discovery of the Silurian scorpion, a highly organised animal (p. 858), is of little moment either way to the question now before us;[11] that it is not an account of the extinct species which we should consider the Mosaic writer as intending to convey; that while his words are capable of covering

[6] Acts xiv. 17; Romans i. 20.
[7] Note on Gen. i. 5.
[8] *Zoroaster*. By F. M. Crawford. Macmillan, 1885.
[9] *Il.* vii. 99.
[10] Ovid, *Metam.* i. 1–38.
[11] Because my argument in no way requires universal accordance, what bearing the scorpion may have on any current scientific hypothesis, it is not for me to say.

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them, as the *oikoumenè* of the New Testament covers the red and yellow man, the rules of rational construction recommend and require our assigning to them a more limited meaning, which I will presently describe.

Another material point in Professor Huxley's interpretation appears to me to lie altogether beyond the natural force of the words, and to be of an arbitrary character. He includes in it the proposition that the production of the respective orders was effected (p. 857) during each of 'three distinct and successive periods of time; and only during those periods of time;' or again, in one of these, 'and not at any other of these;' as, in a series of games at chess, one is done before another begins; or as in a 'march-past,' one regiment goes before another comes. No doubt there may be a degree of literalism which will even suffice to show that, as 'every winged fowl' was produced on the fourth day of the Hexaemeron, therefore the birth of new fowls continually is a contradiction to the text of Genesis. But does not the equity of common sense require us to understand simply that the order of 'winged fowl,' whatever that may mean, took its place in creation at a certain time, and that from that time its various component classes were in course of production? Is it not the fact that in synoptical statements of successive events, distributed in time for the sake of producing easy and clear impressions, general truth is aimed at, and periods are allowed to overlap? If, with such a view, we arrange the schools of Greek philosophy in numerical order, according to the dates of their inception, we do not mean that one expired before another was founded. If the archæologist describes to us as successive in time the ages of stone, bronze, and iron,[12] he certainly does not mean that no kinds of stone implement were invented after bronze began, or no kinds of bronze after iron began. When Thucydides said that the ancient limited monarchies were succeeded by tyrannies, he did not mean that all the monarchs died at once, and a set of tyrants, like Deucalion's men, rose up and took their places. Woe be, I should say, to anyone who tries summarily to present in series the phases of ancient facts, if they are to be judged under the rule of Professor Huxley.

Proceeding, on what I hold to be open ground, to state my own idea of the true key to the meaning of the Mosaic record, I suggest that it was intended to give moral, and not scientific, instruction to those for whom it was written. That for the Adamic race, recent on the earth, and young in faculties, the traditions here incorporated, which were probably far older than the Book, had a natural and a highly moral purpose in conveying to their minds a lively sense of

[12] I use this enumeration to illustrate an argument, but I must, even in so using it, enter a caveat against its particulars. I do not conceive it to be either probable or historical that, as a general rule, mankind passed from the use of stone implements to the use of bronze, a composite metal, without passing through some intermediate (longer or shorter) period of copper.

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the wise and loving care with which the Almighty Father, who demanded much at their hands, had beforehand given them much, in the provident adaptation of the world to be their dwelling-place, and of the created orders for their use and rule. It appears to me that, given the very nature of the Scriptures, this is clearly the rational point of view. If it is so, then, it follows, that just as the tradition described earth, air, and heaven in the manner in which they superficially presented themselves to the daily experience of man—not scientifically, but

> The common air, the sun, the skies—

so he spoke of fishes, of birds, of beasts, of what man was most concerned with; and, last in the series, of man himself, largely and generally, as facts of his experience; from which great moral lessons of wonder, gratitude, and obedience were to be deduced, to aid him in the great work of his life-training.

If further proof be wanting, that what the Mosaic writer had in his mind were the creatures with which Adamic man was conversant, we have it in the direct form of verse 28, which gives to man for meat the fruit of every seed-yielding tree, and every seed-yielding herb, and the dominion of every beast, fowl, and reptile living. There is here a marked absence of reference to any but the then living species.

This, then, is the key to the meaning of the Book, and of the tradition, if, as I suppose, it was before the Book, which seems to me to offer the most probable, and therefore the rational guide to its interpretation. The question we shall have to face is whether this statement so understood, this majestic and touching lesson of the childhood of Adamic man, stands in such a relation to scientific truth, as far as it is now known, as to give warrant to the inference that the guidance under which it was composed was more than that of faculties merely human, at that stage of development, and likewise of information, which belonged to the childhood of humanity.

We have, then, before us one term of the desired comparison. Let us now turn to the other.

And here my first duty is to render my grateful thanks to Professor Huxley for having corrected my either erroneous or superannuated assumption as to the state of scientific opinion on the second and third terms of the fourfold succession of life. As one probable doctor sufficed to make an opinion probable, so the dissent of this eminent man would of itself overthrow and pulverise my proposition that there was a scientific *consensus* as to a sequence like that of Genesis in the production of animal life, as between fishes, birds, mammals, and man. I shall compare the text of Genesis with geological statements; but shall make no attempt, unless this be an attempt, to profit by a *consensus* of geologists.

I suppose it to be admitted on all hands that no perfectly com-

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prehensive and complete correspondence can be established between the terms of the Mosaic text and modern discovery. No one, for instance, could conclude from it that which appears to be generally recognised, that a great reptile-age would be revealed by the mesozoic rocks.

Yet I think readers, who have been swept away by the torrent of Mr. Huxley's denunciations, will feel some surprise when on drawing summarily into line the main allegations, and especially this ruling order of the Proem, they see how small a part of them is brought into question by Mr. Huxley, and to how large an extent they are favoured by the tendencies, presumptions, and even conclusions of scientific inquiry.

First, as to the cosmogony, or the formation of the earth and the heavenly bodies—

1. The first operation recorded in Genesis appears to be the formation of light. It is detached, apparently, from the waste or formless elemental mass (verses 2–5), which is left relatively dark by its withdrawal.

2. Next we hear of the existence of vapour, and of its condensation into water on the surface of the earth (verses 6–10). Vegetation subsequently begins: but this belongs rather to geology than to cosmogony (verses 11, 12).

3. In a new period, the heavenly bodies are declared to be fully formed and visible, dividing the day from the night (verses 14–18).

Under the guidance particularly of Dr. Whewell, I have referred to the nebular hypothesis as confirmatory of this account.

Mr. Huxley has not either denied the hypothesis, or argued against it. But I turn to Phillips's *Manual of Geology*, edited and adapted by Mr. Seeley and Mr. Etheridge (1885). It has a section in vol. i. (pp. 15–19) on 'Modern Speculations concerning the Origin of the Earth.'

The first agent here noticed as contributing to the work of production is the 'gas hydrogen in a burning state,' which now forms the enveloping portion of the sun's atmosphere;' whence we are told the inference arises that the earth also was once 'incandescent at its surface,' and that its rocks may have been 'products of combustion.' Is not this representation of light with heat for its ally, as the first element in this Speculation, remarkably accordant with the opening of the Proem to Genesis?

Next it appears (*ibid.*) that 'the product of this combustion is vapour,' which with diminished heat condenses into water, and eventually accumulates 'in depressions on the sun's surface so as to form oceans and seas.' 'It is at least probable that the earth has passed through a phase of this kind' (*ibid.*). 'The other planets are apparently more or less like the earth in possessing atmospheres and seas.' Is there not here a remarkable concurrence with the second great act of the cosmogony?'

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Plainly, as I suppose it is agreeable to these suppositions that, as vapour gradually passes into water, and the atmosphere is cleared, the full adaptation of sun and moon by visibility for their functions should come in due sequence, as it comes in Gen. i. 14–18.

Pursuing its subject, the Manual proceeds (p. 17): 'This consideration leads up to what has been called the nebular hypothesis,' which 'supposes that, before the stars existed, the materials of which they consist were diffused in the heavens in a state of vapour' (*ibid.*). The text then proceeds to describe how local centres of condensation might throw off rings, these rings break into planets, and the planets, under conditions of sufficient force, repeat the process, and thus produce satellites like those of Saturn, or like the Moon.

I therefore think that, so far as cosmogony is concerned, the effect of Mr. Huxley's paper is not by any means to leave it as it was, but to leave it materially fortified by the Manual of Geology, which I understand to be a standard of authority at the present time.

Turning now to the region of that science, I understand the main statements of Genesis, in successive order of time, but without any measurement of its divisions, to be as follows:

1. A period of land, anterior to all life (verses 9, 10).
2. A period of vegetable life, anterior to animal life (verses 11, 12).
3. A period of animal life, in the order of fishes (verse 20).
4. Another stage of animal life, in the order of birds.
5. Another, in the order of beasts (verses 24, 25).
6. Last of all, man (verses 26, 27).

Here is a chain of six links, attached to a previous chain of three. And I think it not a little remarkable that of this entire succession, the only step directly challenged is that of numbers four and five, which (p. 858) Mr. Huxley is inclined rather to reverse. He admits distinctly the seniority of fishes. How came that seniority to be set down here? He admits as probable upon present knowledge, in the person of *Homo sapiens*, the juniority of man (p. 856). How came this juniority to be set down here? He proceeds indeed to describe an opposite opinion concerning man as holding exactly the same rank as the one to which he had given an apparent sanction (*ibid.*). As I do not precisely understand the bearing of the terms he uses, I pass them by, and I shall take the liberty of referring presently to the latest authorities, which he has himself suggested that I should consult. But I add to the questions I have just put this other inquiry. How came the Mosaic writer to place the fishes and the men in their true relative positions not only to one another, and not only to the rest of the animal succession, but in a definite and that a true relation of time to the origin of the first plant-life, and to the colossal operations by which the earth was fitted for them all? Mr. Huxley knows very well that it would be in the highest degree irrational to ascribe this correct distribution to the doctrine of chances;

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nor will the stone of Sisyphus of itself constitute a sufficient answer to inquiries which are founded, not upon a fanciful attempt to equate every word of the Proem with every *dictum* of science, but upon those principles of probable reasoning by which all rational lives are and must be guided.

I find the latest published authority on geology in the Second or Mr. Etheridge's volume of the Manual [13] of Professor Phillips, and by this I will now proceed to test the sixfold series which I have ventured upon presenting.

First, however, looking back for a moment to a work, obviously of the highest authority,[14] on the geology of its day, I find in it a table of the order of appearance of animal life upon the earth, which, beginning with the oldest, gives us—

1. Invertebrates	4. Birds
2. Fishes	5. Mammals
3. Reptiles	6. Man.

I omit all reference to specifications, and speak only of the principal lines of division.

In the Phillips-Etheridge Manual, beginning as before with the oldest, I find the following arrangement, given partly by statement, and partly by diagram.

1. 'The Azoic or Archæan time of Dana;' called Pre-Cambrian by other physicists (pp. 3, 5).

2. A commencement of plant life indicated by Dana as anterior to invertebrate animal life; long anterior to the vertebrate forms, which alone are mentioned in Genesis (pp. 4, 5).

3. Three periods of invertebrate life.

4. Age of fishes.

5. Age of reptiles.

6. Age of mammals, much less remote.

7. Age of man, much less remote than mammals.

As to birds, though they have not a distinct and separate age assigned them, the Manual (vol. i. ch. xxv. pp. 511–20) supplies us very clearly with their place in 'the succession of animal life.' We are here furnished with the following series, after the fishes: 1. Fossil reptiles (p. 512); 2. Ornithosauria (p. 517); they were 'flying animals, which combined the characters of reptiles with those of birds;' 3. The first birds of the secondary rocks with 'feathers in all respects similar to those of existing birds' (p. 518); 4. Mammals (p. 520).

I have been permitted to see in proof another statement from an authority still more recent, Professor Prestwich, which is now

[13] Phillips's *Manual of Geology* (vol. ii.) part ii., by R. Etheridge, F.R.S. New edition, 1885.

[14] *Palæontology*, by Richard Owen (now Sir Richard Owen, K.C.B.) Second edition, p. 5, 1861.

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passing through the press. In it (pp. 80, 81) I find the following seniority assigned to the orders which I here name:

1. Plants (cryptogamous)
2. Fishes
3. Birds
4. Mammals
5. Man

It will now, I hope, be observed that, according to the probable intention of the Mosaic writer, these five orders enumerated by him correspond with the state of geological knowledge, presented to us by the most recent authorities, in this sense; that the origins of these orders respectively have the same succession as is assigned in Genesis to those representatives of the orders, which alone were probably known to the experience of Adamic man. My fourfold succession thus grows into a fivefold one. By placing before the first plant-life the azoic period, it becomes sixfold. And again by placing before this the principal stages of the cosmogony, it becomes, according as they are stated, nine or tenfold; every portion holding the place most agreeable to modern hypothesis and modern science respectively.

I now notice the points in which, so far as I understand, the text of the Proem, as it stands, is either incomplete or at variance with the representations of science.

1. It does not notice the great periods of invertebrate life standing between (1) and (2) of my last enumeration.

2. It also passes by the great age of Reptiles, with their antecessors the *Amphibia*, which come between (2) and (3). The secondary or Mesozoic period, says the Manual (i. 511), 'has often been termed the age of Reptiles.'

3. It mentions plants in terms which, as I understand from Professor Huxley and otherwise, correspond with the later, not the earlier, forms of plant life.

4. It mentions reptiles in the same category with its mammals.

Now, as regards the first two heads, these omissions, enormous with reference to the scientific record, are completely in harmony with the probable aim of the Mosaic writer, as embracing only the formation of the objects and creatures with which early man was conversant. The introduction of these orders, invisible and unknown, would have been not agreeable, but injurious, to his purpose.

As respects the third, it will strike the reader of the Proem that plant life (verses 11, 12) is mentioned with a particularity which is not found in the accounts of the living orders; nor in the second notice of the Creation, which appears, indeed, pretty distinctly to refer to recent plant-life (Gen. ii., 5, 8, 9). Questions have been raised as to the translation of these passages, which I am not able to solve. But I bear in mind the difficulties which attend both oral traditions and the conservation of ancient MS., and I am not in any way troubled by the discrepancy before us, if it be a discrepancy, as

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it is the general structure and effect of the Mosaic statement on which I take my stand.

With regard to reptiles, while I should also hold by my last remark, the case is different. They appear to be mentioned as contemporary with mammals, whereas they are of prior origin. But the relative significance of the several orders evidently affected the method of the Mosaic writer. Agreeably to this idea, insects are not named at all. So reptiles were a family fallen from greatness; instead of stamping on a great period of life its leading character, they merely skulked upon the earth. They are introduced, as will appear better from the LXX than from the A.V. or R.V., as a sort of appendage to mammals. Lying outside both the use and the dominion of man, and far less within his probable notice, they are not wholly omitted like insects, but treated apparently in a loose manner as not one of the main features of the picture which the writer meant to draw. In the Song of the Three Children, where the four principal orders are recited after the series in Genesis, reptiles are dropped altogether, which suggests either that the present text is unsound, or, perhaps more probably, that they were deemed a secondary and insignificant part of it. But, however this case may be regarded, of course I cannot draw from it any support to my general contention.

I distinguish, then, in the broadest manner, between Professor Huxley's exposition of certain facts of science, and his treatment of the Book of Genesis. I accept the first, with the reverence due to a great teacher from the meanest of his hearers, as a needed correction to myself, and a valuable instruction for the world. But, subject to that correction, I adhere to my proposition respecting the fourfold succession in the Proem; which further I extend to a fivefold succession respecting life, and to the great stages of the cosmogony to boot. The five origins, or first appearances of plants, fishes, birds, mammals and man, are given to us in Genesis in the order of succession, in which they are also given by the latest geological authorities.

It is, therefore, by attaching to words a sense they were never meant to bear, and by this only, that Mr. Huxley establishes the parallels (so to speak), from which he works his heavy artillery. Land-population is a phrase meant by me to describe the idea of the Mosaic writer, which I conceive to be that of the animals familiarly known to early man. But, by treating this as a scientific phrase, it is made to include extinct reptiles, which I understand Mr. Huxley (*N. C.* p. 853) to treat as being land-animals; as, by taking birds of a very high formation, it may be held that mammal forms existed before such birds were produced. These are artificial contradictions, set up by altering in its essence one of the two things which it is sought to compare.

If I am asked whether I contend for the absolute accordance of the Mosaic writer, as interpreted by me, with the facts and presump-

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tions of science, as I have endeavoured to extract them from the best authorities, I answer that I have not endeavoured to show either that any accordance has been demonstrated, or that more than a substantial accordance—an accordance in principal relevant particulars—is to be accepted as shown by probable evidence.

In the cosmogony of the Proem, which stands on a distinct footing as lying wholly beyond the experience of primitive man, I am not aware that any serious flaw is alleged; but the nebular hypothesis with which it is compared appears to be, perhaps from the necessity of the case, no more than a theory; a theory, however, long discussed, much favoured, and widely accepted in the scientific world.

In the geological part, we are liable to those modifications or displacements of testimony which the future progress of the science may produce. In this view its testimony does not in strictness pass, I suppose, out of the category of probable into that of demonstrative evidence. Yet it can hardly be supposed that careful researches, and reasonings strictly adjusted to method, both continued through some generations, have not in a large measure produced what has the character of real knowledge. With that real knowledge the reader will now have seen how far I claim for the Proem to Genesis, fairly tried, to be in real and most striking accordance.

And this brings me to the point at which I have to observe that Mr. Huxley, I think, has not mastered, and probably has not tried to master, the idea of his opponent as to what it is that is essentially embraced in the idea of a Divine revelation to man.

So far as I am aware, there is no definition, properly so called, of revelation either contained in Scripture or established by the general and permanent consent of Christians. In a word polemically used, of indeterminate or variable sense, Professor Huxley has no title to impute to his opponent, without inquiry, anything more than it must of necessity convey.

But he seems to assume that revelation is to be conceived of as if it were a lawyer's parchment, or a sum in arithmetic, wherein a flaw discovered at a particular point is *ipso facto* fatal to the whole. Very little reflection would show Professor Huxley that there may be those who find evidences of the communication of Divine knowledge in the Proem to Genesis as they read it in their Bibles, without approaching to any such conception. There is the uncertainty of translation; translators are not inspired. There is the difficulty of transcription; transcribers are not inspired, and an element of error is inseparable from the work of a series of copyists. How this works in the long courses of time we see in the varying texts of the Old Testament, with rival claims not easy to adjust. Thus the authors of the recent Revision [15] have had to choose in the Massoretic text itself between different readings, and 'in exceptional cases' have given a pre-

[15] Preface to the Old Testament, p. vi.

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ference to the Ancient Versions. Thus, upon practical grounds quite apart from the higher questions concerning the original composition, we seem at once to find a human element in the sacred text. That there is a further and larger question, not shut out from the view even of the most convinced and sincere believers, Mr. Huxley may perceive by reading, for example, Coleridge's *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. The question whether this Proem bears witness to a Divine communication, to a working beyond that of merely human faculties in the composition of the Scriptures, is essentially one for the disciples of Bishop Butler; a question, not of demonstrative, but of probable evidence. I am not prepared to abandon, but rather to defend, the following proposition. It is perfectly conceivable that a document penned by the human hand, and transmitted by human means, may contain matter questionable, uncertain, or even mistaken, and yet may by its contents as a whole present such πίστεις, such moral proofs of truth Divinely imparted, as ought irrefragably *pro tanto* to command assent and govern practice. A man may possibly admit something not reconciled, and yet may be what Mr. Huxley denounces as a Reconciler.

I do not suppose it would be feasible, even for Professor Huxley, taking the nebular hypothesis and geological discovery for his guides, to give, in the compass of the first twenty-seven verses of Genesis, an account of the cosmogony, and of the succession of life in the stratification of the earth, which would combine scientific precision of statement with the majesty, the simplicity, the intelligibility, and the impressiveness of the record before us. Let me modestly call it, for argument's sake, an approximation to the present presumptions and conclusions of science. Let me assume that the statement in the text as to plants, and the statement of verses 24, 25 as to reptiles, cannot in all points be sustained; and yet still there remain great unshaken facts to be weighed. First, the fact that such a record should have been made at all. Secondly, the fact that, instead of dwelling in generalities, it has placed itself under the severe conditions of a chronological order, reaching from the first *nisus* of chaotic matter to the consummated production of a fair and goodly, a furnished and a peopled world. Thirdly, the fact that its cosmogony seems, in the light of the nineteenth century, to draw more and more of countenance from the best natural philosophy; and fourthly, that it has described the successive origins of the five great categories of present life, with which human experience was and is conversant, in that order which geological authority confirms. How came these things to be? How came they to be, not among Accadians, or Assyrians, or Egyptians, who monopolised the stores of human knowledge when this wonderful tradition was born; but among the obscure records of a people who, dwelling in Palestine for twelve hundred years from their sojourn in the valley of the Nile, hardly had force to stamp even so much as their name upon the history of the world at large, and

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only then began to be admitted to the general communion of mankind when their Scriptures assumed the dress which a Gentile tongue was needed to supply? It is more rational, I contend, to say that these astonishing anticipations were a God-given supply, than to suppose that a race, who fell uniformly and entirely short of the great intellectual development[16] of antiquity, should here not only have equalled and outstripped it, but have entirely transcended, in kind even more than in degree, all known exercise of human faculties.

Whether this was knowledge conveyed to the mind of the Mosaic author, I do not presume to determine. There has been, in the belief of Christians, a profound providential purpose, little or variously visible to us, which presided, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, over the formation of the marvellous compound, which we term the Holy Scriptures. This we wonderingly embrace without being much perplexed by the questions which are raised on them; for instance, by the question, In what exact relation the books of the Apocrypha, sometimes termed deutero-canonical, stand to the books of the Hebrew Canon. Difficulties of detail, such as may (or ultimately may not) be found to exist in the Proem to Genesis, have much the same relation to the evidence of revealed knowledge in this record, as the spots in the sun to his all-unfolding and sufficing light. But as to the Mosaic writer himself, all I presume to accept is the fact that he put upon undying record, in this portion of his work, a series of particulars which, interpreted in the growing light of modern knowledge, require from us, on the whole, as reasonable men, the admission that we do not see how he could have written them, and that in all likelihood he did not write them, without aid from the guidance of a more than human power. It is in this guidance, and not necessarily or uniformly in the consciousness of the writer, that, according to my poor conception, the idea of Revelation mainly lies.

And now one word on the subject of Evolution. I cannot follow Mr. Huxley in his minute acquaintance with Indian sages, and I am not aware that Evolution has a place in the greater number of the schools of Greek philosophy. Nor can I comprehend the rapidity with which persons of authority have come to treat the Darwinian hypothesis as having reached the final stage of demonstration. To the eye of a looker-on their pace and method seem rather too much like a steeplechase. But this may very well be due to their want of appropriate knowledge and habits of thought. For myself, in my loose and uninformed way of looking at Evolution, I feel only too much biassed in its favour, by what I conceive to be its relation to the great argument of design.[17]

[16] I write thus bearing fully in mind the unsurpassed sublimity of much that is to be found in the Old Testament. The consideration of this subject would open a wholly new line of argument, which the present article does not allow me to attempt.

[17] 'Views like these, when formulated by religious instead of scientific thought, make more of Divine Providence and fore-ordination, than of Divine intervention; but

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Not that I share the horror with which some men of science appear to contemplate a multitude of what they term 'sudden' acts of creation. All things considered, a singular expression: but one, I suppose, meaning the act which produces, in the region of nature, something not related by an unbroken succession of measured and equable stages to what has gone before it. But what has equality or brevity of stage to do with the question how far the act is creative? I fail to see, or indeed am somewhat disposed to deny, that the short stage is less creative than the long, the single than the manifold, the equable than the jointed or graduated stage. Evolution is, to me, series with development. And like series in mathematics, whether arithmetical or geometrical, it establishes in things an unbroken progression; it places each thing (if only it stand the test of ability to live) in a distinct relation to every other thing, and makes each a witness to all that have preceded it, a prophecy of all that are to follow it. It gives to the argument of design, now called the teleological argument, at once a wider expansion, and an augmented tenacity and solidity of tissue. But I must proceed.

I find Mr. Huxley asserting that the things of science, with which he is so splendidly conversant, are 'susceptible of clear intellectual comprehension' (*N.C.* p. 859). Is this rhetoric, or is it a formula of philosophy? If the latter, will it bear examination? He pre-eminently understands the relations between those things which Nature offers to his view; but does he understand each thing in itself, or *how* the last term but one in an evolutional series passes into and becomes the last? The seed may produce the tree, the tree the branch, the branch the twig, the twig the leaf or flower; but can we understand the slightest mutation or growth of Nature in itself? can we tell *how* the twig passes into leaf or flower, one jot more than if the flower or leaf, instead of coming from the twig, came directly from the tree or from the seed?

I cannot but trace some signs of haste in Professor Huxley's assertion that, outside the province of science (*ibid.*), we have only imagination, hope, and ignorance. Not, as we shall presently see, that he is one of those who rob mankind of the best and highest of their inheritance, by denying the reality of all but material objects. But the statement is surely open to objection, as omitting or seeming to omit from view the vast fields of knowledge only probable, which are not of mere hope, nor of mere imagination, nor of mere ignorance; which include alike the inward and the outward life of man; within which lie the real instruments of his training, and where he is to learn how to think, to act, to be.

perhaps they are not the less theistical on that account.' (From the very remarkable Lectures of Professor Asa Gray on *Natural Science and Religion*, p. 77. Scribner, New York, 1880.)

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I will now proceed to notice briefly the last page of Professor Huxley's paper, in which he drops the scientist and becomes simply the man. I read it with deep interest, and with no small sympathy. In touching upon it, I shall make no reference (let him forgive me the expression) to his 'damnatory clauses,' or to his harmless menace, so deftly conveyed through the Prophet Micah, to the public peace.

The exaltation of Religion as against Theology is at the present day not only so fashionable, but usually so domineering and contemptuous, that I am grateful to Professor Huxley for his frank statement (p. 859) that Theology is a branch of science; nor do I in the smallest degree quarrel with his contention that Religion and Theology ought not to be confounded. We may have a great deal of Religion with very little Theology; and a great deal of Theology with very little Religion. I feel sure that Professor Huxley must observe with pleasure how strongly practical, ethical, and social is the general tenor of the three synoptic Gospels; and how the appearance in the world of the great doctrinal Gospel was reserved to a later stage, as if to meet a later need, when men had been toned anew by the morality and, above all, by the life of our Lord.

I am not, therefore, writing against him, when I remark upon the habit of treating Theology with an affectation of contempt. It is nothing better, I believe, than a mere fashion; having no more reference to permanent principle than the mass of ephemeral fashions that come from Paris have with the immovable types of Beauty. Those who take for the burden of their song 'Respect Religion, but despise Theology,' seem to me just as rational as if a person were to say 'Admire the trees, the plants, the flowers, the sun, moon, or stars, but despise Botany, and despise Astronomy.' Theology is ordered knowledge; representing in the region of the intellect what religion represents in the heart and life of man. And this religion, Mr. Huxley says a little further on, is summed up in the terms of the prophet Micah (vi. 8): 'Do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God.' I forbear to inquire whether every addition to this—such, for instance, as the Beatitudes—is (*N. C.* p. 860) to be proscribed. But I will not dispute that in these words is conveyed the true ideal of religious discipline and attainment. They really import that identification of the will which is set out with such wonderful force in the very simple words of the *Paradiso*—

In la sua volontade è nostra pace,

and which no one has more beautifully described than (I think) Charles Lamb: 'He gave his heart to the Purifier, his will to the Will that governs the universe.' It may be we shall find that Christianity itself is in some sort a scaffolding, and that the final building is a pure and perfect theism: when [18] the kingdom shall be 'delivered up

[18] 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28.

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to God,' 'that God may be all in all.' Still, I cannot help being struck with an impression that Mr. Huxley appears to cite these terms of Micah, as if they reduced the work of religion from a difficult to a very easy performance. But look at them again. Examine them well. They are, in truth, in Cowper's words—

Higher than the heights above,
Deeper than the depths beneath.

Do justly, that is to say, extinguish self; love mercy, cut utterly away all the pride and wrath, and all the cupidity, that make this fair world a wilderness; walk humbly with thy God, take His will and set it in the place where thine own was used to rule. 'Ring out the old, ring in the new.' Pluck down the tyrant from his place; set up the true Master on His lawful throne.

There are certainly human beings, of happy composition, who mount these airy heights with elastic step, and with unbated breath.

Sponte suâ, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat.[19]

This comparative refinement of nature in some may even lead them to undervalue the stores of that rich armoury, which Christianity has provided to equip us for our great life-battle. The text of the prophet Micah, developed into all the breadth of St. Paul and St. Augustine, is not too much—is it not often all too little?—for the needs of ordinary men.

I must now turn, by way of epilogue, to Professor Max Müller; and I hope to show him that on the questions which he raises we are not very far apart. One grievous wrong, indeed, he does me in (apparently) ascribing to me the execrable word 'theanthromorphic' (*N. C.* p. 920), of which I wholly disclaim the paternity, and deny the use. Then he says, I warn him not to trust too much to etymology (p. 921). Not so. But only not to trust to it for the wrong purpose, in the wrong place: just as I should not preach on the virtue and value of liberty to a man requiring handcuffs. I happen to bear a name known, in its genuine form, to mean stones or rocks frequented by the gled; and probably taken from the *habitat* of its first bearer. Now, if any human being should ever hereafter make any inquiry about me, trace my name to its origin, and therefore describe the situation of my dwelling, he would not use etymology too much, but would use it ill. What I protest against is a practice, not without example, of taking the etymology of mythologic names in Homer, and thereupon supposing that in all cases we have thus obtained a guide to their Homeric sense. The place of Nereus in the mind of the poet is indisputable; and here etymology helps us. But when a light-etymology is found for Hera, and it is therefore asserted that in Homer she is a light-goddess, or when, because no one denies that *Phoibos* is a light-name, therefore

[19] Ovid, *Metam.* i. 90.

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the Apollo of Homer was the Sun, then indeed, not etymology, but the misuse of etymology, hinders and misleads us. In a question of etymology, however, I shall no more measure swords with Mr. Max Müller than with Mr. Huxley in a matter of natural science, and this for the simple reason that my sword is but a lath. I therefore surrender to the mercy of this great philologist the derivation of *dine* and *dîner* from *déjeuner*; which may have been suggested by the use of the word *dine* in our Bible (as John xxi. 12) for breakfasting; a sense expressed by La Bruyère (xi.) in the words, *Cliton n'a jamais eu, toute sa vie, que deux affaires, qui sont de dîner le matin, et de souper le soir.*

But, Mr. Max Müller says, I have offended against the fundamental principles of comparative mythology (*N. C.* p. 919). How, where, and why, have I thus tumbled into mortal sin? By attacking solarism. But what have I attacked, and what has he defended? I have attacked nothing, but the exclusive use of the solar theory to solve all the problems of the Aryan religions; and it is to this monopolising pretension that I seek to apply the name of solarism, while admitting that 'the solar theory has a most important place' in solving such problems (*N. C.* p. 704). But my *vis-à-vis*, whom I really cannot call my opponent, declares (*N. C.* p. 919) that the solarism I denounce is not his solarism at all; and he only seeks to prove that 'certain portions of ancient mythology have a directly solar origin.' So it proves that I attack only what he repudiates, and I defend what he defends. That is, I humbly subscribe to a doctrine, which he has made famous throughout the civilised world.

It is only when a yoke is put upon Homer's neck, that I presume to cry 'hands off.' The Olympian system, of which Homer is the great architect, is a marvellous and splendid structure. Following the guidance of ethnological affinities and memories, it incorporates in itself the most diversified traditions, and binds them into an unity by the plastic power of an unsurpassed creative imagination. Its dominating spirit is intensely human. It is therefore of necessity thoroughly anti-elemental. Yet, when the stones of this magnificent fabric are singly eyed by the observer, they bear obvious marks of having been appropriated from elsewhere by the sovereign prerogative of genius; of having had an anterior place in other systems; of having belonged to Nature-worship, and in some cases to Sun-worship; of having been drawn from many quarters, and among them from those which Mr. Max Müller excludes (p. 921): from Egypt, and either from Palestine, or from the same traditional source, to which Palestine itself was indebted. But this is not the present question. As to the solar theory, I hope I have shown either that our positions are now identical, or that, if there be a rift between them, it is so narrow that we may conveniently shake hands across it.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

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THE FALLACY OF 'IMPERIAL FEDERATION.'

AWHILE ago (say some thirty years or upwards) the cry, and the just cry, of Colonial reformers was, free institutions for the Colonies. The complaint came from Canada, New South Wales, New Zealand, that an Englishman had only to remove to a Colony to find that instead of carrying with him (as the common law averred to be his right) as much of law and liberty as was consistent with the unity of the Empire, he became subject to the despotism of a Governor in whom were vested all or nearly all the powers which in England were divided between the Sovereign, the Houses of Parliament, and the people. To meet these grievances, free constitutions have been bestowed on the Colonies—so free that they have become entitled not only (as was just) to settle their own internal affairs, but further (which was not expedient, even if just) to impose protective duties on imports from other Colonies and even from the Mother-country.

The situation being thus completely changed by the concession of the greatest measure of independence to the Colonies and the least reservation of control by the Mother-country, a new set of reformers have started up, who are not satisfied with the fact that the Colonists are loyal and loving subjects—anxious to identify themselves with the Mother-country by standing by her in war and contending with her in all peaceful pursuits, even in games; something more, they say, is wanting—a scheme of Imperial Federation. If you ask what is meant by Imperial Federation, that, you are answered, is matter of detail, and the inquiry itself indicates a 'parochial mind' in the inquirer hostile to Federation. If you venture to press a further question, 'But, apart from detail, what is the *principle* of Federation?' you are referred to the Constitution of the United States. There will be found both principles and details capable of being adapted to a system of Imperial Federation.

The object of the following pages is to inquire, whether the expression 'Imperial Federation' does or does not indicate any system of government capable of practical application to the relations between the Mother-country and the Colonies; and further (to make the inquiry exhaustive) whether, apart from the subsisting ties between the Mother-country and the Colonies, there can be con-

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structed any legal ties—Federal, National, or Imperial—capable of binding together more closely the component parts of the British Empire. The importance of distinguishing between the expressions, Federal, National, and Imperial will appear in the sequel, but it will be sufficient here to state that in the following pages 'Federal tie' means an obligation binding on several communities in their corporate character; a 'National tie' is an obligation carried down to the members of a community in their individual capacities and not in respect of their corporate membership; while 'Imperial,' as applied to ties, or rights as they would more properly be called, refers to those obligations and sovereign rights which regulate the intercourse of a nation or an empire in its international relations or dealings with other sovereignties. Now we shall have an admirable case for practically testing the nature of the ties which can be created between various communities if we can find an example of a system of communities which, having adopted at first the loosest bond that can be said to make a system of communities one nation, has subsequently constructed the closest political union of which an assemblage of States is capable, without sacrificing their local powers.

We shall thus have the whole compass, so to speak, of political ties brought under review; and if none of them will fit the case of the Mother-country and her Colonies or improve the relations between them, it will follow that no legal ties can be found, whether under the name of Imperial Federation or otherwise, which can be recommended for adoption by Great Britain and her Colonies. The example will not be less conclusive if it is derived from a country the institutions of which were based on the dismemberment of an empire; for hence may be learnt possibly some lessons as to how such a catastrophe may be avoided in the future, and the several members of an empire be more closely compacted together. Such an example exists in the American Confederacy and the American Constitution.

On the thirteen revolted American Colonies acquiring their independence after the war with England, they found themselves provided under their charters with efficient governments for all local purposes, but each Colony was an independent State, having no legal connection with any other Colony. The common tie of supremacy exercised by the Mother-country had been broken, and they presented towards foreign countries the aspect of a cluster of thirteen independent Republics incapable of any common action except through the impracticable process of obtaining the assent of thirteen governments to any proposed course of policy. To extricate themselves from this intolerable position, a convention of delegates from the States was held, and after a delay of three years Articles of Confederation were finally accepted in 1781 by all the States. These articles formed the thirteen colonies into a Confederacy, to be called 'the United States of America.'

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The scheme of the Confederacy was to establish a Congress consisting of delegates from the component States, and to vest in Congress the sovereign powers of declaring peace and war and regulating the intercourse of the United States, in their corporate capacity and as a single nation, with foreign Powers. The expenses incurred by the United States were to be defrayed out of a common treasury, to be supplied by requisitions made on the several States. This Confederacy was altogether federal—that is to say, the laws were federal, inasmuch as they affected the States only in their collective capacities, and could only be enforced against individuals in each State by the State itself. The structure of the government also was wholly federal, inasmuch as the delegates were chosen by the State legislatures, and not by the individual inhabitants of the State. The defects of the Confederacy—that is to say, of federal power—soon became apparent. Congress was utterly devoid of all coercive authority to carry its laws into effect.

Every breach of the laws involved a state of war, and military execution became the only instrument of civil obedience. Such a state of things can certainly not deserve the name of government, nor would any prudent man choose to commit his happiness to it.[1]

Again—

A still more striking defect was the total want of power to lay and levy taxes or to raise revenue to defray the ordinary expenses of government. Requisitions were to be made on thirteen independent States. The consequence was, that though in theory the resolutions of the Federal Government were constitutionally binding on the members of the Union, yet in practice they were mere recommendations, which the States regarded or disregarded at their option.[2]

Story sums up the whole question as follows:—

There was (in the Confederacy) an utter want of all coercive authority to carry into effect its own constitutional measures. This of itself was sufficient to destroy its whole efficiency as a superintending government, if that may be called a government which possessed no one solid attribute of power. It has been justly observed that 'a government authorised to declare war, but relying on independent States for the means of prosecuting it, capable of contracting debts and of pledging the public faith for their payment, but depending on thirteen distinct sovereignties for the preservation of that faith, could only be rescued from ignominy and contempt by finding those sovereignties administered by men exempt from the passions incident to human nature'—that is, by supposing a case in which all human governments would become unnecessary and all differences of opinion would become impossible.[3]

The impossibility of maintaining the integrity of the United States under a system of government which could only be carried into effect through the medium of the subordinate communities, soon became apparent; and in the year 1787 the Convention was

[1] *Federalist*, p. 74.
[2] Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, chap. ii. p. 96.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 94.

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assembled which formed the existing Constitution of the United States. The main object of this Convention was to make the Government of the United States not so much a union of States as a Government over individuals; or, in other words, to make a consolidation, not a federation, of the States—to establish the United States as a single nation, not as a united assembly of political societies.

The difference between national and federal provisions, between a nation and a federation, cannot be too strongly insisted on, as in that difference resides the distinction between a stable and unstable form of government; between the American Constitution, which has already lasted nearly one hundred years, and the American Confederacy, which managed to keep up 'a frail and feverish being' for a term of somewhat less than ten years.

This distinction between Federalism and Nationalism is best illustrated by taking an example of taxation. Suppose the Central Government in America, some ninety-six years ago, to have required a sum of thirteen millions for its war budget. As a Confederacy, it would have made a requisition of a million on each State (assuming the States to be liable in equal sums). As a Congress under the existing Constitution, it would have imposed a tax on all its subjects in the thirteen States to an amount capable of producing thirteen millions. In the former case, if a State refused to pay its quota, war was the only remedy; in the latter case, if any individual declined to pay his taxes, the United States tax-gatherer distrained on his goods to an amount sufficient to defray the debt. Default in the one case created a civil debt, enforced by the usual civil remedies; in the other case it involved a disruption of the States and civil war. This organisation of a State in which certain powers are exercised by the central Government, and certain other powers by a subordinate government, is in principle as familiar to an Englishman as to an American.

A citizen of London has a twofold citizenship. He is a citizen of a particular town—he is also an Englishman or citizen of England; in precisely the same manner as a citizen of New York is a citizen of the State of New York and also of the United States. The one obeys the laws of the State of New York as well as the laws of the United States; the other obeys the laws (or by-laws as they are called) of the City of London as well as the laws of England. Suppose for a moment London to be clothed with full powers of local government as a State or a Colony is clothed, and the resemblance would be complete. A Londoner and a citizen of New York would stand in the same position in relation to the central Government and to the government of their own district.

If the above distinction between 'federal' and 'national,' a confederacy, and a nation, is clearly grasped, and if at the same time it is borne in mind that each State had full powers of local

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government, the American Constitution will be readily understood. The scheme was shortly as follows :—

The central powers of government were divided into three classes : (1) The legislative; (2) the executive; (3) the judicial. The legislative powers were vested in Congress; the executive in the President; the judicial in the Supreme Court of the United States, with subordinate district United States' Courts.

Congress consists of two Houses—the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives is elected every two years. The electors are in each State the same persons who elect the more numerous branch of the Legislature in that State. The number of representatives sent by each State is determined by the population of the State as ascertained by a decennial census, with the restriction that each State must have at least one representative, and that the number of representatives is not to exceed one for every 30,000 inhabitants. The Senate is composed of two senators from each State, chosen for six years by the Legislature of the State. The senators go out of office by a triennial rotation.

The President holds his office for four years, and is chosen in a somewhat complex manner. The inhabitants of each State select an electoral body equal in number to that of the representatives which the State returns to both Houses of Congress. The sole function of this body is to elect the President. They meet at some place in the State and ballot for the President. They return to the Senate the name of the person on whom the choice falls and the President of the Senate declares the person in favour of whom a majority vote to be the President of the Republic.

The Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate; and, subject to any alterations which may be made by Congress, the Judges of the Inferior Courts of the United States are appointed in the same manner. The Judges both of the Supreme and Inferior Courts of the United States hold their offices during good behaviour.

Such is the constitution of the governing bodies of the United States. The powers are distributed as follows :—

The Congress has power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalisation and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy throughout the United States.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

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7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited terms to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organising, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress,

17. To exercise exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into effect the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof.

The powers vested in Congress are supplemented by corresponding restrictions on the States:—

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall without the consent of the Congress lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its respective laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports shall be for the Treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall without the consent of Congress lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as not to admit of delay.[4]

[4] By the constitution of the United States, all powers not reserved to the United States Government are left to the constituent States. On the other hand, by the British North America Act, 1867, establishing the Dominion of Canada, all powers not vested in the Dominion Government or the Provincial Legislatures are reserved to the Imperial Government. The difference is instructive. In the first case, independent States were called upon to resign a portion of their powers to a Central Government for the sake of securing the common safety. In the latter case, the Imperial Government volunteered to surrender a portion of its powers for the purpose of gratifying the natural desire of the North American colonies for

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So much for the legislative powers. The President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the States when called into the actual service of the United States. He has power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties (provided two-thirds of the Senate present concur), and he nominates, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoints ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls.

The judicial power is vested in one Supreme Court and in such Inferior Courts as Congress may from time to time establish. The judicial power extends to all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties, to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, to controversies to which the United States are a party, to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming land under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

At first sight the Constitution of the United States has somewhat of a foreign appearance. There is a strangeness to an Englishman in finding that the powers of Congress are fixed and immovable, and that no alteration can take place in the relations between Congress and the constituent States, however great may be the majority in Congress in favour of such an alteration.[5] He cannot readily

such a measure of freedom as was consistent with the integrity of the empire. The local powers exercised by the States are so numerous that it is impossible to enumerate them. The principal are public works, police, levying taxes other than Imperial taxes, education, the land laws, subject to the obligation as to contracts—indeed, every other power which is not an Imperial power as explained above.

[5] The Constitution of the United States is not absolutely unchangeable. The fifth article provides that the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the Constitution, and that such amendments shall be valid when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States. In pursuance of these provisions, fifteen articles have been added. Of these, twelve were passed in or before 1804, when the number of States was comparatively small. The Constitution then had rest for sixty-five years, when on the conclusion of the War of Secession, three fresh articles were passed relating to slavery and consequential on its abolition. The difficulty of making an amendment may be judged of by the fact that there are at present thirty-eight States in the Union. The concurrence, therefore, of 29 Legislatures—that is to say, as each Legislature consists of two houses, of 58 representative bodies—must be obtained to any change. It is true that the fifth article above referred to proposes an alternative, by means of special conventions of the United States and of the constituent States, but this power has never been exercised, and is never likely to be, as its operation would be more tedious and difficult than the course before mentioned (see Maine on *Popular Government*, pp. 242–3).

It is material also to observe that the framers of the American Constitution, while conceding full powers in local matters to the State Legislatures, did not forget to protect individual interests. The above cited restrictions on the States contain a very Magna Charta of vested interests, by providing that no State shall pass a law 'impairing the obligation of contracts.' The effect of this clause is to prevent the

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banish from his thoughts the maxim ingrained in the Constitution of England of the supremacy of Parliament and the impossibility of Parliament pledging itself not to alter the relations between the Mother-country and her Colonies. Apart, however, from this fundamental distinction, there is a family likeness between the American and English Constitutions. The framers of the American document went to Blackstone for the powers vested in Congress and the President. They took Blackstone's enumeration of the prerogatives of the Crown and made them into a statute. Having done this, they substituted a President and Congress for the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament, and conferred on them the above-mentioned prerogatives, securing the liberties of the States by providing that the powers of the central Government should be limited, and that all matters the control over which was not vested by the Constitution in the central Government should be within the exclusive jurisdiction of the States.[6]

We will now proceed to notice the most material points in which the Constitution of the United States differed from the previous Articles of Confederation.

1. The Constitution was not, as was the Confederacy, a mere compact between independent States from which any one State might withdraw at pleasure, but was declared to be the supreme law of the land. In other words, the laws were national not federal, binding on individuals and not on communities, and, as a necessary consequence, the nation of the United States was provided with a complete machinery of courts and officials for the purpose of enforcing its laws against individuals without requiring any aid, or indeed admitting of any interference, on the part of the States to which the individuals belonged, or of the State Courts.

2. The nation of the United States, unlike the Confederacy, had complete power of raising money for its national wants, not by making requisitions on the separate States, but by imposing taxes on individuals and levying them by its own officers.

State Legislature from in any way interfering with the rights of private property, or even with the property of private corporations. For example, it was held by the Supreme Court in the case of Dartmouth College that the Legislature of New Hampshire could not, without the consent of the corporation, pass an Act transferring the franchises of the College from the old charter trustees to new trustees, and the Act attempting to make that transfer was held to be utterly void, as impairing the obligation of the charters.

A like regard for securing the necessary confidence between man and man is to be noticed in the provision that no State shall emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; while the prohibition of bills of attainder and *ex post facto* Acts protects individual liberty from legislative despotism, and individual property from legislative confiscation.

[6] By amendments made to the Constitution, further and ample provision was made for the protection of the lives and property of citizens of the States from any infringement by State legislation. The amendments have not been set out in the text, as they are not material to the argument.

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3. Any conflict between the national powers of the United States and the local powers of the constituent States was precluded by the establishment of a Supreme National Court invested with authority to construe the Constitution, and entrusted with the duty on the one hand of maintaining the supremacy of the nation of the United States, and on the other hand of securing the independence of the separate States in the exercise of all powers relating to matters not reserved for the jurisdiction of the central power.

Having thus given an outline of the most important case which exists in history of a union of States, it remains to consider what are the conditions under which a consolidation of States into a nation can be effected.

First, and above all, a possibility must exist of creating an adequate representation either federally or nationally, or, as in the United States, both federally and nationally, of the constituent States; for, without such a representation the legislative body essential to the exercise of the national powers cannot be formed, and the funds required to support the national Government cannot be raised by taxation.

Secondly, there must exist such a geographical position of the constituent States as will enable the central Government to organise effectually a machinery of national officers for enforcing the laws and collecting the taxes of the national Government. To define the exact limits of the earth's surface which is too large for such a nation, or to describe the precise differences in the size of the constituent States, or of their interests and habits, which make it impracticable to combine them into one nation, is not possible; but thus much is clear —that a legislative assembly must be limited to a certain number in order to avoid the confusion of a multitude; that a federated nation must dwell within such a limited area of the earth's surface as will allow the representatives of the people to meet as often as may be necessary for the transaction of public affairs; and, lastly, that the consolidated States must have such a general community of interest as will enable their representatives to decide on national measures without calling on any members of the nation to submit to taxes for objects in effecting which they cannot possibly take any part, and from which they cannot possibly derive any advantage.

To complete our inquiry into the purport of the expression 'Imperial Federation,' it remains to ascertain the meaning of 'Imperial,' for when this is determined, we shall be able to decide definitively on the practicability or impracticability of 'Imperial Federation.' Mr. Burke, in treating of this subject, says:—

Perhaps, sir, I am mistaken in my idea of an empire as distinguished from a single state or kingdom. But my idea of it is this: that an empire is the aggregate of many states under one common head, whether this head be a monarchy or pre-

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siding republic. It does in such constitutions frequently happen (and nothing but the dismal, cold, dead uniformity of servitude, can prevent its happening) that the subordinate parts have many local privileges and immunities. Between these privileges and the supreme common authority the line may be extremely nice.[7]

Applying this definition of Mr. Burke to England and her Colonies, it will appear at once that the British Colonial Empire is an empire in which the Mother-country is the common head, and the aggregate of subordinate States are Colonies. The bond between the Mother-country and a Colony is the closest that can subsist between societies of men. A Colony is the child or adopted child of Great Britain—flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone. The common law declares: Let an Englishman go where he will, as a Colonist he carries with him so much of the laws of England as is applicable to his situation;[8] and it is a fixed principle of the law of nations, that a Colony, although separated by distance, forms in law part of the Mother-country.[9] Is it supposed that these unwritten bonds—of a common race, a common law, a common flag, a common sovereign—are less stringent than written Constitutions? Has not the *idea* of German unity developed into the German *Empire*? Have not Hellenic aspirations led to the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece? Have Sclavonic hopes still ungratified less potent influence in European politics than the Treaties of Vienna, of Paris, of Berlin? Yet what comparison can be instituted between the strength of the sentimental attractions which have drawn, or are drawing, great communities into compact associations, and the power of cohesion which subsists in a colonial empire, each member of which is, by its very nature, part of the same nation, differing in no degree from a county or town of the Mother-country, except in having, by reason of its distance from the centre of national Government, larger powers of self-management in all local matters? The true character of the British Colonial Empire is described by Burke in language which can hardly be deemed too enthusiastic for the present situation of the British Empire, whatever it may have been in past days, when our Colonies did not equal one tenth part of their present extent.

I look, I say, on the imperial rights of Great Britain, and the privileges which the Colonies ought to enjoy under those rights, to be just the most reconcilable things in the world. The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extreme empire in two capacities: one as the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home immediately and by no other instrument than the executive power; the other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her imperial character, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several legislatures, and guides and controls them all without annihilating any. As all these provincial legislatures are only co-ordinate with each other, they ought

[7] Burke, *Speech on Conciliation with America*, p. 191.

[8] 2 P. Wms., 75; *Campbell v. Hall*, Howell's *State Trials*, vol. xx. p. 289.

[9] Vattel, vol. i. p. 19.

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all to be subordinate to her, else they can neither preserve mutual peace, nor hope for mutual justice, nor effectually afford mutual assistance.[10]

The precise legal relations between the self-governing Colonies and the Mother-country depend on the constitution of each Colony; but it may be stated generally that a Colony either has, or will have as soon as it attains its maturity, powers of self-government far more extensive than a State enjoys under the United States Constitution, extending even to imposing duties, with a view only to protection, against imports from the Mother-country or its sister Colonies.

Enough has now been said to allow of the case being summed up for or against Imperial Federation. To begin with the expression itself, for such expressions form party cries and it is material to ascertain their meaning. An Empire supposes a nation, the essential condition of which is that one of the component States is dominant. A Federation, or federated nation, is the exact converse: it is an aggregate of States which, claiming to be equal, and being unwilling to yield the pre-eminence to any one of their members, agree to create, by representation, a fictitious nation as it were; or, in other words, to vest the sovereignty in a representative body chosen by the constituent States. To call a Federation 'Imperial' is then a contradiction in terms. In so far as an institution is Imperial it cannot be Federal, and in so far as it is Federal it cannot be Imperial.

But passing from verbal criticism to matters of substance, and accepting 'Imperial Federation' as an inaccurate substitute for 'Imperial Union,' the question remains, Can the existing legal relations between the self-governing Colonies and the Mother-country be altered with advantage? Such an alteration can only be made in one of two ways. Local powers, or some of them, may be taken from the Colonies and vested in the Home Government or in some other body; or Imperial powers may be withdrawn from the Home Government and vested in the Colonies or some other body. Now, with respect to the first proposition, it may be true that an advantage might have been secured to the Empire and to the Colonies themselves if the British Colonial Empire had been constituted a Zollverein, and the Colonies been prohibited from erecting commercial barriers by means of protective imposts between the component parts of the Empire and between themselves and the Mother-country. But it is too late now to ask the Dominion of Canada or New South Wales to alter its tariff at the bidding of England. At all events, to deprive the Colonies of a portion of their powers is not what is meant by Imperial Federation, and nobody thinks that the Empire will be compacted by depriving the Colonies of existing privileges. It need scarcely be said that this is a very different question from the recent federation of the Dominion of Canada, or

[10] Burke, *On American Taxation*, p. 174.

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the possible federation of the Australian Colonies. Neighbouring colonies with common interests cannot do better than give up some of their local powers to a common local head. The Colonies forming the Dominion of Canada have led the way, and we may well hope that other groups of Colonies will follow so good an example.

There still remains to be considered the surrender of Imperial powers to the Colonies. These powers consist in the power of making peace and war, with the regulation of commerce with foreign nations.

Here there is no middle course. If any change is made, the British Empire must cease to exist as such, and what was an Empire must become (if anything) either a confederacy or a Federated Nation. To reduce the Empire to a mere Confederacy is to forget the fate of the American Confederacy, and to propose a scheme for the dismemberment and not for the closer association of the constituent elements of the British Empire. There remains then the status of a Federated Nation. Is the change of the British Colonial Empire into a Federated Nation within a measurable distance, or even within the bounds of possibility? First as to the political objection. Is it conceivable that the British Crown and British Parliament would descend from their eminence and agree to be forced into a war against their will by all or any number of Colonies? But were they ever so willing to commit so suicidal an act, in what representative body could the power of determining such questions be placed? An efficient representation of the Colonies, either federally or nationally, in the House of Commons is impracticable. Distance is the least of the difficulties. The House of Commons has already reached the limit of numbers capable of transacting business; yet any adequate representation of the Colonies would increase the number to an extent which would make effective legislation impossible. Again, suppose a Council to be substituted for the Houses of Parliament, and to be clothed with the right of making peace and war. Is the representation to be federal, and Newfoundland to have an equal vote with the Dominion of Canada? or is it to be national—in which case the number of representatives will be intolerably large? but what common interests are there in the Colonies, considered as a body, which could make common consultation advisable? The question of the Newfoundland fisheries may be vital to the Dominion of Canada, but cannot be of the least concern to New South Wales. On the other hand, New South Wales may well trouble herself with the escape of French convicts from New Caledonia, but the Dominion of Canada will not be disturbed by so remote a danger. How can we suppose that these two countries would submit to taxation with equal equanimity for objects in which the one might have no interest, and on which the very existence of the other might depend? But we will suppose the difficulty of establishing an efficient governing body to be

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surmounted: how can war taxes be imposed and levied? By what means would it be possible for a central Government to maintain taxing officers, with official courts to enforce the taxes, throughout the length and breadth of the Colonial Empire—that is to say, throughout about one tenth part of the area of the globe? Any one of these objections is sufficient to show the inexpediency of any attempt at converting the British Empire into a British Federation; taken together, they prove every scheme of Federation to be impossible. Turn again for one moment to America, and imagine a realisation of what is said in joke to be a favourite speculation of our Transatlantic brethren—namely, that the old country has been 'played out,' and England and her Colonies have been annexed to the United States. What would be the consequence? Would the dependencies be represented in Congress? Certainly not; the United States and her dependencies would form an American Empire in which the United Kingdom would be a self-governing dependency, subject to the Imperial control of Congress.

Are we then, it may be asked, to despair of the British Empire, because it is incapable of Federation?

Burke replies to the question as follows:—

> The hold of (Great Britain) on the Colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are strong as iron. Let the Colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your Government; they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance.[11]

In conclusion, it may be admitted that the promoters of Imperial Federation deserve well of their country in so far as they are instrumental in directing the attention of Englishmen to the vast importance of our Colonial Empire and the necessity of conciliating the sympathies and affections of our Colonial fellow-subjects. By all means let England cherish and reward by her most coveted honours her distinguished Colonial children; let her be ready to hear and redress complaints and to facilitate addresses to the Queen and to Parliament in matters concerning any Colony. If such be the meaning of Imperial Federation, the intentions of its supporters are right, but their language is misleading and wrong. There is danger in enunciating principles in which all men concur under guise of something new and unusual. There is danger in adding to such enunciations loose hints of schemes which are incapable of realisation, and give rise to hopes which by the certainty of their failure can only have the effect of producing in the Colonies disappointment and perhaps, as a consequence of disappointment, distrust and disaffection.

HENRY THRING.

[11] Burke, *On Conciliation with the Colonies*, p. 203.

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FEDERAL UNION WITH IRELAND.

The five most influential men in Ireland at the present time are Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt, Mr. Healy, Archbishop Croke, and Archbishop Walsh; and there can be little doubt that the Irish people would accept any measure of self-government on which these gentlemen might agree.

Mr. Parnell is supreme; the confidence of the people in his powers as a leader is almost unbounded. No combination of political forces in the country could overthrow his authority.

Next in importance to Mr. Parnell is Mr. Davitt, who has an independent following, and whose fame as the founder of the Land League gives him a separate place in the popular heart.

Mr. Healy is important mainly through Mr. Parnell, but he has also won a distinct position for himself by the practical ability he displayed in the discussions on the Land Bill of 1881; and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that his name is not without weight even among the tenant farmers of Ulster. However, unlike Mr. Davitt, he has no political following apart from Mr. Parnell.

Archbishop Croke is a power mainly because he stood by Mr. Parnell when other dignitaries of the Catholic Church were opposed to him, and Archbishop Walsh is popular on account of his known national leanings. In the event of a difference of opinion between Mr. Parnell and Mr. Davitt the influence of the Archbishops would be of practical importance, but not, perhaps, otherwise. For instance, were they in such a contingency to throw their weight into the scale with Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt would not have the slightest chance of making headway against the popular leader. But were they to support Mr. Davitt, then his opposition would be very serious, although in the end Mr. Parnell would probably bear it down.

Mr. Parnell's Cabinet is supposed to consist of Mr. Healy, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Harrington, and, perhaps, Mr. T. P. O'Connor. Mr. Healy of course holds the first place. He is a sagacious counsellor; as capable of wisely conducting peaceful negotiations as fiercely carrying on an uncompromising war. Mr. O'Brien is essentially a man of war; Mr. Harrington an efficient organiser; Mr. T. P. O'Connor represents an active force of literary and political propagandism. It may be added that Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mr.

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O'Kelly possess the confidence of the Cabinet, if they are not actually in it.

Two men who are not supposed to be in the Cabinet deserve to be mentioned—Mr. John Dillon and Mr. Edmond Dwyer Gray. Mr. Dillon is much esteemed as an upright, chivalrous gentleman, and Mr. Gray is a power as the proprietor of the most widely circulated paper in Ireland,[1] and a man of strong sense and sound judgment.

A question worth considering is, What scheme for Home Rule would be likely to satisfy the public men, especially the first five, whom I have above named?

1. The basis of such a scheme should be a Parliament in Dublin invested with full powers to legislate on all purely Irish matters, the control of Imperial affairs being reserved for the Imperial Legislature sitting in London.

2. With respect to the constitution of this Irish Parliament there might be a difference of opinion, although not of a serious kind, between the Irish leaders. For instance, Mr. Davitt might prefer that it should consist of only one Chamber, elected on universal suffrage; but he would, most probably, give way on this point to the general opinion, and the general opinion would, I think, be disposed largely to yield to English susceptibilities.

If English statesmen proposed that there should be two Chambers on the English system, Mr. Parnell would probably concede the point, though he might urge that the Irish House of Lords should be reformed. Were he offered Lord Rosebery's plan, he would most likely accept it, and the Archbishops and Mr. Davitt (the latter, perhaps, with some demur) would agree. Mr. Healy, who has a good deal of common sense combined with his apparent irreconcilability, would go in with the majority, seeing the unwisdom of endangering the scheme by throwing any unnecessary obstacles in the way of its passage through the Lords.

3. Would Ireland send members to the Imperial Parliament in London to vote on Imperial questions, as well as members to the National Assembly in Dublin? Here, again, there might be a slight difference of opinion between the Irish leaders. Mr. Davitt might propose that no Irish members should be sent to London, and he would, perhaps, argue that their presence in the Imperial Parliament would be of no use to Ireland, as they could not reasonably expect to influence the Imperial policy to any important extent.

On the other hand, the Archbishops might prefer an Irish representation in London, in the hope that the Irish members would be of some weight in determining the Home and Foreign policy of the Empire, so far as the interests of the Catholic Church were concerned.[2]

[1] *The Freeman's Journal.*

[2] Since this article was written Bishop Nulty, in a letter to the Bishop of Salford, uses the words: 'Speaking on the question of Home Rule in one of my late audiences

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Mr. Parnell is, I think, in favour of a regular Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, and his decision would determine the action of his Cabinet. Mr. Dillon would probably agree with Mr. Davitt, while Mr. Gray would support Mr. Parnell and the Archbishops. As a compromise scheme Mr. Davitt might, perhaps, propose Delegations such as exist under the Austro-Hungarian system, according to which questions common to both countries are decided in an assembly consisting of delegates from the respective legislatures, who meet in separate chambers, and who, in the event of a disagreement, come together and vote without debate. The decision of the majority is binding on the whole Empire. However, on this question of a separate or joint representation, or of a dualistic arrangement such as exists in Austria-Hungary, the Irish leaders would, I think, be willing to meet the English Ministry half way.

Assuming that the Ministry approved of an Irish representation in the Imperial Legislature, the question would arise, How many members should Ireland send to that assembly? Mr. Parnell would, I think, hold out for the present number, 103; and, in the event of Ministers proposing a reduction to 80, 70, or 50, would, with the united strength of his party in the House of Commons, vigorously resist the change. Nevertheless, if borne down by English and Scotch opposition, he would yield the point with good grace, and I do not think that the struggle over it would leave a trace of any bad feeling behind.

4. What subjects would be reserved for the Imperial, what confined to the Irish Parliament? I think the Irish leaders would consent to an arrangement by which Imperial and Irish affairs should be distributed thus:—

IMPERIAL QUESTIONS.

Foreign policy, peace or war, the army and navy, matters relating to the Crown (including, if the occasion should arise, the appointment of Regent), the currency, the Post Office.

IRISH QUESTIONS.

Education, land, police, trade and commerce, customs.

The control of the Imperial Parliament should extend in the fullest degree over the army and navy, and to all matters relating to the defences of the country. Fortifications should be erected, harbours built, and garrisons established in any part of Ireland,

with the Holy Father, I perceived that the only argument against that measure which in any way disquieted him was, that the withdrawal of the Irish Parliamentary party from the English House of Commons would leave Catholic interests throughout the whole British Empire wholly defenceless and unprotected. That argument was evidently of English origin, and fortunately admitted of a satisfactory answer which it would be out of place to repeat here.' (*Freeman's Journal*, November 19, 1885.)

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irrespective of the views of the Irish Legislature, and the question of the purse, so far as these matters were concerned, should be an Imperial one. The appointment of the commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, and other military offices, should be at the disposal of the Imperial Government.

With respect to the questions which ought to be dealt with by the Irish Parliament, the demand for the first three above named—education, land, police — would not under any circumstances be willingly given up by the Irish leaders, and the exclusion of any one of them would lead to a rupture of negotiations. A plan of Home Rule which would not transfer to an Irish Parliament questions of education and land would be perfectly worthless as a measure of conciliation, and the omission of the control of the police, without endangering the Bill, would cause profound discontent and lead to renewed agitation.

But the subjects of trade and commerce and of the customs stand on a different footing. Mr. Parnell would doubtless press for their admission, but the refusal of Ministers to yield on this point would not, I venture to say, be regarded by the Irish leader as a *casus belli*. There is certainly a feeling in favour of Protection among some people in Ireland, but, unhappily, there are few industries in the country which could be fostered by protective tariffs, and it would not be worth while to hurt English susceptibilities on the delicate subject of Free Trade in order to obtain for the Irish Parliament a power of doubtful utility.

5. Upon the question of the Viceroyalty there might be a difference of opinion, but the majority of the Irish leaders would probably in the end be in favour of retaining the office. If retained, the Lord-Lieutenant would of course be appointed, as at present, by the Crown.

6. In the interests of the Protestant minority, and rather to appease not unintelligible apprehensions than to prevent a possible act of injustice, the Irish party would, I believe, consent to the insertion of a clause in the new Constitution declaring that no system of religion or education should be endowed by the State to the exclusion of any other.

Such is a brief outline of the scheme of Home Rule which, I venture to think, the Irish people would accept as, practically, a final settlement of the Irish question. Will such a scheme be ever formulated, and, if formulated, carried into law?

Let me, as one belonging to no political organisation, and sincerely desirous of maintaining the connection between England and Ireland, ask my English fellow-subjects, who resist the demand for Irish legislative independence on the ground that its concession would lead to political and social disorder and produce disloyal manifestations and conspiracies—let me ask them to reflect upon the history of

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Ireland during the past eighty-five years. Have the Irish within that period been loyal? Has the country been free from disorder, and even anarchy? Three years after the Union, Robert Emmett was hanged for high treason; and from that time down to our own Ireland has been in a state of almost continual disturbance and insurrection. To prove this statement it seems only necessary to catalogue the Coercion Acts which have been in force from 1800 to 1885. I have already mentioned those which were in force between 1831 and 1885.[3] Here are the rest:—

1800, 1801	Insurrection Act, Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, and Martial Law.
1802	
1803, 1804	Insurrection Act, Habeas Corpus Suspension Act.
1805	
1806	
1807, 1808, 1809, 1810	Insurrection Act, Martial Law.
1811	
1812	
1813	
1814, 1815, 1816, 1817	Insurrection Act, Martial Law.
1818	
1819	
1820	
1821	
1822, 1823, 1824	Insurrection Act.
1825	
1826, 1827, 1828, 1829	Act for the Suppression of Catholic Association.

From the Union to our own day there has scarcely been an interruption of social and political strife. In 1803 Emmett was, as I have said, in rebellion. In 1807 the Whiteboys defied the law and fiercely carried on their terrible struggle against landlordism. In 1811 and 1812 the agrarian war spread to Tipperary, Waterford, Kilkenny, Westmeath, Roscommon, and the Queen's County.

[3] *Nineteenth Century*, November 1885.

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In 1815 Tipperary, the King's County, and the Queen's, and in 1817 the County Louth, were placed under the Insurrection Act.

In 1820 disturbances broke out in Connaught, and in 1822 and 1823 the peasants of Munster and Leinster were in revolt against the landlords. Between 1824 and 1829 the partly constitutional and partly rebellious agitation for Catholic relief was vigorously carried on by O'Connell. Between 1830 and 1835 the sanguinary Tithe War was waged, and Whitefeet, Blackfeet, Terryalts, Lady Clares, Molly Maguires, and Rockites overran the land. Between 1842 and 1846 the Repeal movement aroused the country to a state of frenzied enthusiasm, almost bordering on rebellion.

In 1848 the Young Irelanders were in insurrection. Between 1850 and 1856 Ulster or the South formed the scene of a more or less vigorous tenant-right agitation, and the land was once more stained by horrible agrarian crimes. In 1858 the treasonable Fenian Society was founded, and between 1863 and 1868 it became a power, or a terror. In 1878–79 John Devoy, a Neo-Fenian, formulated his 'new departure' for uniting the forces of revolution and constitutional agitation, with the object of advancing the aims of the separatist party.

From 1879 to this present year Ireland has been in the hands of men who have been denounced as 'rebels,' and the authority of whose leader it is scarcely an exaggeration to say her Majesty's Ministers are at this moment forced to acknowledge. Thirty-four years after the Union an Irish Lord-Lieutenant said that it was 'more safe to violate the law than to obey it,' and those who have followed the career of the Land League need not be reminded that the Imperial Parliament has not yet succeeded in converting the Irish people into 'law-abiding subjects.'

Be the causes what they may, the fact must be faced that, after a trial of eighty-five years, the Union has failed to make Ireland loyal, to quell the social and political disorders by which her people have been so long distracted and demoralised. What is now to be done?

The experiment of coercion, pure and simple, has been tried, but without success. For twenty-nine years after the Union nothing, practically, but Coercion Acts were passed for Ireland. But the country was not pacified; the people were not made loyal. From 1829 to 1881 the experiment of granting half-measures of redress,[4] under the pressure of rebellious agitation, or of actual rebellion, and accompanied by more Coercion Acts, has been tried, but Irish disaffection and lawlessness still exist. Assuredly the time for a new departure has arrived—the time for conceding with grace and doing justice with completeness.

R. Barry O'Brien.

[4] The Church Act excepted. It was a complete measure of justice in conception and in results. It wholly removed the grievance, and obliterated even the memory of wrong associated with it.

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HOME RULE IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At present, when many persons are having their attention directed to the subject of Home Rule for Ireland, and in view of the near future when that question will come up for serious, and no doubt heated discussion, it may not be without interest if we give some account of Home Rule as it has existed in Hungary for the last eighteen years. Most persons probably feel inclined to concede a certain measure of Home Rule to Ireland if thereby peace and prosperity may be secured to that country. The difficult questions are: What amount of Home Rule will satisfy the Irish people? and what can be conceded to them with honour, and with a due regard to the interests of the kingdom as a whole?

Hungary has been called the 'Ireland of Austria,' and if we regard the disturbed state of matters that used to prevail there the designation is not without truth. Nor is the cause far to seek. The form of government in Austria down even to 1848 was an absolute monarchy. The affairs of the different provinces were managed by provincial Diets, which, however, had no voice in matters of State. In Hungary, on the other hand, a limited monarchy had been established for centuries, and a large share of power vested in the National Diet. The sovereigns were generally inclined to regard Hungary as merely a province of the empire, and could not well see why their power should not be as absolute there as in the other parts of their dominions; while the Hungarians, on the other hand, were constantly striving to maintain their ancient rights and privileges. 'The chief cause of our grievances,' said one speaker, 'lies in our heterogeneous union with Austria. We possess a constitution, Austria has none. We can never be fused into the Austrian dominions.' Seeing, then, that Hungary could not be brought down to the level of Austria, the wisest course that could be adopted was to raise Austria up to the standpoint of Hungary by conferring on it a like constitution and privileges, and so effecting a fusion. This is what was brought about by the legislative enactments of 1867.

St. Stephen, the first king of Hungary, who flourished in the beginning of the eleventh century, and established Christianity in

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the country, among other wise and enlightened measures created a national council, composed of lords spiritual and temporal and knights, to assist him in the government. This is the origin of the National Diet which figures so largely in the subsequent history of the country. In addition to this, the land was divided into counties, to each of which a large share of independent power was conceded in the management of its internal affairs. A body of written laws was also drawn up, known as the Decrete of St. Stephen. The next important measure in the constitutional history of Hungary was the granting of the *Aurea Bulla*, or Golden Bull, by Andrew the Second, in 1222, just seven years after the signing by King John of the *Magna Charta*, to which it bears a considerable resemblance. During the king's absence in the Holy Land, his affairs at home had got into great confusion, and on his return he found the nobles in open rebellion. To conciliate them, and to restore peace, he granted this Bull. It conceded to the nobles various important privileges, among which was exemption from taxation, and it greatly limited the power of the king. The most remarkable article was the thirty-first, which declared that, should the king, or any of his descendants, at any future time violate any of the principles of this Bull, the nobles should be free to take up arms against them without being liable to the charge of high treason. The Golden Bull has been sworn to be observed by all the subsequent kings of Hungary, but the thirty-first article was cancelled on the accession of Joseph the First in 1705.

The male line of the royal house of Hungary became extinct on the death of Louis the Second in 1526, and Ferdinand, the brother of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in consequence of his marriage with Anna, the sister of the late king, obtained the crown, after a struggle with John Zapolya of Transylvania, aided by the Turks. On the abdication of his brother, Charles the Fifth, in 1556, he succeeded to the Imperial throne, and thus Hungary and Austria became united under one sovereign.

Charles the Sixth of Austria, who succeeded his brother Joseph the First in 1711, was the following year crowned king of Hungary at Presburg, after having sworn to observe all the laws and institutions of the country, and acknowledging the right of the Hungarian States to choose a king for themselves should the male line of the house of Austria become extinct. Charles being himself without male issue, set about establishing the succession in the female line by means of what is known as the Pragmatic Sanction, to which he first obtained the assent of his own States, and then that of most of the Powers of Europe. It was agreed to by the National Diet of Hungary in 1722—namely, that the throne of Hungary and that of the Hereditary States should devolve on the same member of the reigning house, and the succession be regulated by the same laws. The Hungarians

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thus renounced their right to elect a king in the event of the extinction of the male line, and on the other hand it was expressly stipulated that the sovereign should never rule or govern Hungary otherwise than in accordance with its own laws made or hereafter to be made by the Diet. He was also bound at all times to observe and maintain the rights, liberties, and laws of the land and to have himself crowned on his accession to the throne, and take the coronation oath. Upon these conditions the crown has passed to each Hungarian king who has ascended the throne since the Pragmatic Sanction was executed. Charles's endeavours, however, to secure the peaceful possession of the empire for his daughter, Maria Theresa, did not meet with the expected success, for no sooner did she ascend the throne in 1740 than counter-claims were advanced on all sides, her territories were invaded, and hostile armies even approached her capital. The Queen fled to Presburg, and, appearing before the Diet with her infant son in her arms, she appealed to them for protection and help. A burst of enthusiasm followed this appeal, and the shout was raised, 'Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa'—let us die for our *king*, Maria Theresa. A powerful Hungarian army was speedily at her service, by means of which the aspect of affairs was speedily changed.

After the insurrection of 1848-49 was subdued with the assistance of Russia, Hungary was treated as a conquered province, and the greatest cruelties were practised on the people. The constitution, which had repeatedly before been partially disregarded and even temporarily suspended, but never actually abolished, was now declared to be forfeited, and this state of things continued down to 1860. In 1861 a Reichsrath was established for the whole empire, and Hungary invited to send representatives, but she declined doing so, claiming the right to an independent constitution. At length, in the beginning of 1867, the constitution of which she had been deprived in 1848 was restored to her, and on the 8th of June the Emperor and Empress were crowned King and Queen of Hungary at Pesth, amid great public rejoicings. On this occasion full pardon was decreed for all past political offences, confiscated estates were to be restored to all who had forfeited them, and liberty to return was accorded to all political refugees in foreign countries.

Hungary has the management of its own internal affairs entirely independent of Austria, the only bond of union between the two States being a common monarch and a body in which both States are equally represented, called the Delegations, which acts in matters equally affecting both countries, such as their relations with foreign countries, the army and navy, &c. The executive power is vested in the king, and the legislative conjointly in the King and the National Diet. This latter body consists of an Upper and a Lower House, the former known as the House of Magnates, the latter as the House of Deputies.

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The Upper House is at present composed of three royal archdukes having estates in the country; five Roman Catholic archbishops and forty-four bishops; two archbishops, eight bishops, and two abbots of the Greek Catholic Church; twelve royal barons; three deputies from the Diet of Croatia-Slavonia; sixty-seven palatines; the governor of Fiume; twenty-six princes, 419 counts, 220 barons, and eight regalists of Transylvania. In October 1884 a bill was introduced by the Hungarian Government for the reform of the Upper House. It provided that only such magnates as are twenty-four years of age and pay taxes to the amount of 3,000 florins (300*l.*) annually, should be permitted to retain their seats, and that the vacancies thus created should be filled up by a number of new hereditary peers to be created by the King, and by the holders of certain civil and ecclesiastical offices; the King also to have the power to nominate, on the recommendation of the Cabinet, a certain number of life peers on account of distinguished services. The Lower House consists of 444 members, of whom eighty-four represent the towns, 329 the counties and rural districts, while thirty-nine are delegates from the Diet of Croatia-Slavonia. These are chosen directly by the electors (having a small property qualification) for a term of three years, and are summoned annually by the King to meet in Pesth. The president and vice-president of the House of Magnates are nominated by the King from among the members, while those of the House of Deputies are chosen by themselves. Besides acting as a legislative body in matters affecting the kingdom, the National Diet has the control within the same of finance, commerce, industries, religion, education, justice, post-office, railways, telegraphs, weights and measures, the army and the raising of recruits. These are under a president of council and eight ministries—namely, of the interior, religion and education, justice, finance, agriculture, industry and commerce, public works, national defence and the royal court at Vienna. The ministers are responsible to the Diet for the right performance of their duties.

The people of Austria had, as we have said, no voice in the government of the country down to the year 1848, if we except the short-lived attempt of Joseph the Second to establish a popular system of central government. The wave of revolution which passed over the greater part of Europe in 1848 effected great changes in Austria. The Emperor Ferdinand was forced to abdicate the throne, and his nephew Francis Joseph was proclaimed Emperor in his stead under the title of Francis Joseph the First, under whose wise administration all the subsequent changes have been carried out. The old form of government was abolished, and a constitutional government with popular representation established in its place. This, however, was of short duration, and absolutism, with a rigorous system of military rule, again prevailed. The war with Italy in 1859,

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in which Austria was beaten and deprived of Lombardy, led the Emperor, as soon as he had obtained peace, to turn his attention to establishing his government on a more liberal footing. Accordingly, in 1860, what is known as the October Diploma was issued, introducing a constitutional form of government, but vesting the power chiefly in the provincial Diets of Austria and the National Diet of Hungary. Difficulties arose in the carrying out of this system, and in 1861 the February Patent or Ordinance was promulgated for the establishment of a Central Reichsrath, consisting of a House of Lords and a House of Representatives from all the provinces of the empire. Hungary, however, as we have seen, declined to send any representative, claiming the right to an independent constitution of her own. In 1866 Austria was disastrously beaten and humbled in the war with Prussia, and on obtaining peace the Emperor once more turned his attention to home affairs. In opening the Reichsrath on the 22nd of May 1867 he said, 'To-day we are about to establish a work of peace and of concord. Let us throw a veil of forgetfulness over the immediate past, which has inflicted deep wounds upon the empire. Let us lay to heart the lessons which it leaves behind; but let us derive with unshaken courage new strength and the resolve to secure to the empire peace and power.' In the same year the December Laws were passed (under the able and enlightened ministry of Baron Beust), by which the existing form of government was established. In March 1873 a law was passed taking the election of members of the Reichsrath out of the hands of the provincial Diets and transferring it to the general body of the electors in the several provinces, thus substituting direct for indirect representation.

The Reichsrath, Imperial Council, or Parliament of Austria consists of a House of Lords and a House of Representatives. The former is composed of (1) princes of the Imperial house who are of age (at present thirteen); (2) hereditary members, the heads of noble houses in high rank, on account of their large territorial possessions (fifty-three); (3) archbishops (ten) and bishops ranking as princes (seven); and (4) life members nominated by the Emperor, on account of distinguished services (at present 105). The House of Representatives consists of 353 members elected to represent different classes of the inhabitants of the several provinces. Of these eighty-five are chosen by the large landed proprietors, twenty-one by the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, 116 by electors in the cities, towns, and places of industry, and 131 by electors in the country districts, these last not being chosen directly, but through representatives nominated by the people to vote for them. The elections are for six years, and the Emperor nominates the presidents and vice-presidents of both Houses, the other functionaries being chosen by the members themselves. In the case of a dissolution a new election must take place within six months, and it is incumbent on the head of the State

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to summon the Reichsrath annually. It has the right of legislation in all matters affecting the rights, duties, and interests of the several provinces, in so far as these, from equally affecting Hungary, do not come within the jurisdiction of the Delegations. It deals with matters connected with industry, commerce and finance, religion, education, the administration of justice, post-office, railways, telegraphs, customs, the mint, weights and measures, raising of new loans, imposing of new taxes, the budget, matters relating to military service and defence. The members of either House have the right to propose new laws, but the consent of both Houses is required, together with the sanction of the Emperor, to render them valid. For the altering of fundamental laws of the State the votes of at least two-thirds of the members present are necessary. The executive is vested in the president of the council and ministries for the interior, religion and education, commerce, agriculture, national defence, justice, and finance. The ministers form also a ministerial council, which is presided over by the Emperor or a minister-president. The ministers are responsible to the Reichsrath for their actions.

The old provincial Diets still exist in Austria, and though shorn of much of their former power and importance they still perform important functions. There are seventeen of these Diets in the country, and the number of members in each varies from twenty or thirty up to more than 100, according to the size and importance of the district. Each Diet is composed of the archbishops and bishops of the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches, the rectors of the universities, representatives chosen by the great landed proprietors, representatives of the Chambers of Commerce and Manufacture, and representatives of the rural districts. In all of these cases except the last the representatives are chosen directly by the electors. In the rural districts the electors choose a certain number of persons to vote for them. The members of the Diets are elected for six years, and sit under a president who, together with the vice-president, is nominated by the Emperor for the same period of six years. The provincial Diets deal with such matters affecting their districts as do not come before the Reichsrath —such as local taxation, religion, education, public works, charitable institutions, industry, commerce, &c.

Having thus briefly sketched the constitutions of the two States as they exist separately, we come now to notice shortly the ties by which they are bound together—namely, the same monarch and the Delegations. By the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles the Sixth the different parts and provinces of the empire are declared to be inseparable and indivisible, and the succession is fixed in the order of primogeniture in the male, whom failing, in the female line of the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine. The monarch bears the titles of the Emperor of Austria and Apostolic King of Hungary; but in all public documents relating to Hungary he has only the title of king.

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The sovereign comes of age on the completion of his eighteenth year, and must be of the Roman Catholic faith. On assuming the reins of government he must take oaths to maintain the constitutions of the two States, in Austria in presence of the two Houses of the Reichsrath, and in Hungary before the Diet on his coronation. The monarch is in exclusive possession of the executive power, while the legislative is shared by him with the representative bodies of the two States. He is commander-in-chief of the army, and grand master of the several orders of knighthood.

The Delegations consist of sixty members for each State, chosen annually by the assemblies—one-third being elected by the House of Lords and the House of Magnates, and two-thirds by the House of Representatives and that of Deputies. They are summoned by the head of the State, and meet alternately at Vienna and Buda-Pesth, and elect their own presidents. They conduct their business in distinct chambers and communicate their decisions to each other in writing. Should three written messages on any subject be exchanged without bringing the two bodies into accord, they meet together and, without discussion, proceed at once to vote by ballot, the majority of votes deciding the question. They legislate on matters which equally affect both States, and particularly on matters touching their relations with foreign countries, diplomatic or commercial, and in what concerns the defence of the country—the army and navy. The executive is vested in three departments—(1) a ministry of foreign affairs and of the Imperial house; (2) a ministry of war; and (3) a ministry of finance. The ministers are responsible to the Delegations. The active army and reserves are common to the whole monarchy and are under the control of the minister of war. The Landwehr, or militia, however, of Austria and Hungary are respectively under the control of the Austrian and Hungarian ministers of national defence; but all orders relating to great concentrating movements of troops must emanate from the sovereign. A customs and commercial treaty for the whole monarchy was first entered into between the two States in 1867 for ten years, and has since been renewed for the like period. The revenue thus derived is divided in the proportion of 31·4 per cent. to Hungary and 68·6 per cent. to Austria. The Delegations also legislate on matters of taxation on industries affecting the two States, on the currency and standard of gold, and on railway matters common to the two divisions. Hungary is chiefly an agricultural country, while Austria is in a great measure manufacturing. By an agreement come to in February 1868, Austria was to contribute 70 and Hungary 30 per cent. towards the common expenditure of the empire. When the military frontier was subsequently incorporated with Hungary, the proportions came to be Austria 68·6 and Hungary 31·4. In matters connected with foreign affairs and the army and navy, the resolutions of the Delegations require neither the approval

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nor confirmation of the representative assemblies, but only the assent of the sovereign; but all treaties affecting the customs duties must be approved by the Austrian Reichsrath and Hungarian Diet.

By the last census of the 31st of December 1880, the population of Austria was 22,144,244, and that of Hungary only 15,738,468, and, as we have just seen, the contributions of the latter towards the expenditure of the monarchy is only 31·4 per cent. of the whole; yet we find her having an equal representation with Austria in the management of their common affairs. This has the appearance of a concession to Hungary, yet in practice it has worked well. As all questions in dispute are settled by the absolute majority of votes, such is the rivalry between the two States, that were the voting power of Austria to greatly prevail over that of Hungary the interests of the latter would be likely to suffer.

There can be no doubt that Home Rule has acted beneficially in regard to Hungary. On this point no higher authority can be cited than Louis Kossuth, the leading spirit in the revolutionary movement of 1848–49, and president of the Committee of Defence. This distinguished patriot and irreconcilable enemy of the Austrian government, in writing to his countrymen thanking them for an address which they had sent congratulating him on his eightieth birthday, said that 'the present condition of Hungary is in accordance with the real wants of the nation,' that 'parties now stand on the basis of loyalty to the dynasty,' and that 'it affords an amply sufficient guarantee for the future of the Hungarian State.' Under these circumstances, he expressed the hope that Hungary might be preserved from revolutions in the future.

The rivalries that subsist between the different nationalities which constitute its population are a constant source of disquietude and even danger to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Except Russia, no other nation in Europe embraces within it so many distinct nationalities—peoples differing from each other in race, language, religion, customs, and manners. In Austria, according to the last census of 1880, of a total population of 24,144,244, there were 8,008,864 speaking German; 5,180,908 Bohemian, Moravian, Slavonic; 3,238,534 Polish; 2,792,667 Ruthenian; 1,140,304 Sloven; 563,615 Serb and Croatian; 668,653 Italian and Ladin; 190,799 Roumanian; and 6,887 Magyar. In Hungary, of a population of 15,738,468, 6,206,842 spoke Magyar or Hungarian; 2,325,838 Roumanian; 1,882,371 German; 1,799,563 Slavonic; 2,325,747 Serb and Croatian; 345,187 Ruthenian; and 83,150 Wendic. There were in Austria 17,693,648 and in Hungary 7,849,692 Roman Catholics; in Austria 2,536,177 and in Hungary 1,497,268 Greek Catholics; in Austria 401,479 and in Hungary 3,154,652 Protestants; in Austria 1,005,394 and in Hungary 638,314 Jews; in Austria 493,542 and in Hungary

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2,434,896 belonging to the Eastern or Oriental Greek Church. The Germans are the dominant race in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary, but in neither do they form a majority of the population. These different nationalities are constantly calling out for an independent government, or the right to manage their own affairs in their own way without the interference of others, but we do not hear of Home Rule being granted to them. The State, however, has endeavoured to bring about harmony by means of liberal concessions, as the lowering of the franchise and the substitution of direct for indirect representation, so as to give the inadequately represented nationalities more power in the National Council, but only with partial success. In 1882 a law was passed extending the franchise in Austria to all males in towns and rural districts paying direct taxes to the amount of 10*s.* annually. The same year a measure was introduced reorganising the army on the territorial system, so that in place of the different divisions being composed of a mixture of all nationalities, with the German element usually predominant, they will be composed entirely, or nearly so, of persons of the same nationality. The Emperor, by making frequent journeys to different parts of his dominions, has done much to increase his popularity and strengthen the loyalty of his subjects.

DAVID KAY.

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MYTHS AND MYTHOLOGISTS.

DURING the last three years Professor Max Müller has published in this Review a series, or rather a set, of articles dealing, more or less, with the beginnings of Myth and of Religion.[1] I say a 'set' rather than a 'series,' because the articles were written on various occasions, and have therefore little formal connection, or necessary logical sequence. The word 'occasion' was used, by the old Scotch writer on fencing, Sir William Hope, as synonymous with a chance hostile encounter. Such an 'occasion' I venture to find in Professor Max Müller's mythological articles.

To keep up the metaphor, as it is usual for fencers to salute before they engage, I would take the opportunity of saying that not a word of what follows impugns the scholarship and learning which in Mr. Max Müller are as admirable as his pellucid and persuasive style. His philological conclusions, as far as they are philological, are sacred from an unlearned pen. Scholars may, and do, discuss and dispute them; here we are only concerned to show that differences do prevail, and that, even if the philological arguments were universally accepted, they could not support the burden of theory that is raised on them as a foundation. The opposed system, a system unknown or ignored in Germany, though it attracts notice in France, must suffer from the advocacy of a 'mere belletristic trifler' like myself, but if no one else will speak up for anthropological mythology, I must even, like the Men of the Mearse, in the Scotch proverb, do the best I can.

The 'general reader,' casting his eye over these pleasing essays, might suppose that the chief disputes of mythologists are actually settled: settled in Mr. Max Müller's sense, and in favour of what is called the 'solar hypothesis.'[2] The author assures us, and with

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, January 1882, January 1885, October 1885, December 1885.

[2] Mr. Max Müller has, himself, 'never attempted more than to prove that *certain* portions of ancient mythology have a directly solar origin.' I give a list of some of the mythical characters connected by Mr. Max Müller with the Sun or Dawn; in some cases (as Eos) the connection is obvious: Eos, Herse, Endymion (theory not alluded to in Roscher's *Lexikon*), Tithonus, Cephalus, Prokris, Herakles, Deianeira, Daphne, Apollo, Hermes, Athene, Eurydice (and, generally, all mythic ladies whose names begin with *Eury*), Europa's Bull (?), Achilles, Meleager, Orpheus, Eros, The Graces or Charites, Erinys, Aphrodite (a Moon goddess and Semitic, according to Dr. Isaac Taylor), Œdipous, Perseus (apparently), Bellerophon, Helen of Troy.

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perfect truth, that much solar mythology is found among Hottentots, Red Indians, and Samoyedes; that Mr. Le Page Renouf believes 'almost every atom' of Egyptian myth to be solar (he may settle that with M. Maspero); that Dr. Brinton holds the chief hero of the Algonkin Red Men to be a hero of the Dawn; that M. Réville finds the Sun everywhere in Mexico; that Mr. Tylor recognises in Maui, the Maori hero, a solar hero, and we all know that a working majority of myths are solar according to Mr. Max Müller himself.

Very well, here seems to be a consensus of opinion, and the reader, perhaps with a sigh, decides that he must henceforth regard the solar cause as triumphant, and recognises in the Greek Daphne and Athene, and Achilles, as in the Maori Maui, and the Algonkin Manibozho, the old familiar figure of the sun, or the dawn.

I shall attempt (as far as several long essays can be answered in one short article) to prove that this acquiescence is premature; that the solar theory is scarcely, as Mr. Max Müller declares, 'a generally recognised fact;' that even his old favourites, Athene, Daphne, Achilles, are not universally admitted to be the dawn or the sun; that the savage heroes whom he mentions are not proved to be 'solar' characters, and that the whole philological interpretation of myths is, at present, not much more than a series of contradictory etymological conjectures.

First, then, let us examine the statement that 'the solar theory is no longer a theory, but has now become a generally recognised fact.' I do not understand, I confess, in what sense this bold statement can be made by any student of contemporary mythological researches. Let us take some concrete examples. In his essays, 'The Lesson of Jupiter,' and 'Solar Myths,'[3] Mr. Max Müller names 'Daphne=Ahanâ' as 'a safe equation.' 'Ahanâ,' he repeats,[4] is a Sanskrit word for 'Dawn;' Ahanâ became Daphne in Greek, and Daphne, the girl changed into a laurel, is really and originally a dawn-maiden. Mr. Max Müller has been telling us this for a quarter of a century, but do mythologists agree with him? Do Sanskrit scholars, as a rule, agree with him?

If the agreement were 'general,' could M. Bergaigne possibly write as he does on the subject, in a spirit, I regret to say, of Parisian flippancy? In Paris, according to Voltaire, the very *gamins*

Nasum rhinocerotis habent.

This disdainful feature M. Bergaigne turns up at Ahanâ and Daphne. The word Ahanâ, he declares (and Mr. Müller agrees), is, a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον—that is, occurs only once—and therefore its sense is hard to determine. He translates it 'eternal,' and gives four or five conjectural etymologies. 'Note in passing,' he says, 'that this

[3] *Nineteenth Century*, October and December 1885.
[4] Compare *Selected Essays*, i. 397, 510, 607; ii. 237.

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is the Ahanâ to which Mr. Max Müller added a *d*, to make it the equivalent, or nearly so, of Daphne, and to discover in the Greek nymph a sister of the Vedic Dawn. O snows of yester-year—O neiges d'antan!' Mr. Max Müller complains of this flippancy. M. Bergaigne is a rebel, but would he dare to be so rebellious if 'Ahanâ=Daphne' were a 'safe' equation, a 'generally recognised fact'? But M. Bergaigne is not only a rebel, he is a French rebel. He has 'always experienced somewhat rough treatment from German scholars,' Mr. Max Müller says, and perhaps it is only a little revenge for Alsace and Lorraine he is taking on the Indo-Germanic dawn maiden. But, it must be allowed, he 'has great allies,' even among Americans, even among Teutons. A transatlantic critic, in the *Nation* (can this be Mr. Whitney, that Mephistopheles who *stets verneint*?), denies that Ahanâ meant the dawn, or could possibly become Dahanâ, and therefore Daphne. As the Greeks at no time spoke Sanskrit, I myself cannot see how they got hold of Dahanâ, a Sanskrit word, if ever it was a word at all. But some of the very Germans reject 'Ahanâ=Daphne.' The learned Roscher with twenty named allies is publishing a huge and most complete Dictionary of Mythology.[5] In this thoroughgoing work, under the word Daphne, Mr. Max Müller's theory does not even receive a passing allusion. Mannhardt[6] alludes to it only to say that it 'absolutely lacks foundation in facts.'

Preller says nothing about the etymological analysis, though he *does* show that Apollo had two other loves with tree or flower names, Cypress and Hyacinth. On the whole, then, whether the 'solar theory' in this example be correct or not, can any mortal maintain that it is 'generally acknowledged'?

Let us take some other examples they abound. Achilles, in Mr. Max Müller's opinion, is a 'solar hero,' and, like other solar heroes (and Tommy Atkins), is 'vulnerable.' Is *this* generally acknowledged? Far from it. Setting aside five ancient etymologies of Achilles, the modern philologists[7] (in Roscher's *Lexikon*) recognise Achilles as a hero (1) of light, (2) of rivers, (3) of dark, (4) of fire. His name, poor fellow, is tortured into support of each of these four opinions, while some witty authors judiciously 'combine their information,' and make Achilles a stream *and* sun god. All these views are based on 'etymological analysis.' Any reader of Mr. Max Müller would suppose that Achilles was universally admitted (except by anthropologists perhaps) to be a sun hero. But the curious have really

[5] *Ausführliches Lexikon* (Teubner). [6] *Antike Wald- und Feld-Cultur.*

[7] The sensible Curtius conjectures, also, that Achilles *may* mean 'the stay of the host,' or 'the stone-wielder'—appropriate names for a warrior in days when warriors threw big stones. But it is pointed out that 'stone-wielder' would be a natural title of a river-god, as if rivers were the only beings that could wield stones! Do we need more examples of the vanity of etymological research (as a general rule) into the roots and meanings of proper names?

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their choice between light, dark, water, and fire, and Fleischer pronounces for Water.[8]

The exhibition of this kind of agreeable consistency of opinion is called by Dr. Isaac Taylor,[9] 'placing the study of mythology on a firmer scientific basis.' No doubt the exposure of such a medley of philological contradictions will, in the long run, be favourable to science, but the present state of the science cannot be called satisfactory.

Let us choose another important example of want of general accord among mythologists. The goddess Athene occupies in Mr. Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language* an important niche as a 'Dawn Maiden.'[10] 'I believe,' says the author, 'that the root *Ah*, which yielded in Sanskrit Ahanâ, supplies likewise the germ of Athênê.' But on this point again Mr. Max Müller has not the unwavering support of his learned countrymen. Preller thinks the etymology of the name dubious. It is sometimes derived from the root *αἰθ* (whence *αἰθήρ*, the clear height of air), and Preller himself regards Athene as originally a personification of the wonderful beauty and brilliance of the stainless sky in Hellas. Others are all for the root *ἀθ*, whence *ἄνθος*, a flower. Schwartz holds that Athene is the thundercloud and the lightning, which is not exactly the same thing as the dawn, nor even as the clear æther. Benfey, Lauer, and Schwartz have attempted to suggest that the vivid lightning-flash out of the dark storm-rack is the origin of Athene, regarded as Goddess of Wisdom and referring to the lightning-like rapidity of thought. Benfey flies to Zend for the origin of her name. To this view, that Athene is 'the brandisher of the lightning,' Dr. Isaac Taylor does seriously incline, and writes, 'The name Athene is referred to the root of *ἀθ-ήρ* a spear-head.' Here, then, we have no general acknowledgment that Athene is the dawn maiden, that Ahanâ = Athene; very far from it indeed. Mr. Max Müller's contention is, that 'such names as Dyaus, Varuna, Ushas, Haritas,' and others, were in use before the 'Aryan separation,' and that 'Ahanâ = *Δάφνη*' and '*Αθήνη* was one of those names.[11] How such words as Dyaus, Varuna, Ushas—Sanskrit, if anything—could have been current 'when Sanskrit was not yet Sanskrit,[12] is one of the puzzles of Mr. Max Müller's 'historical system of mythology.' Perhaps by 'such names as Varuna, Ushas,' and the rest, he does not mean *these* names, but names that might become these when

[8] *Ausführliches Lexikon*, s.v. 'Achilleus.' Another diverting example of philological unanimity is given in the case of Ares, the god of war. Preller makes him a blustering storm-god. Lauer thinks him a *Himmelsgott*. Schwenk is all for a god of light. Welcker believes him to be a sun god, while the learned Stott conceives that he is an earth god. And so forth. You take your choice between storm, sky, earth, sun, or light. And this is Science—this is the general acknowledgment of the solar theory! Rightly may Sir George Cox say of Roscher's *Lexikon*, 'it would be well if the general agreement of mythologists had been brought out more clearly.'

[9] *Academy*, August 15, 1885.

[10] *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 549.

[11] *Selected Essays*, i. 492.

[12] *Selected Essays*, i. 315.

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Sanskrit became Sanskrit. But whether he is right or wrong in his philological facts and inferences, he certainly has not succeeded in getting his 'solar theory' regarded as 'no longer a theory, but a generally acknowledged fact.' I could fill a number of the *Nineteenth Century* with proofs of this; a few will be found in a little work published some time ago.[13] It is almost a general law that where Mr. Max Müller sees a dawn and sun myth, another school will see a fire myth, a third school a storm myth, while sexual and earth and moon myths are also proposed, according to the taste and fancy of the philologist.

Mr. Max Müller, as he has shown in his article on 'The Lesson of Jupiter,'[14] has anticipated, and disapproves of these arguments. He states them in his own way. I have done no more than demonstrate that his solar theory is still a not universally accepted theory, not a 'generally recognised fact,' and that it is in conflict with four or five, sometimes with seven or eight, other learned hypotheses. My purpose in stating and proving this is to prevent the general reader from supposing that the cause has been heard by scholars, and decided in Mr. Max Müller's sense. Far from that, many German and French scholars not only differ from Mr. Max Müller, but they differ as widely from each other. Hence we may conclude that, even if etymological analysis of proper names be the true method of interpreting myths, that method has, so far, reached but few solid conclusions.

But Mr. Max Müller writes: 'In order to find an excuse for not studying Sanskrit, and yet criticising the labours of comparative philologists, great stress has been laid on the fact that comparative philologists, even those who know Sanskrit, often differ from each other, and therefore that the study of Sanskrit is of little use.'[15] Now, far be it from me to call the study of Sanskrit 'of little use.' No study can be of greater use. But it does not follow that contradictory etymological conjectures (and I have proved that they are contradictory) are a proper basis for any science. Mr. Max Müller points out, in reply, that there are various interpretations of many Homeric texts, adverbs, and adjectives, and yet that no one, on that account, denounces the study of Greek. But no one is building a Science of Religion and of Mythology on contradictory renderings of passages in Homer. On the other hand, many scholars are trying to base a part of their Science of Mythology and of

[13] *Custom and Myth* (Longmans). See chapters on 'Cronus,' 'Cupid and Psyche,' 'A Far-travelled Tale.' The reader may also compare P. Cesare de Cara, *Esame critico*, p. 124. The different views of Bréal, Preller, and Mannhardt on Ixion may amuse: the First Murderer of Greek myth is interpreted now as the whirlwind, now as the sun, now his name is merely connected with the Greek word for 'a suppliant.' I do not, of course, deny that on some topics, as on the name of Zeus, there is agreement among scholars; but, in face of all the examples that I have given, and the crowd I could add, I fail to see that the agreement, on the whole, can be called general.

[14] *Nineteenth Century*, p. 628.

[15] *Ibid.*

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Religion, partly on their private explanations of the Greek and Sanskrit roots, partly on passages of the Vedas, which are variously translated by different authorities. By all means, we say to comparative philologists, study Sanskrit, by all means give us a new version of the Vedas, but do not expect us to accept your conclusions till there is more harmony among yourselves. If we, for our part, were building any theory of Homeric mythology on our own interpretations of πολύτροπος, or ἔννεπε, or θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, then Mr. Max Müller's attempt to carry the war into Attica might be successful. But, of course, no one dreams of founding mythological theories on controverted texts in Homer. Our argument, that the philological mythologists are all at variance among themselves, and, as Curtius thinks, are using a very precarious instrument, remains a piece of naked fact. But Mr. Max Müller finds it 'difficult to imagine a weaker, not to say a meaner, argument.'

Well, the reader may say—if anyone has followed us so far into the wilderness—if you are at war with these great scholars and doctors, what do you propose to offer in place of their doctrine? We propose to pursue the study of myths as we study the history of other human institutions, such as law, manufactures, arts.

The central puzzle of mythology is, and always has been, to account for the bewildering and 'senseless' elements in the religious legends of civilised races such as Greeks and Egyptians, and natives of India. How could the ancestors of Socrates come to believe that their chief god, Zeus, turned his wife into a fly and swallowed her—in which he partly followed the example of his father, who had swallowed and disgorged the brothers and sisters of Zeus? Why was Zeus, again, accustomed to put on various animal forms, eagle, ant, bull, snake, and so forth, when he wooed the daughters of men, and why did other Greek and Vedic gods imitate this distressing peculiarity? Why are most of the deities of Greece associated with a whole menagerie of animals, pigs, owls, mice, wolves, sheep, horses, cuckoos, doves, and so forth, images of which were placed in the temples, while the creatures themselves often received a share of divine worship? These are only a few examples of the horrors and follies of Greek and other myths and religions, and how are these to be explained?

Against the modern philological system of explaining what is 'savage and senseless' in ancient myth as 'a disease' (apparently a delirium) 'of language,' more is to be said than can be said here. We have already tried the system by its results; we have shown that it has, so far, given us little but contradictions. This might be excusable in a young science; the Egyptian and Assyrian texts were not deciphered in a day. But the whole theory of etymological explanation is faulty. Mr. Max Müller[16] calls his the *historical* method. But where does the history come in? He starts from a

[16] *Nineteenth Century*, June 1884.

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hypothetical and, to my thinking, highly inconsistent theory of the state of human speech before the 'Aryan separation.' If we understand him, he thinks the mythopœic period existed *after* dialects and languages had diverged, but *before* 'the establishment of laws and customs, and the first beginnings of religion and poetry.'[17] All the historical evidence as to man in this early condition is derived from traces in language which prove men to have been practically civilised, half-nomadic, half-agricultural, accustomed to use the plough, to weave, to build, to work metals. Yet, according to the *historical* method, man, in this advanced condition, habitually talked in such a way that his speech became full of poetical expressions of which the meaning was somehow lost, while the words somehow endured, and came to be explained as proper names and as statements of fact, each name starting as hero or heroine of a myth.

Now where, in all our experience of humanity, do we meet with men, civilised or savage, in this state of linguistic delirium? Mr. Max Müller looks for examples in the Vedas, which, *ex hypothesi*, have no more to do with the matter than *The Lays of Ancient Rome*. The Vedas are poetry, composed long *after* the Aryan separation. They are *not* examples of the ordinary conversation of men *before* the Aryan separation. Nor do the Vedas, even if admitted, help the argument. They contain many poetical synonyms, but these synonyms do not lose their meaning, and do not set up, after being *nomina*, as *numina*; or, if they do, it is very rarely. The twenty-one Vedic synonyms of earth did *not* establish themselves as twenty-one distinct and separate gods or heroes. Their meaning did *not* become 'strange to the son and misunderstood by the grandson' of the people who used them. But without this process of oblivion, the names could not, *ex hypothesi*, have started as myths. Where, then, do we find, historically, an essentially civilised race among whom such processes are common? The *historical* method must give examples, must produce *veræ causæ*, and (as far as I am aware) no *veræ causæ*, no examples of a semi-civilised race, with a speech full of synonyms and homonyms, and a habit of retaining these as proper names while forgetting their meaning, have ever been produced.[18] Examples of such

[17] *Selected Essays*, i. 308.

[18] Are there, then, people may ask, *no* myths arising from forgetfulness of the meaning of words? There are multitudes; there are all the myths springing from 'folk-etymologies.' Thus we have the brazen nose over Brasenose gate. 'Brasenose' merely means 'brewing house,' but the meaning was lost. We have the stories told of the 'dudding' or 'skipping' stone at Duddingston, and of Macus, who, in Roman times, kept a tavern at Longformacus. We have Harcourt, to whom the king cried, 'Stand to un, Harcourt,' in the battle at Staunton Harcourt. These are instances of myths told to explain names of which the meaning has been lost by the people. But, observe, those names survived as *place-names* necessarily must do. They are not analogous to the myriad words of lost meaning which, on the historical hypothesis, survived in undivided Aryan as proper names. We have no adequate proof that such survivals ever take place in vast numbers, save when aided by the immobility of *places*—lakes, towns, hills, and so forth.

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processes may occur here and there, but by no means sufficient to prove that the Aryan race, before its separation, was bemused in this delirium of language. Without proofs, without a large induction of facts, the so-called *historical* method is resting on a singular hypothesis, and does not deserve to be called 'historical' at all.

Even if the philologists were right in their conception of the state of the Aryan speech and mind before Sanskrit was Sanskrit, we really are but little advanced by their researches. For, supposing that mythical names came into existence as the philologists suppose, who is to interpret the names, and what can be made out of the interpretation? At present different schools not only assign different roots and meanings to many names, but look for the roots in different languages, Semitic, Accadian, Sanskrit. But if they agreed as much as they disagree, how could they possibly demonstrate that the myths were *originally* told of the persons to whose names they are now attached, and that, therefore, they can be interpreted in the light of those names? Every day we hear stories of contemporaries which we know were originally told of men long dead. A tale is current of General Jackson which Rabelais tells of Villon, and which occurs in a manuscript of King John's reign. I have heard a coarse rural anecdote set down to a Scotch peasant, and have found the myth in *Le Moyen de Parvenir*. I have traced the Beresford Ghost story back to William of Malmesbury, in its *essential* features. I have shown that the main points and situations of the Jason myth occur in North America and Samoa,[19] among people who can hardly be supposed to have heard of Jason. How vain, then, to explain the incidents by the names in the Jason legend! It is a law of the existence of myths that pre-existent stories cluster round new great names, as of Charlemagne, Arthur, Napoleon. Granting, then, that Athene means dawn, air, thundercloud, when scholars agree on that topic, how can we prove that a tale told of her was originally told of her when her nature (as air, dawn, or cloud) was understood, and that it must therefore be interpreted as a statement about meteorological phenomena? No such explanation can be more than precarious and conjectural, even if we did know what the name of Athene originally meant. Finally, as to names, let it not be forgotten that, even if we could analyse their meaning with absolute certainty into words for natural forces and phenomena, we should still be far from certain that (in heroic myths) natural phenomena and forces were indicated by the names. Among many races such names are the common personal names of actual people. Now, no one, I hope, will maintain, that if a word in a myth means dawn, or cloud, or storm, that myth was originally told about a real person called Dawn or Cloud. This kind of euhemerism would be absurd. But suppose the story was purely or mainly a romantic invention: in that case the narrator

[19] *Custom and Myth*, 'A Far-travelled Tale.'

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would need names for his persons, just as the novelist does. If among the people with whom he lived such names as Flower of Dawn, Red Sun, Flying Cloud, Black Storm, were as common as (or more than) Vavasour, Delamere, De Vere, Delormay, and the like among ourselves, why, he would inevitably give such names as Flower of Dawn, Red Sun, Flying Cloud, and so forth, to his fictitious characters.[20] Thus it is impossible to argue, with safety, that a name in heroic myth which means a natural phenomenon originally denoted a phenomenon of nature. Thus the philological method, though it may have its uses—though, for example (as in the case of Zeus Asterios), it may perhaps indicate the foreign origin of a Greek god —yet cannot be accepted as the 'only safe foundation of comparative mythology.' I have exposed the nature of that safety.

For this method we propose to substitute, as one main instrument, the method of Völkerpsychologie, or 'Folklore,' or 'ethnopsychology,' or anthropology, or, to use Dr. Taylor's term, 'the Hottentotic method.' We must compare all the myths of the world, as far as we can get trustworthy information, and we must examine the psychology of the peoples among whom these myths are current. We must try to ascertain whether myths are not the result of a certain condition of thought, rather than of a disease of language influencing thought. Employing this method, we study the psychology and the myths of savages.

Here, of course, we are met by such arguments as Mr. Max Müller employs in his article 'The Savage.'[21] As to our method, 'I differ from it, I have no taste for it,' says our learned adversary.[22] I am reminded of Thackeray's Miss Tickletoby and her *Lectures on English History*, where she dilates 'on the painful impression occasioned by the contemplation of early barbarism,' and on 'the disposition of the human mind to avoid such a study.' It is full of disagreeable discoveries, but they must be faced, not avoided.

Our method is based on the following principles. The myths of the Greeks and Aryans of India are charged with the wildest, most incredible, most absurd, and morally most abominable narratives. Gods devour and disgorge their offspring, assume the shapes of beasts and birds, change men and women into trees, or birds, or bears, or stars, and conduct themselves more like omnipotent and unprincipled clowns in a pantomime than like pure natural forces or sublime anthropomorphic deities. There is nothing in the psychology of the Greeks as historically known to us to account for such 'senseless' beliefs. But if we examine the psychology of the lower races as

[20] Gold Flower of Dawn was a young Abipone chief known to Dobrizhofer: his father was Sun. Flying Cloud and the rest are Iroquois names. Among the Australians such names are often chosen for a child from the aspect of the weather at the time of his birth, or at the moment when the name is imposed.

[21] *Nineteenth Century*, January 1885. [22] *Ibid.* June 1884.

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actually existing, or as described in the past, we find that all these idiotic myths are in perfect accordance with *their* psychology. There are none of the freaks of Zeus or Indra which the medicine men of the lower races do not profess to be able to perform. *They* can turn into cuckoos, like Hera, or fishes, like Ares, or rams, like Indra and Zeus, and they can, like Zeus, convert a human being into a bear, while their ancestors, like Callisto, have either been bears or become stars, or in a thousand wild ways 'pass beyond the goal of ordinance.'

To be brief, then, we argue that the remote ancestors of the historical Greeks and Aryans of India had either passed through the mental stages in which we find Australians and Bushmen, or had imported into their religion an enormous number of the myths which by such a mental condition are naturally produced. Among the myths of the lower races we find all the elements that astonish and shock us in Greek myth. Among the lower races themselves we discover actually existing the psychological conditions out of which such myths are born. It is a natural inference that where, as in Greece, we find similar myths without the corresponding mental conditions, those myths are religious survivals from that condition in the past, or have been imported from people who were, or had been, in that psychological state. In either case, borrowed or native, those myths would be relics of the peculiar psychological conditions now prevailing among Bushmen and Australians.

It seems superfluous to state that, if these opinions can be proved, the method of mythology becomes a mere branch of the Darwinian, or evolutionary, method in general. That method explains many physical peculiarities as survivals or rudiments of organs more fully developed in an earlier condition of the organism. We explain many peculiarities of myths as survivals from an earlier social and mental condition of humanity.

The question of proof then becomes all important. Are the lower races actually in the psychological state which necessarily produces myths like those which shock or puzzle us among the Greeks? Is there (apart from the myths themselves) reason to believe that the Greeks had either passed through the psychological condition of the lower races, or borrowed very largely from peoples who were, or had been, in that stage?

It is against these positions that Mr. Max Müller probably argues in his article on 'The Savage.' He thinks, as I understand him, that the very word 'savage' lacks scientific distinctness, and to please him and his followers I have tried here to avoid the term. He dilates on the difficulty of defining a savage. He mentions a number of traits, each of which, though apparently 'savage,' does not necessarily prove savagery in the persons who display it in action.

Yes, but what of the people who unite all and every one of these traits in their character and conduct? Are *they* properly called

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'savages,' or must we banish the word 'savage' from the English language, or at least from scientific discussion? It is not cruelty, alone, that makes a man a savage. It is not nakedness, alone, or 'the naked philosophers of India' would be more savage than the Kurnai in their 'possum-skin cloaks. It is not fetishism that makes a man a savage, or Dr. Johnson would have been as savage as any Birraark; nor is believing in ghosts the test, nor cannibalism, nor infanticide, nor polyandry, nor cruelty to women. If it were so, the Psychical Society, and the crew of the *Mignonette*, and the Venetian *noblesse* of Casanova's time, and the unmarried mothers of England, and the married ruffians of England, would all be in the same boat (or rather canoe) as savages. All this may be granted to Mr. Müller. On the other hand, if any set of human beings are *at once* cruel, nearly naked, believers in fetish stones and so forth, are worshippers of ghosts, are cannibals, polyandrous, and addicted to infanticide—if they accumulate all or most of these unamiable traits, and add certain mental characteristics and social institutions, then we have perhaps a right to call them savages. Let us take an example of what might be styled, without needless rudeness, a savage of the darkest dye. He is nearly naked. Like Cain, in De Quincey, he 'tools with a stone' for want of metal. He believes sincerely in ghosts. He has no house, and scarcely even a hut. He has no domesticated animals, or very few. He is a cannibal and has even a system of rules as to 'who may take down whom at dinner'—what joint of the uncle falls to the nephew, and so forth. He has not, and apparently never had, any pottery. He is chiefly governed by a wild sort of 'mediums,' who pretend to converse with the dead, and to be 'levitated' through the air. He is extremely prodigal in his amours, which, however, are regulated by very complicated laws. His science is magic. His art is chiefly tattooing. He has not, and probably never had, the bow and arrow. Perhaps Mr. Müller will admit that this being (a slightly flattered portrait of the ordinary, pre-European, native of Australia) may, without violence to language, be called a savage. So far we have not defined a savage, but we have exhibited a type who deserves the title. We may go further. We do not, at present, say what a savage is, but we do say that the nearly naked, nomadic, stone-tool-using, cannibal, ghost-worshipping, improvident man, without bow or pot, cruel, lustful, and superstitious, and ignorant, is a savage. He has many admirable qualities. People who know him well at home find him truthful, plucky, kind, affectionate, towards persons with whom he is in friendly relations. But he has also the peculiarities already enumerated, and these (with other traits to be mentioned later) make 'savage' the English name for him.

From this type of savage the lower and less-developed races shade off into lower and higher barbarism up to the conditions of Iroquois

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and Maoris, and so on to that of Aztecs, and finally we rise to the level of Egyptians and Homeric Greeks in various degrees of real civilisation. Our argument is, that the mental condition in which the typical savage is proved to be, survives into the higher barbarism and leaves its relics (owing to the conservative influence of religion) in those kinds of myths and superstitions which Greeks undeniably have in common with Australians and Maoris and Bushmen.

As all this may appear too vague, let us state explicitly what we mean by a savage; he cannot be defined in an epigram. 'A savage is made to do everything that an anthropologist wants him to do,' says Mr. Max Müller. I can only give my word that I have superabundant evidence for all that a savage is said to do in the following page.

(1) In material equipment, the savage is he who employs tools of stone and wood, not of metal; who is nomadic rather than settled; who is acquainted (if at all) only with the rudest forms of the arts of potting, weaving, fire-making, &c.; and who derives more of his food from the chase and from wild roots and plants than from any kind of agriculture or from the flesh of domesticated animals.

(2) In psychology, the savage is he who (extending unconsciously to the universe his own implicit consciousness of personality) regards all natural objects as animated and intelligent beings, and—drawing no hard-and-fast line between himself and the things in the world—is readily persuaded that men may be metamorphosed into plants, beasts, and stars; that winds and clouds, sun and dawn, are persons with human passions and parts; and that the lower animals especially may be creatures more powerful than himself, and, in a sense, divine and creative.

(3) In religion, the savage is he who (while probably, in certain moods, conscious of a far higher moral faith) believes chiefly in ancestral ghosts or spirits of woods and wells that were never ancestral; prays chiefly by dint of magic; adores inanimate objects, and even appeals to the beasts as supernatural protectors.

(4) In society, the savage is he who bases his laws on the well-defined lines of totemism[23]—that is, claims descent from natural objects, and derives from the sacredness of those objects the sanction of his marriage prohibitions, and blood-feuds.

Such, for our purpose, is the savage, and we propose to explain the more 'senseless' parts in the Greek mythology as 'survivals' of these ideas and customs preserved by religious conservatism and local traditions, or (less probably) borrowed from races which were, or had been, savage.

Let it be observed that this theory commits us to no opinion

[23] It seems all but impossible to make some people understand what Totemism means: the curious may consult Professor Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Arabia*.

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about the condition of primitive man. We do not deny that he may have been a kind of angel, who fell from Paradise in consequence of an act of disobedience. Still less do we say that modern savages represent primitive man. They are already rich in implements and customs which could only have been slowly developed. We merely say that (however they started) the Greeks either *passed through* a state answering to that of modern savages or *borrowed* freely from savages. Their disgusting rites in their mysteries; and their human sacrifices; and their habits of smearing fetish stones with red paint or oil; and their Australian method of laying the ghosts of murdered men; and their use of the 'bull-roarer' (the savage chapel bell) and the company of beasts that attended gods themselves often represented in bestial forms and fond of bestial transformations—all these things demonstrate either that the ancestors of the historic Greeks were once savages or that they adopted a crowd of savage customs and institutions.

Our opinion is that they also inherited or borrowed from savages those portions of their mythology which closely correspond with the myths of the most backward races, and which, demonstrably, are the inevitable fruit of the savage psychological conditions. Be it remarked that *we* have a *vera causa*, an historically proved mental stage, as the soil whence the myths arose. On the other hand, the *historical school* of Mr. Max Müller relies on hypothetical and unproved mental conditions, on a supposed delirium of language.

While mythologists have now to a certain extent withdrawn their old *tabu* on the method of anthropologists, while Mr. Max Müller, for example, shows less 'distaste' for it in his article on 'Solar Myths' than in his article on 'Forgotten Bibles,' they still deny that it can cast more than 'a few rays of collateral light' on mythology.

Naturally we think our method can do more than *that*, and I go on to offer briefly a few examples of problems which the method may be said either to solve or to place in a novel and interesting light.

(1) In the first place, no puzzle of mythology is older, and none more perplexing, than the worship of the lower animals. In Egypt this was carried to an amazing extent, and one has only to turn to Plutarch[24] to see what a number of contradictory and fanciful explanations were given by native and Greek theologians. The Greeks, as Plutarch himself observes, represented certain gods wholly, or partially, as beasts—bulls, horses, and so forth. But, adds Plutarch, they behave more correctly than the Egyptians, for while the Egyptians take beasts for gods, the Greeks only say that to the gods these beasts are sacred.[25] Here Plutarch himself shows his consciousness that the animal-worship of Egypt has an essential connection with the belief which filled Greek temples with images of sacred animals, and Greek myths with tales of gods who assumed bestial shapes.

[24] *De Iside et Osiride.* [25] *Ibid.* lxxi.

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Our method explains these facts as survivals of *Totemism*. Almost all known lower races, from the level of the Australians to that of the Iroquois League, are in one or another stage of Totemism. The stocks of kindred, that is, claim descent from beasts, birds, or other creatures or natural objects. Each stock holds its own ancestral animal sacred, looks to it for aid and protection, and declines to kill it except in case of necessity, though the animal, in some places, is solemnly sacrificed once a year, itself to itself, in a mystical ceremony. Among certain peoples, as in Samoa, we see the process of advance towards the Greek and Syrian view of sacred animals. In Samoa many stocks combine to worship one god, but they do not therefore reject their sacred animals. They allege that in the various beast-totems of their various stocks the one god common to all these stocks is incarnate. It is easy to see how an opinion like this would fill the temples of Apollo and of the Syrian goddess of Lucian, like the temples of the Peruvian deities, with images of various sacred animals.[26] In Egypt the usual features of savage Totemism show very much more distinct in the local animal-worships and sacrifices. Professors Sayce and Robertson Smith, sufficient philological authorities, accept this view, as far at least as Egypt is concerned.

If our hypothesis be correct, the greatest puzzle of ancient religion is solved as a survival of a worldwide custom of the lower races. Mr. Max Müller, however, remarks: 'Totemism is one of those many words that sound so grand and mean so little—at least, so little that is definite.' I cannot say that 'Totem' sounds very 'grand' to my ear, but 'Totemism' is as 'definite' as any clause in the latest Reform Bill. Nor do we say that, for example, 'the Algonkins believed their ancestor and their chief divinity to have been a rabbit or a hare, because their crest was a hare or a rabbit.' We do not pretend to have discovered the origin of Totemism; it is enough for us that the institution is of worldwide distribution among the lower races, and that certain elements of religion and myth among the advanced races are clearly survivals of that institution.

Mr. Max Müller, following Dr. Brinton, attempts to show that one totem—the Great Hare of the Algonkins—was a dawn hero! born of a misunderstood word. But Dr. Brinton's argument will not hold water. The names of the Great Hare are five or six. One of them is Michabo, in which the Doctor finds the root *wab*. Now *wab* means hare; but there is another root *wab* (Dr. Brinton says), meaning 'white.'[27] He goes on: 'Beyond a doubt *this*' (*wab* = white, not *wab* = hare) 'is the compound in the name Michabo, which therefore means "the Great Light, the Spirit of Dawn."'[28] This 'beyond a

[26] See *Custom and Myth*, 2nd edition, pp. 102–120: 'Apollo and the Mouse.'

[27] *Myths of the New World*, pp. 178–179.

[28] Other words meaning 'The Great Hare' are Messou and Missibizi. Where is *wab* meaning 'light' or anything else in Missibizi and Messou?

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doubt' is diverting. The word Michabo is to be converted from 'Great Hare' to 'Great Light;' and there can be 'no doubt' that the conversion is correct, because—though it is directly contrary to all Indian opinion from the earliest known times—it 'lets in' the dawn hero! Dr. Brinton is aware that the very race which believes in the Great Hare has some twenty other totemic animals. He does not dream of pretending that each of these—bear, turtle, trout, crane, wolf, raven, coyote, and what not—is a corruption from a root meaning dawn, or light, or anything of the kind. It is beyond the powers of human credulity to hold that a religion of the forces of nature, of dawn, sun, wind, storm, was degraded, by forgetfulness of the meaning of words, into a worship, literally, of every brute in the Zoological Gardens. Why should such a degradation and confusion have taken precisely the same form, that of animal worship, in Australian, Indian, American, African, Semitic, Egyptian, Asiatic, and Samoyede languages? A cause should bear some kind of proportion to its effects. There may be enumerated at least thirty or forty totemic animals in America. No approach to an explanation of their existence is given by the conjecture that one out of the whole array may have come to honour by a confusion between *wab* = white and *wab* = hare. Even if this assertion were correct, Dr. Brinton would not for a moment think of explaining the whole totemic menagerie, and the institution all over the world, as a result of a corruption of language which everywhere, and in every tongue, took the same extraordinary forms. Dr. Brinton, in fact, offers another explanation of the worship of beasts. 'They were to man not inferiors, but equals, even superiors.' Then, with curious inconsistency, Dr. Brinton writes, 'It was not the beast he (man) worshipped, but that share of the omnipresent deity which he thought he perceived under its form.'[29] The omnipresent deity he perceived! And Dr. Brinton has just denied that there is one single instance of monotheism, personal and definite, or dim and pantheistic, to be found on the whole American continent![30] Yet Mr. Max Müller, following Dr. Brinton on one of his divergent tracks, recognises the Great Hare as 'the not unworthy personification of the purest conceptions Red Indians possess concerning the Father of All.' Dr. Brinton says, 'The phrases Good Spirit, Great Spirit, are entirely of modern origin, coined at the suggestion of missionaries.' As for the solar theory, as for explaining 'all symbols and myths by the actions of this orb on nature,' it has, says Dr. Brinton, 'had its bottom pulled from under it. Nowhere has it manifested its inefficiency more palpably than in America.'

Obviously there is not much to be learned by trying to follow the curiously devious trail of Dr. Brinton through the forest of mythology.[31]

[29] P. 175. [30] P. 53.

[31] Mr. Max Müller appears to have read Dr. Brinton's *Myths of the New World* in

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So much space has been filled with the Great Hare that I can only indicate in so many words other gifts of anthropology to mythology in addition to the theory of totemism.

(2) It will be probably acknowledged in no long time that the kind of stories which the advanced (Greek and Indian) religions tell about *anthropomorphic* gods and heroes are in almost every one of the lower races told about *theriomorphic* or beast-shaped gods and heroes. As civilisation advances feather and fur drop off, the bestial heads are removed from the divine images, and gods are made in the image of man.

(3) Many myths now explained by Aryan etymologies will be found current all over the globe, among peoples who never spoke an Aryan tongue. In *Custom and Myth*, and in my introduction to Mrs. Hunt's translation of Grimm's *Household Tales*, I try to show this in the case of the myths of Cronus, of Cupid and Psyche, and of the Argonautic expedition. The essential ideas in all these are familiar to Samoans, Ojibbeways, Maoris, and appear to be in one case rude nature-myths; in others, relics of very early customs; in others, purely romantic inventions. I might add the myth of Prometheus the Fire-Bringer. Kuhn and many others explain that *Pramantha*, the fire-stick, is the original of the name Prometheus. The Aryan word for *rubbing* became confused with the word for *stealing*, and Pramantha (Prometheus) the Fire-Rubber became the Fire-Robber. To this [32] I reply by showing that, all the world over, peoples who do not speak an Aryan language, Maoris, Australians, Ahts, Thlinkeets, Cahrocs, possess the myth of the Fire-Stealer. *They* cannot have obtained it through forgetfulness of the meaning of an Aryan root. Their fire-stealing persons, too, following the law already mentioned (2), are almost always beasts or birds, or anthropomorphic heroes who have assumed a bestial shape for the occasion.

Many other examples of the results of the anthropological, or ethnopsychological, or agriological, or Hottentotic method might be given. I must be content with these for the present, and with the conclusion that, when Greeks or Indians were 'in the same tale' with Maoris and Cahrocs, they inherited the legend from savage ancestors, or borrowed it from savages, or from people who retained survivals of savagery; they did not hit on it in the delirium produced by a 'disease of language.'

ANDREW LANG.

an edition different from that which lies before me (Holt: New York, 1876). I give the references as they occur in that volume.

[32] *Encyclop. Britann.* s.v. 'Prometheus,' where a different hypothesis as to the meaning of the story of stealing fire is hazarded.

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THE LITTLE ONES AND THE LAND.

AWHILE ago I paid a call on Mrs. Grimbley. She is a very poor widow, and how she lives none know but herself; yet she does continue to live where her father lived before her, and his father before him. She is a strange old woman. She is descended from an old Huguenot family; they were thriving people once; she is the last of her line. I found her cowering over a wretched fire that could hardly keep alight, and she was reading a gaudy tract given her by some apostle of the Rights of Man; it advocated the restoration to the people of what belonged to the people, to wit the land. Mrs. Grimbley was reading her tract in the great chimney corner, and she was holding over her head a large umbrella to protect her against the rain; the miserable hovel was full of smoke; the fire was sputtering with the big rain drops that came down the vast chimney steadily, heavily. I closed the door and sat down upon a three-legged chair (a genuine Queen Anne), and I attempted conversation somewhat timidly, for I saw that Widow Grimbley was not in the mood for talk. At such times I avoid the use of pronouns as much as possible and shrink from preaching or anything like it. Then the following dialogue ensued, question and answer following one another with long intervals of silence.

'Chimney always smoke?'

'Always.'

'Used to it?'

'Can't say as I am; I don't like it anyhow, but I've got to bear it. It's the law.'

'Law's a rum un, eh?'

'Ah! and a bad un, or some of us wouldn't be clothed in purple and fine linen and some of us have to sit under an umbrella.'

'Rain comes down here seemingly when some winds blow.'

'*Some* winds? It don't stop coming down for winds. Ah! There now! *you've* found it out too!'

This *à propos* of a big *blob* of soot that fell upon my hand, brought down by the pelting rain.

'Grand old chimney though to look at, eh? I verily believe, Mrs. Grimbley, that if I had a rampant horse with vaulting ambi-

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tion enough I could drive a gig up that chimney. Would you come? I'd take you with me.'

This was too much for Mrs. Grimbley; she shuddered silently. At last she could not restrain her sense of the ludicrous. Poor old soul, she used to know what laughter was once—ever so long ago—and she tried not to laugh and tried to keep it back now, ashamed of the weak phantom of merriment that had surprised her.

'I ain't no call to laugh,' she said, and then she dried her eyes. 'The old chimney, I've heard my grandfather say, was a very old one ever since he could remember. It belonged to him and it don't belong to me, and if it did I shouldn't be none the better. There ain't no room in this world now for the *Little ones*. That's the law!'

Poor Dolly Grimbley—her father had christened her Dorothea—if I betrayed her into laughter she almost startled me into tears, for the pathos of the scene touched me profoundly—the dreary and desolate old woman without a relative in the world, desperately resisting the horrible thought of ending her days in the Union, and slowly starving herself to keep out of the abhorred Bastile; she, in her forlorn condition, going for comfort to the Rights of Man and the dream of the spoliation of the *haves* for the benefit of the *have-nots*; bitter at heart, so bitter that the Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief seemed to her to have gone over to the strong and to have no further care for the weak and weeping and all the suffering and wronged *Little ones*.

But it was Mrs. Grimbley who taught me that term, and I find it a convenient one which saves me much circumlocution at times, when I want to discuss one of the burning questions of the day with those who know something about it.

In Arcady to lump our *children* together under one designation which assumes that they are all of a size may often lead to your giving dire offence. To insinuate that the baby yonder is only an average baby will quickly bring upon you the maternal protest, 'Lor, sir! we du reckon him a *big* buoy!' We are matter-of-fact people in Arcady, and we stickle for the meaning of words, especially where the status of our progeny is involved. 'How's your wife, Simon?' said I to a young father once. 'She's getting on bonny, sir!' 'And the baby? Is it a nice little baby?' 'Well, sir, we think as it ain't a very nasty one.' No reproof was meant; it was only a cautious and modest way of putting it without conceding too much either way. Knowing this wary habit of mind, which the inexperienced would mistake for captiousness, we rarely speak of children as the little ones, because there are big children and little children, but some of us have consented to describe the smaller occupiers of land as the 'little folk,' or as Mrs. Grimbley did by naming them the *Little ones*.

In Arcady we include among the Little ones all holders of land

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under a hundred acres, though at the one end there are sure to be some who are on the verge of pauperism, and at the other there are those who are thriving men of substance with a credit balance at the bank; for it is rather the size of his holding than the length of his purse which settles the question of what class a man belongs to among us. So too we reckon among the Little ones only the occupier of the land, whether he be owner or tenant; and as the smaller the occupation the higher the rent, it is obvious that we shall have to deal with a class which embraces people in widely different circumstances, from the semi-pauper, who is hanging on to his five acres and homestead by his eyelids and paying his rent with his pig, up to the yeoman, who has no rent to pay and is chary of letting anyone shoot a hare upon his land or walk across his meadow without leave.

Among this large class of small owners and occupiers of land in East Anglia are to be found the very bone and marrow, the very heart and life blood, the moral fibre, and the hope of our agricultural population. During more than twenty years' absence from country life I had become entangled in all those baseless theories which dapper townsfolk adopt with such a ready acquiescence, and which are based upon the wonderful assumption that everything small must needs be mean; as if every short man were a retrogressive savage and every game cock were only a degraded eagle. I am quite prepared to admit that my neighbour's cat is a dwarf tiger and ought to be slain, but to make war upon smallness of size as if it were *ipso facto* an indication of a stunted brain and low morale, the unmistakable sign and evidence of moral and intellectual deficiency, that is to enter upon a queer sort of campaign, in which not always the weakest, at any rate not always the tiniest, will go to the wall. I had heard so much during my sojourn in the City of the waste of small farming, I had become so carried away by the flood of tall talk which had gone on for more than a generation assuring us that high farming was the one thing needful for the prosperity of the country generally and of the agricultural interest particularly; the results of scientific agriculture had been blazed abroad with such resonant pæans and double choruses of brag, that when, six years ago, I bade farewell to the streets and all the walking encyclopædias who haunt the printing offices and shed the light of their omniscience upon mankind, I was quite prepared to bow down to the idols of the hour; and indeed I was firmly convinced, because I had been told, that a small farmer stood in the same relation to a large farmer as a donkey on a common does to a racehorse at Newmarket: the latter was a noble animal, the former was an ass.

Six years of going in and out among the peasantry in Arcady; six years of vigilant observation, of somewhat intrusive questioning, of that subtle sympathy which comes of friendly feeling and honest desire to be in touch with one's neighbours in their bitter vexation or their chuckling glee, in their grief or their wrath—six years have

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been quite enough to scatter my cut and dried theories to the winds. I have learnt to believe more and more in the Little ones, because with us in Arcady they seem to me the only people likely to be left to us to believe in, if agricultural matters go on much longer as they have been going for some time past.

Two great men who have been in the foremost rank of great men in my time have each been credited with a very remarkable speech. Mr. Disraeli, when he was Mr. Disraeli, is reported to have said that he would jump into a quart bottle *if such a thing could be found*, and Mr. Mechi is reported to have promised that he would grow a turnip upon his dining-room table *if only it would pay*. In the one case given the time and the quart bottle could have been produced without difficulty, but then Mr. Disraeli could not have jumped into it. In the other case given the time and it would have been satisfactorily proved that the growing of the turnip could not pay.

Our philosophers of the new school are much more audacious and peremptory than the astute statesman and the experimental agriculturist; they are for omitting the *if* and substituting for it the imperative mood. They say, let there be quart bottles and let there be turnips; men shall then jump into the first and profit shall come from growing the last. Oh, ye peremptory people, what a pity it is that the wheels of God go on grinding in despite of you—grinding slowly but exceeding small!

How is it that there are always some subjects that people seem to think anybody can be conversant with without having learnt anything about them? Some of us remember the homœopathy craze, when demure spinsters went about with a handbook of diseases and a leather case furnished with little phials full of *globules* and were for ever prescribing for us. The poor creatures lived to reform the science of medicine; they had a mission. Bless their dear old hearts! it did them good and nobody else much harm. As long as only ladies of a certain age and of limited incomes preach in their own small circles their crisp little gospels of medicine or morals, nobody need care what folly they proclaim; but when men of a certain sort of ability, men of utterance and vehement passion, and whose gifts command a hearing, come forward with political nostrums which they are prepared to force down the throats of the community with the knob sticks of the mob, a bad time may be coming for the wise. The gout may be very hard to bear, but for pity's sake save us from your sherry.

I have started by saying I love the Little ones. It would seem to me to be a serious evil if the numbers of those who live by the land in a small way should diminish, and there are those, and many of them the ablest and the most far-sighted, who agree with me so far. Two sets of reformers are engaged upon the problem how to increase the number of the Little ones. The one set attack it from the bottom, the other from the top. The one say, Level down the large farmers;

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the others say, Level up the labourers. I never could see how any levelling job could be done except by filling up the low-lying spots at the expense of the high ground. Levelling up means levelling down. The only question is where you are going to strike your line.

It seems to me that before a man has any right to pose as a reformer he must do two things: first, he must learn the truth of things as they are, and look facts in the face; and secondly, he must learn how things were, and how they have come to be as they are. A politician ignorant of history is like a poet without love, and that, said one of our great ones, is 'a physical and metaphysical impossibility.'

Now the facts are these: We do things on a much larger scale than our forefathers. We have bigger ships, bigger houses, bigger shops, bigger dinners, bigger everything. The hand loom has made way for the spinning jenny, and the same thing runs through everything. You may regret that you can no longer find a second home in the 'snug' little hotel, where the landlord was an old friend of the family and the waiter called you Master Harry to the last. But the times are against you. Young men in trade—in *business* is the grand phrase now—who have served their time in an ironmonger's or a draper's 'establishment,' who know what they are about and have some capital at command, tell you that a small shop does not pay, and that they cannot see the good of starting in a small way. They tell you there is no room for them. It is so in trade, it is so in commerce, it is so in manufactures. Is it to be wondered at that when at every street corner there were dogmatists who were for ever preaching, without any reservation, the doctrine that small undertakings were wasteful and small enterprises could not pay—is it to be wondered at, I say, that the gospel of bigness should have gained acceptance among the food manufacturers and the owners of the soil? The men of the streets, tired of making money faster than they could invest it, came down to the country and put their capital into the land; they sent their sons to Norfolk or 'the shires,' paid a bouncing premium to a practical agriculturist, had the dandy youths taught how to ride and to know the difference between a cow and a bullock. In three months the lad had learnt all about it, men and angels had no more that they could teach him, and, like the clean-shaven townsman in Horace whom a mischievous wag had turned into a landowner—

> Ex nitido fit rusticus, atque
> Sulcos et vineta crepat mera;
>
> From a gent he grew into a judge,
> And his talk was of tilths and of turnips!

The 'agricultural pupils' lost no time in bidding for the farms. Landlords were in ecstasies; the old-fashioned farmers were aghast. Rents rose as if by magic. But the new men were resolute on one point: they would have no 'peddling little farms;' they would set to

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work in the grand style or not at all; they would have houses fit for a gentleman to live in and buildings with the latest improvements; and the bricklayers loved them, and the agents would not say them nay. Some few shrewd landlords shook their heads; some had not the heart to turn out tenants whose grandsires had lived on the same land time out of mind. Some could not find the ready money to follow in the steps of the wealthier proprietors, to pull down three old houses and build up one manorial new one. But there were districts in which a deplorable revolution began, and where it did go on extensively and recklessly much misery and much bitterness of heart followed.

The new men did not mean to be harsh or unfair—they were not worse than other people—but they soon discovered that at the best their margin of profit could not be large; they had to get the utmost possible return from the land for which they were paying so highly, and in the inevitable course of events a great deal that was cruelly oppressive to the labourer and the smaller occupier followed as a consequence of the change that had come over British farming. Every scrap of 'the waste' was ploughed up or thrown into the adjoining fields. The roadside patches on which the poor man's donkey or the widow's geese had been wont to pick up a meagre sustenance were enclosed; the hedges were cut down which used to furnish Goody Blake's kindling and the fagots that came in to heat her oven; the furze bush vanished, and the short cuts across the fields for children trotting to school or for their parents' walking to church were stopped up. Everybody knew that the law was being broken, but who was to bell the cat?

The old farmers had been slow to embroil themselves with their neighbours; but the new man, bristling with new ideas, wouldn't stand any nonsense, not he! What he paid for that he would have. So Goody Blake, and the donkey and the geese and the cow, had to make themselves scarce; and they did make themselves scarce accordingly, they and all that appertained to them. More corn was grown on the same breadth of land, more corn at less cost—at less cost, that is, of manual labour. There was not the employment there used to be, and the exodus from the villages began.

Then came the bad times, not very suddenly—nay, rather very gradually. The enterprising young agriculturist, whose first lesson had been that a sheep is not born with a tail like a rabbit, and his next that some land would not pay for the ploughing, learnt many other things as the years went on; not the last was this: that there are as smart men on the Hill at Norwich or at Islington as can be found in Capel Court, and that even in Mark Lane the *habitués* get up very early in the morning, and by midday the worms are not plentiful. It was hard on a young fellow after he had been doing his little best and becoming much humbler in his tone—hard to find a letter on the breakfast table with a broad hint from the bankers;

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hard to discover too late that he had gone on too fast and that the beginning of the end had come. It was hard on the tenant farmer, and perhaps hard on his landlord too; both had been living in a fool's paradise. Each ought to have learnt his lesson—the one that under the conditions of our climate there must needs be a limit to the extent of land which can be farmed by a single occupier at a profit; the other that there is a limit to the rent that may safely be demanded, whether from the big man or the little one.

But before the catastrophe arrived, and while it was drawing near, something else had been going on. As rents had been rising, through the insane competition which had begun, so had the belief become more and more prevalent that there was no investment like land. Land couldn't run away. Land would always fetch its price. Nothing like land, sir! There was a craze for buying land; every little outlying farm was snapped up and bought by country gentlemen, regardless of price. In the great centres of industry capitalists who had made their pile were consumed by a desire to walk over their own broad acres. They came, they saw, they purchased; and as there is nothing like leather, so when a wealthy new settler once found himself an owner of woods and fields he became bitten with the desire to have an ever larger stake in the country, and wherever there was land in the market there the buyers were to be found, eager, one and all, to increase their territory. . . . A change came o'er the spirit of their dream. First there was the revolt of the labourers. It was the Nemesis that was sure to come, and which some few foresaw in time. It was the Nemesis upon those who had been captivated by the jingle of certain maxims—I use the word advisedly—maxims of the political economists which they had not taken the trouble to understand. It was the Nemesis upon the half-taught, who mistake rules for principles and who never can be brought to see that in physical or social science, as in morals and religion, truths in tendency will not bear being driven to extremities, and become mere falsehoods if stated without reserves. Shape your course of conduct by any formula, taking no account of the personal equation and—Woe to you!

Thus the landlords and tenants having become saturated with the notion that the one thing needful to ensure large profits from agriculture was to lessen the cost of production—to economise labour—they got astride of this favourite hobby-horse of the doctrinaries, and they rode like Centaurs. Here and there a voice cried out, 'Ware the brute that's rushing his fences!' The rider cared never a doit for warning. A hobby is a thing to ride and spare not. Alack! even a hobby may be ridden to death, and notably so when it does not go on all fours! There was a famine in the land. It was a famine of agricultural *hands*. The labourers went in for their innings. They have played their innings badly, if you please; but the large farmers were bowled out with mere elementary 'ground hops.' Then

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came the bad seasons. What need to dwell on them? And then came the low prices of produce; and now, after more than a decade of disasters, the wiseacres of Grub Street and the conclave of infallibles, who cannot err on matters agricultural *because* they are free from all the prejudices which are inseparable from owning or tilling the land, are once more to the fore. What is it to be this time?

A hundred schemes are in the air. England's necessity is the miracle monger's opportunity. Go to, ye crass Bœotians of the shires, do we not grow our orchids? Look to us and learn how ye can grow your barley. Listen and learn, ye sons of the soil. We of the desk can show you how most can be made of the land.

We all start with assumptions, but how if they be not true? Three assumptions have been made by the miracle mongers, for each of which they demand unhesitating acquiescence. Every one of those assumptions, to say the least, deserves to be examined. First, it is assumed tacitly or expressly that the agricultural interest of this country is paralysed and the outlook black as night; secondly, that the land of the country is getting into fewer and fewer hands; thirdly, that the agricultural labourer is the only man in the community who has no career.

The conclusion that follows from these premises, which have obtained too general acceptance, is that the time has come for a revolution in the land laws, for a revision of the antiquated notions of the rights of property, for resorting to expedients which must needs be remedial because they shall be so magnificently drastic. Let us take these popular assumptions seriatim.

I. It is noteworthy that the most curiously foolish and false things have been said about the land and its cultivation by those who go furthest afield for their information, and who have pretended to deal from the widest generalisation. Perhaps in no area of the same extent upon the face of the globe are the conditions of soil and climate, the anomalies of tenure, the methods of tillage, the complex relations existing between owner and occupier, the financial position of landlords and tenants, and the hundred and one local peculiarities which more or less perplex enquirers, so numerous and so varied as in this island of Great Britain. Men write about the evils of primogeniture as if there were no such thing existing as borough English or gavelkind.[1] They talk about 'the crops' as if there were no such things grown among us as barley or oats; they

[1] Ten years ago I received a notice from the steward of a certain manor twelve miles from Bow bells informing me that I had never been admitted to half an acre of land in a small copyhold estate of which my father had died possessed. All the rest of the estate had fallen to my brother long ago by our father's intestacy. This half-acre, however, had been proved to be *below breck*, and by the custom of the manor land *below breck* descended to the youngest son unless otherwise disposed of by will. Can any one tell me what *below breck* means?

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solemnly warn us to cultivate more vegetables, as if they believed farmers planted their potatoes in flower-pots and tied the haulm to a stick with red tape. You might as wisely construct a harmonious theory of British agriculture from observations made in Russia and Spain as by tabulating scraps of information picked up in Devonshire and Norfolk, in Cumberland and the Isle of Ely. The soil, the temper of the peasantry, the ways of going on, as we say in Arcady, differ almost as widely in different counties of England as they do in the separate valleys of the Alps, where a man may breakfast in French, lunch in German, dine in Italian and awake next morning, as once the present writer did, to find a heavy-eyed creature standing by his bedside with a big bottle in one hand and a horn cup in the other, and courteously asking in classical Latin 'Domine, visne schnaps?' Beyond all doubt the growers of wheat and the growers of wool have suffered very heavily of late, and suffered everywhere; the wool growers perhaps the heavier of the two, but wheat and wool are not everything. Thousands, and if you will tens of thousands, of acres have fallen out of cultivation, but they are acres which ought never to have been brought under the plough, and it will take a generation for them to recover from the consequences of being ignorantly broken up instead of being left as they were.

Rents in large districts have gone down to the vanishing point. Had they not been raised to a figure which could only be paid at the cost of exhausting the fertility of the land for years?

Northamptonshire is not England any more than Norfolk is Wales, and however much witty archdeacons may lament the deterioration in the quality, the dairy counties still make much cheese and somehow live. If we grant that the days have gone by when farmers could make fortunes, have they not gone by when shipowners and cotton spinners make fortunes? We have not yet arrived, nor are we likely to arrive, at a general bankruptcy even in the corn-growing districts, though for ambitious agriculturists it may seem a dismal and humiliating position to be doing no more than making two ends meet. But whereas our grandfathers talked of making a livelihood we talk of making a fortune, as if that were the last a man ought to aim at, and with us too the fortune is always to be *made*, never *saved*.

Reports of Royal Commissioners bewilder at least as much as they inform. They are the helplessly silly and fatuous who cry loudest, 'Something must be done!' No, not something, but the right thing or nothing. Better nothing than the wrong thing, even though you have to wait for the right thing for a generation and in the meantime eat the bread of tears. When a man cannot stand upon his feet you don't order him to stand upon his head because something must be done. Is it from the agriculturist's point of view

> Clear to any one whose brain ain't far gone in a phthisis
> That Rule Britannia's happy land is passing through a crisis?

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Then beware how you choose such a time for heroic legislation. At such a time sleep may end in lethargy, but tickling must kill.

Not all grievances are radical; some are merely symptomatic. Nay, some may indicate that Mother Nature has gone her own way to work, and taken the cure of a deep-seated mischief into her own hands. Your young practitioner who whips out his lancet whenever a patient shows him a pimple is a dangerous man to turn into your nursery.

II. But is it true that land monopoly is on the increase, and the land of the country is getting into fewer and fewer hands?

The history of every nation that has ever emerged from barbarism to the higher life of law, system, and empire has been the history of a process whereby the ownership of landed property has passed from the possession of the many to that of the few. Prophets may denounce their woe as loudly as they please against 'them that join house to house and lay field to field till there be no place.' Fiery optimists with Utopian dreams may come forward with all sorts of schemes for nationalising the land and limiting the acreage that any man may own. Literary country gentlemen with a taste for philanthropy may pathetically deplore that the wide domains of the monied men have been the ruin of the country; but the son of Amoz at Jerusalem, and Gracchus 500 years after him at Rome, and Pliny 300 years after *him* simply testified to the fact that eternal laws go on from age to age, working themselves out by the agency of the instincts or the follies, the sins or the aspirations, the greed or the needs of the children of men.[2]

Almost within reach of my hand as I write there are lying the original conveyances of land in a single Norfolk parish, more than 600 in number, the most modern of which belongs to the end of the fifteenth, the oldest to the beginning of the thirteenth century. In that long series of documents, so carefully preserved, I have the history of less than 1,500 acres during less than 300 years. It is an eloquent record, which needs only to be read, of how, under conditions by no means abnormal and circumstances in no way extraordinary, the tiny patches of land that were distributed among a hundred owners in the days of King John came gradually but steadily into fewer and fewer hands, the holdings becoming larger and larger as the generations passed, the Little ones then, as now, as always, being swallowed up by the larger capitalists, till these in their turn became the Little ones, and they too had to go. It is a great law of the universe. It always has gone on; it always will. And who are we that we are going to set ourselves against it

[2] ἔμελλον λέγειν ὡς οὐδεὶς ποτε ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν νομοθετεῖ, τύχαι δὲ καὶ ξυμφοραὶ παντοῖαι πίπτουσαι παντοίως νομοθετοῦσι τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν (Plato, *Laws*, iv. 709), 'I was going to say that no human being ever does make laws about anything, but all sorts of accidents and circumstances, occurring in all sorts of ways, make our laws for us at all times.'

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and say this shall not be? Who are we that we are going to stop the clock or drive back the shadow on the dial of Ahaz?

It is quite conceivable that a condition of affairs should grow up in any country which is prejudicial to the welfare of the community and fraught with peril to the moral and physical stamina of the people. Then it becomes the duty of the statesman to deal with it; but if so let him deal with it in statesmanlike fashion, not empirically, not hastily, not at the cry of a dominant faction, still less at the dictation of a demagogue. Or it may be that what is denounced as essentially evil is the natural and inevitable outcome of great economic laws, and yet affected by the influence of other laws and circumstances more or less abnormal, and of the nature of disturbances capable of being modified in this way or in that. Are you going to make war upon the things that are, in ignorant disregard of how they came to be as they are? That experiment has been tried before now, and it has always failed most signally. Confiscation of large estates was proposed in Italy 2,000 years ago and more. Rome again and again 'nationalised' large tracts of land, and again and again made provision for the poor to occupy it. It always came to the same thing. It was only a question of time when the capitalist should buy up the needy occupier. The Little ones dropped out by the help of the law or in spite of it. Philanthropists of the Gracchus type persuade themselves that they have discovered the supremely desirable, and obstinately resolve that *that* must be the practicable, blind to the melancholy truth that the loftier your ideal the further it must be from the attainable.

And yet when we have recognised to the full the existence of a law which tends towards the absorption of small properties into large ones, let us take comfort in the fact, just now too much overlooked, that there is another law which is its correlative, or rather its direct opposite. The psalmist sings of the everlasting hills, and we talk of the solid earth; they are but figures of rhetoric the one and the other. Upheaval and subsidence are for ever at work, not over the same portions of the earth's crust at the same time, but moving as the tides move—

> With kingly pauses of reluctant pride
> And semblance of return.

There is a period in the development of a nation's life during which what we may call the process of consolidation goes on without a break; the tide is rising. But there is a point beyond which it cannot go. Then peradventure another process comes into operation, the process of disintegration. Only once in history as far as I can remember has the former process gone on unchecked till all the land of a country fell into the hands of a single proprietor. Once we are told it did so when that great administrator from the loins of Israel 'bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field because the famine prevailed over them: so the

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land became Pharaoh's.' Long after Pharaoh's time things were travelling fast in the same direction in at least one Roman province; Pliny tells us that half the province of Africa was owned by six landlords, whereupon Nero, being of opinion that 'something must be done,' promptly slew the six. We are not told what became of their estates; I doubt if they were cut up into allotments.[3] Surely, surely we are a long way off from this kind of thing.

The other process is in the ascendant now. Even rich men tell you that they can no longer afford to buy small properties, because small men *will* have them. Nay, the largest properties, when at all near a town, are, to the dismay of the sentimental, cut up into 'desirable sites' or bought for cash by building societies. It is said that these associations own land and houses to the value of many millions. What does this mean but that there are tens of thousands among the working classes who by this agency alone in *esse* or in *posse* have risen to be owners of the soil? It may be answered that the great bulk of these are townsmen or artisans. What then? Are not townsmen and artisans the 'people,' just as much as the peasantry? But it is a mistake to assume that even in the country districts the number of landowners is diminishing at anything like the speed which some believe. Nay, there are some influences at work which make in exactly an opposite direction, and some prospect of landed property coming back to the conditions of, say, a century ago.[4] Certainly the mania for ring fences is not what it was; as certainly the motive for giving way to it and the opportunity of indulging in it is very much on the decline. Our mansions grow, our landed estates do not. There are many reasons why it should be so on which others may dwell. There is one very strong reason. Public opinion is against those who might wish to be monopolists of land. And public opinion is now a force which travels with an immensely greater momentum, with immensely greater velocity, and with immensely more direct impact than it did in our fathers' days. There was a time when legislators sometimes controlled public opinion, sometimes defied it, sometimes even outraged it. Once its speech was inarticulate, incoherent, mere noise, or at best clamour. Now its voice is as the voice of many waters, and it makes itself heard through that mighty engine which moves the world—the printing press. Under the spell of that tremendous force abuses have a tendency to die and injustice and tyranny to slink away and hide themselves. Let some glaring wrong or abomination be only exposed, let the great body of the people be persuaded that it *is* a wrong or an abomination, and it will vanish in some mysterious way without

[3] See Pliny, *H. N.* xviii. § 35.

[4] See Toynbee's chapter on 'The Decay of the Yeomanry.' Oh! why was he snatched from us when we needed him so much? Shown to us for a very little while—'such splendid purpose in his eyes!' A star of promise that we looked to and hoped.

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waiting for an Act of Parliament to get rid of it. In a thousand instances, great and small, public opinion proves stronger than law—bestirs itself more rapidly, visits more surely, smites more promptly, punishes more sternly.

But public opinion is sometimes slow to inform itself. Sometimes it has happened that it has grown loudest in its demand for the sweeping away of an abuse just when that abuse has ceased to exist, the authors of it having taken warning in time. Lo! when the outcry has become most vociferous there has been no abuse to remove. Are you quite sure that all your denunciation of the land hunger has not come a day after the fair? Are you quite sure that this passionate hankering has not greatly abated among the high and has come to be fiercest among the low? If so you may be doing an enormous wrong to the Little ones by stimulating a craving which the wealthier classes have begun to see may easily grow into a madness. But it is the fact that we need to have established. Ten years ago the number of owners of land in England and Wales whose holding was under 100 acres was something under a million. Has their number increased or declined?

Whatever doubt, however, may exist as to whether or not the tendency to increase the area of *ownership* of land by capitalists is still going on, no man who has studied the subject thoughtfully can have any doubt that the tendency to increase the size of the holdings of tenant farmers has decidedly declined. Large undertakings demand not only large capital to make them remunerative, but they require something else which is very much more rare, and that is administrative ability. In a cotton mill or a coal mine, in a shipbuilding yard or any large workshop, there is, and there must be, a very elaborate discipline. The great army of workers is easily overlooked; there is subordination and gradation from the lowest to the highest. In a factory or a workshop you may easily supervise a thousand operatives in an hour and detect at a glance where things are going wrong. It is very different in our agricultural operations. Given a tract of 2,000 acres in its most compact form, and you have a parallelogram of three miles long by one mile wide. Assume that this tract employs one man to every twenty acres, and you have a hundred men dotted over this area, working in twos and threes, and working at half a dozen different kinds of labour. The problem how to get the most out of your labourers and the utmost out of your land is an immeasurably more complex one than can ever present itself to a manufacturer whose hands are all at work in the same yard or under a single roof. It is a problem so full of difficulty and requiring so much tact, delicacy of treatment, foresight, decision, and versatility as to demand an amount and a quality of brain-power that must needs be granted to few. Moreover discipline among the agricultural labourers is something of which they have only the faintest

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conception. Subordination to one of their own class they resent with the fiercest jealousy and submit to with the utmost reluctance. When, some years ago, the fashion of large farms was at its height, and the supply of labour began to run short, some enterprising men started the gang system, and something like an initiation in the direction of organising industrial armies of agricultural labourers was made. Of course it was clumsily carried out; what early experiments are not where the counters are men and women? But some believe very firmly that it was a move in the right direction. Unhappily—perhaps in its early stage inevitably—it was found that great moral evils were inseparable from the methods adopted, and sentimental philanthropists—all honour to their motives!—made desperate war upon the gangs and forced the Legislature to interfere. The gangs were to all intents and purposes made an end of. That was a serious check to the operations of large farmers, who were thrown back upon the old methods of furnishing themselves with labour—that is, at the cost of the utmost possible waste of the employers' time. Only the few—the very few—when the great crisis came were *intellectually* qualified to deal with the new conditions which they had to face, and the result has been that in Norfolk the larger farmers as a rule suffered most, not only from want of capital, not only from personal extravagance, not only from any one or many of the faults with which they have been only too recklessly credited, but from a want of the necessary brain power and administrative ability. It is easy to drive a gig, not difficult to guide a pair; but when it comes to managing a four-in-hand it is not everybody who can do that through Oxford Street, and fewer still who could avoid a catastrophe in driving a coach and six from Whitechapel to Hyde Park Corner.

Meanwhile much mischief may have been done—has been done—by sacrificing small occupiers and the consolidation of many small farms into one large one; but for landlords to reverse their policy is at the present time by no means easy. A flank march, they tell us, is a movement always attended with risk and rarely to be made without sacrifice.

III. One more popular delusion—for it is a delusion—remains to be dealt with. Few things are more firmly believed, few assertions more unhesitatingly repeated, than that the agricultural labourer is peculiarly unhappy in having no career. If you mean that not *every* agricultural labourer has any reasonable prospect of rising to be a farmer and employer of labourers under him, and not *every* labourer is at all likely to rise in the social scale and leave off a richer man than his father, then I should wish to be informed what class has a career. But if you mean that there is a dreadful law, of universal prevalence, which makes it impossible for *any* peasant to rise above the condition in which he was born, and which some express by saying 'Once a labourer always a labourer,' then I affirm unhesitatingly

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that for the county of Norfolk, the most purely agricultural county in England, such a statement is not only an exaggeration but a glaring misstatement of facts. Why, Norfolk swarms with tenant farmers, small and great, who have risen from the plough. Some of the very richest men in the county are men who have worked at 9*s.* a week and can barely write their names.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the cattle trade of the eastern counties is mainly in the hands of men who are sons of the plough.

No career! I protest it would be difficult to point to any industry in which the workmen of sterling character, physical energy, ambition, and only a little more than average sagacity are more sure to rise above the rank and file. The sot, whose paradise is the pothouse; the giggling fool, who is the butt of the harvest field; the knock-kneed imbecile, who cannot be trusted to drive a cow from market; the born poacher, who has a passion for prowling in plantations after dark, and who will never do a day's work if he has any hope of earning half as much at night; the sentimental softy—and we have such in Arcady—who loses his heart at seventeen, is a father at eighteen, and at nineteen is the husband of a dirty trollop who can neither cook nor sew: these and a host more have no career on the land, and in no conceivable line of life could they emerge from the residuum to which they belong. Ought such men to rise? Rise above whom? Rise above what? What system of promotion since the world began could be made to work, or ought to work, from which you excluded the condition of merit? Rights of man! Yes; man has rights, and they rise in proportion as he rises to the ideal of humanity. They lessen exactly in proportion as he sinks below that ideal. Some men have a right to a cow and three acres, and they will get it by their own strong wills and industry, their years of self-denial, frugality, and rectitude. Some men have a right to the tread-mill. Unhappily the latter are not so secure of getting their rights as the former. Right? Yes! The right of the worthiest. Once a labourer always a labourer! I'll find you fifty men, ten miles from the chair on which I am sitting, every one of whom was born in a hovel, every one of whom was educated in a village school or never educated at all, every one of whom has lived by day labour in his time, and every one of whom is himself more or less an employer of labour or occupier of land, by which he keeps himself and his family, owner of house or cow, some of them of flocks and herds—nay, some who are the freeholders of their own broad acres and who will hardly care to be classed among the Little ones.

Let me speak out and tell thy tale, Samuel Ringer—thou, with thy cheery face and cheery voice, whom none ever knew to grumble in drought or flood; thou, sitting in the chimney corner chuckling at that broad-browed, resolute wife of thine and calling up the days that were. That must have been a grand face of hers, with the shapely, powerful

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head and the deep-set eye. I wonder what the colour of the soft hair was in those days when thou wentest a-courting. Tell us all about it, Mr. Ringer, and let us hear.

'Well, you see, I always had good masters; and when I was a little boy there was Squire Balls as used to farm the manor farm at Bale. He warn't no squire, though we used to call him so, and he held about 500 acres, and it was a surprising large farm in those days. I got my first year 3*l.* and my victuals. There was five of us, men and boys, in the house, and we was engaged by the year. We was all engaged from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, and Michaelmas time Squire Balls paid us all our year's wages. Sometimes he'd take a man on again, sometimes he would not; and when folks took their wages they mostly used to go into Swaffham market; and such a piece of work as there used to be you never see. Just before Michaelmas my first year my brother Tom, who was five years older than I was, came to me, and he says, "Sam, you ain't going to Swaffham, are you? What call have you to spend your money? You come home and see father. Squire will give you leave." So I was overpersuaded and went home and stayed a Sunday with father. I spent my money same as other folks did. Aye! I spent it; for I gave it to father to take care on, and it was a goodish many years before I saw it any more. That's when I was fifteen, as far as I know, and I went on that way for eleven years, and it's as true as Gospel I never touched my wages all that time.

'Labouring men used not to care about clothes in those days as they do now. I used to have a slop on Sunday. I used to have a smart slop over everything. I used to go to church in it. When my shoes wore out mother used to get me a pair of new ones. I never asked where they came from. I don't mean I had only my wages, 'cause Squire Balls was wonderful fond of company, and there was gentlemen's horses to bring round of a night, and the hunting gentlemen used to go across the land, and they was wonderful free with their money sometimes. But I am telling you the truth: for eleven years I never touched my wages; my father put them all into Day's bank at Swaffham, and when he died, and I were twenty-six years old, there they were and a tidy bit of money more.'

Mr. Ringer declined to tell me the sum total of the capital at his disposal when at the age of thirty-two he took unto him his wife, she being thirty-three, and he became the tenant of a public-house with fourteen acres of land, for which he paid 57*l.* a year, rates and taxes and tithes not included. 'He wanted to charge me 60*l.*,' added Mr. Ringer, 'but I made him knock off three; 60*l.* was really, I said, oudacious.'

What's he worth now? There are other things the wise won't tell you besides what religion they are of. Has he made a fortune? Such men don't make fortunes; they save them. If there were as many wise men out of Arcady as there are in it there would be rather a

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brisk competition for those two stalwart sons of thine, friend Ringer, with such blood as thine and hers in their veins. Trust them? with a million!

An altogether different creature from my worthy friend Ringer is Jehu the jobber. (In Norfolk a cattle dealer is commonly called a jobber.) I made his acquaintance in a third-class carriage. I have very rarely met a man of brighter, stronger, clearer brain. But Jehu is not a model character. To begin with, his language is profane from long habit—'given over to *damson* tart like,' as they say in Arcady. He must be a man verging on sixty; sharp as a needle, active as a cat, wide awake as a weazel and as fearless. He kept us all convulsed with laughter for miles. 'Tell us a story, Jehu; now du,' cried one. 'Tell us your own story, Mr. Jehu,' said I. He turned on me with a bright twinkle of his roguish eye. 'Where'm I to begin?' I felt the man could have turned me inside out in five minutes if he pleased and have made me a laughing-stock, and I was rather nervous. 'How did you get your first foothold on the Hill—how did you make your first money?' Jehu laughed. 'Foothold? Borrowed the parson's *butes* till Sunday. Money? I see an old chap by the roadside and jumped on his back and turned out his pockets.' We all laughed, but Jehu thereupon opened the flood-gates. He had never been to school, not he. Crow-keeping was his earliest employment, then anything. He was proud of the endurance he had shown in mowing, and gave us almost incredible accounts of the number of hours he had kept on working at a stretch. Jehu is a trifle below middle height, but he must have been a man of extraordinary strength in his time. He was driven to Norwich cattle market by finding himself out of work. He applied to a money-lender on 'the Hill.' Observe the man was not worth a shilling in the world—a mere labourer, the son of a labourer. I forget the term he used in speaking of this money-lender, but on my expressing surprise Jehu opened his eyes on me as if he would say, 'Well, you *are* an innocent.' It appears there are hosts of small money-lenders in the purlieus of the cattle markets, who make advances to speculators 'with *an eye*;' and Jehu told me he had borrowed as much as 200*l.* at a time on Friday on condition of repaying 220*l.* on Saturday night. 'I'm past that now,' he said. 'Gurneys gnaw me, and I gnaw them.' His first venture was a lot of pigs. 'I went and borrowed 17*l.* to buy 'em with, and I sold 'em all but three for 22*l.* 10*s.*; and I had *only* to pay 19*l.* to the old chap that lent me the money. So I had nothing to complain of.' His difficulties with the three pigs nobody would buy he described in the most inimitable way. Clearly there may be worse encumbrances than a white elephant. The poor animals were starving, 'and they *shrook* that bad I was right vexed, and they didn't take no heed o' me when I told 'em to hold their noise,' &c. &c. &c. That was the beginning of Jehu's success. He is a man of substance

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now—is a freeholder and a dealer in a large way, and *by no means* the only large cattle jobber who lives to laugh at the fallacy that the labourer has no career. Yes, and, curiously enough, by no means the only one of that class who cannot read, and yet who have mastered that accomplishment of scrawling their names at the bottom of a cheque, herein surpassing that scholarly monarch 'whose sign for Rex was the letter X.' Such men as Jehu may be counted by the dozen; everybody knows them. They are, it must be confessed, a rough, coarse lot as a rule, and men whose power of absorbing drink is dreadful. That is the curse of the cattle market. Jehu assumed that a man who couldn't take his allowance 'without forgetting of hisself' was a man without brains. 'I don't mean to say as it's a thing as ought to be—there's a deal too much liquor. I don't want it, and there's lots o' men as would be best wi'out it. But it's the brains as holds it, and if you can't hold it, why, you don't stand a chance.' Jehu's creed is a simple one: no working man need live and die 'on the land' who has brains and *can walk straight*. But walking straight involves a very great deal. In Jehu's lips it is a most pregnant phrase.

Let it not be supposed that only men of very extraordinary gifts, like Jehu, can emerge from the low condition of the agricultural labourer. You may find them in every stage of progress from the plough to the manor house.[5] Mr. Clare Read's remarkable challenge is full of significance, and must produce its effect, but the question whether a man can or cannot live and thrive and save money on four acres does not end where Mr. Read leaves it. In point of fact, no man whose *main* source of livelihood is the produce of four acres ever thinks of making that his *only* source; but his time is his own, and he has the opportunity of making the most of it. He has surplus labour to sell, and almost invariably he has some ingenious device for increasing his earnings. In the name of common sense why should he not? Who finds fault with his hatter for selling umbrellas, or his grocer for selling wines? Do we not all supplement our incomes—the big man by being put upon the directorship of a company, the little man by accepting an agency for an insurance society, the young lady whose pin money is scant by illustrating books, or the clerk in the post office by writing them?

There is John Doggit yonder, on his farm of six acres, for which he pays an extortionate rent. He is in a fair way of becoming owner of many more than six acres before old age surprises him. He is a coal dealer in a small way; he does a little carting for his neighbours; he turns an honest penny by horse hire; he buys horses for the

[5] I am ready to make a contract with any able-bodied labourers on my estate to give them as their wages the *gross saleable produce* of four acres of land. I will pay the rent, the tithe, the tax. I will find the capital, the machinery, the implements, the seed, the manure. I will insure the crop, pay the tradesmen's bills, harvest the corn, thresh it, sell it, and deliver it. But would the labourer accept these terms? He would be a fool if he did.'—*Speech of Mr. C. S. Read* at Dereham, October 30, 1883.

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knackers. 'I shouldn't like to work like Doggit,' says his neighbour Rossin, who slinks into the 'Green Man' six times a week when he knocks off at 4 P.M. Of course you wouldn't, friend Rossin, but then you are one of the easygoing ones and Doggit is of a different fibre. You have a notion that toil came in with the Fall; he believes that only by toil can a man hope to rise. Such men work harder than the labourer. Do they? Of course they do, because they don't wish to remain labourers. They count the cost and readily pay the price—the price of a career. So Doggit's wife looks after the fowls and sells the eggs to such men as Rossin. He pays the penny and eats the egg with his knife. She pockets the penny and puts it in the money box, and thrift has its reward. You may call it a miserable, miserly way of going on. The point in dispute is whether the labourer need always be a labourer; the question whether it is worth while to be anything else is a different one, which Doggit answers one way and Rossin another.

'I don't hold with scrapin' and scrapin',' says Mrs. Rossin. Perhaps not. Let us keep to our point. Is it true that once a labourer always a labourer?

It is but fair, however, to state my conviction that under no ordinary circumstances can the working man of the country hope to rise in the social scale who has married the wrong woman. I do not remember a single instance of a man with a limp and slatternly wife 'doing much good.' 'A bad wife,' in Jehu's terse phraseology, 'is worse than the devil.' I did not reprove him for his unparliamentary language, fearing lest he should strengthen it in the repetition. 'You mean, Mr. Jehu,' said I, 'that the personage you have named is not always present, and the wife always is.' Jehu 'twinked with his little eye,' and understood that I protested, as his reverence always should.

Some of the most successful men I know—I mean in our small Arcadian way—are no more than the husbands of their wives. It seems easy enough for a woman to make a man of her husband; it seems impossible for the husband to make anything of his wife if she is of the wrong sort. You may find examples of the first operation wherever you turn. It was Mrs. Shrub who turned Billy Shrub into Mr. Shrub. I should like to see the human being who would have dared at any time of her life to call Mrs. Shrub *Sally*. You may take it as a law with few exceptions that the man whose friends call him 'Willy' at forty will never make his way in the world. You may take it as a law that admits of *no* possible exception that a married woman who is called by her neighbours 'Sally' is at best a flabby, feeble, helpless incompetent. Not such an one is Mrs. Shrub. She milks the cows, she tends the poultry, she gathers the eggs, she talks to the bees, she looks after the piglings, she bakes the bread and brews the beer for harvest, she keeps the banking-book, she tells Mr. Shrub what he has to do and he does it. But for his

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spouse Shrub would have been a hedger and ditcher to this hour, as he was till he came maundering after Miss Tasker thirty years ago, and was sent about his business and told that she hadn't saved 14*l.* to give it to the first fool that asked her. In three years Mr. Shrub had 20*l.* to show that he had laid by, and Miss Tasker's capital had grown also. Now they are in as pleasant a little house as you need wish to see. They say they don't care to have more than sixty acres, 'because, you see, we're a-getting up in the tooth, and we don't know as we could make it answer to move into a larger occupation.' But—and it is a very notable *but*—they have managed to set up their son in a farm twice as large as their own, and his landlord only regrets that he cannot be tempted to increase his holding.

Once a labourer always a labourer? Fiddlesticks!

I should only weary my readers if I multiplied examples which have come under my own observation without going a yard out of my way to seek for them—of men who have risen from the plough to an independent social position. The real difficulty comes with the sons of such men. *They* are apt now and then to be ashamed of their fathers' boast and to give themselves airs. When they take to that they almost invariably go to the bad. But that there is any real difficulty in the way of the intelligent, vigorous, sober, and self-denying farm labourer making for himself a career is a delusion—such a delusion as has been fostered by mere reiteration, 'that process which makes the wisest do the will of fools,' and which, if persisted in long enough and loudly enough, even in our nineteenth century, would make the million believe that the Ptolemaic system was right after all.

. . . . . .

British agriculture is not dead. Farmers will always grumble, sometimes with and sometimes without a cause; but, as a body, they are not the men to whine and wail and sit down in the chimney corner and let things go. They don't like changing their habits and adopting new methods of tillage and accommodating themselves to every change of circumstances that may arise. 'Let 'em alone and they'll come round somehow.'

Nor is all the land of this country going to be bought up by moneyed men just yet. The Pharaoh who shall be the one great monopolist of land in Britain is not yet born, nor his great-grandfather either. In England capital will always be more widely distributed than it was in Egypt, and it will continue to be so till we begin to build pyramids. Nor are the Little ones going to be swept away. The 'little and good' will still hold their own. The law is not against them, whatever Mrs. Grimbley may aver, nor is public opinion, nor is 'Ma'am Nature,' who goes on in her placid way with smiles of irony at our idle schemes to arrest her course or divert

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it. The Little ones are not doomed to be swallowed up.[6] They are the whales that have a tendency to become extinct—the whales and the mammoths, the megatherium and the dinornis. The sprats and the herrings hold their own, the flocks do not sensibly diminish, and the sparrows chirp a saucy defiance to all the bones of all the dodos. Such *facts* as Lord Tollemache's Peckford estate, in Cheshire, or the state of things in the Isle of Axholme, as described by Mr. Impey, do not stand alone; they are not isolated instances. So far from it, in large districts of this country they are much nearer the rule than the exception. Unhappily Mrs. Grimbley and her set, pinning their faith to the Rights of Man, do not read the *Times* newspaper.

Least of all can the position taken up by so generous and earnest a philanthropist as A. Y. be allowed to pass unchallenged. He asserts as though it were axiomatic that 'it is almost impossible for a peasant to rise in the social scale.' I believe that to be just as true, and no truer, as the converse that 'it is almost impossible for the peasant's employer to *fall* in the social scale.' If it ever should come to this, that any class among us sank to the helpless condition of a caste from which there was no rising, it would mean that a horde of pariahs had grown up in our midst, among whom enterprise and self-respect were palsied. Will anyone tell me that the new electorate are so hopelessly degraded? England's backbone is not broken, nor are the hard-handed tillers of the soil much worse than they were. Among them too there are those who have a career—not the mere voluble talkers who never did work and never intend to, not the men of mere cleverness (for that is as common as dirt and almost as cheap), but the men of 'upright will and downright action,' the men of sterling character. To such men opportunities to rise in the social scale will come or they will make them. Who was it who used to say he did not understand the meaning of that word 'impossibility'? The peasantry themselves do not believe in any such impossibility to rise above their low estate. You who profess to commiserate their lot will find it hard to convince the objects of your pity. But if you succeed—and you will succeed most easily with the worst and the weakest and the wickedest among them—peradventure you may discover that these downtrodden serfs are not as submissive as they should be, and on occasion may startle even you with their ferocity. From you who have preached up their wrongs they will sooner or later look for redress, and such redress as will cost you something more than the sport of flinging Christians to the lions.

Maddened by the futile chase that promised so much and brought them so little, the hounds of Actæon turned on their huntsman at last.

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

[6] 'The bigger the taters the worse the rot,' was Mrs. Shrub's observation to me last year. 'I don't hold wi' growing they thunderers; them *magnum bonums* is my sort.' I wondered whether she meant the *parvum bonums*—the Little ones.

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A PEDANTIC NUISANCE.

In this age of historical research and archaic realism, there is growing up a custom which, trivial and plausible in its beginnings, may become a nuisance and a scandal to literature. It is the custom of re-writing our old familiar proper names; of re-naming places and persons which are household words: heirlooms in the English language.

At first sight there seems something to be said for the fashion of writing historical names as they were written or spoken by contemporary men. To the thoughtless it suggests an air of scholarship and superior knowledge, gathered at first hand from original sources. Regarded as the coat-armour of some giant of historical research, there is something piquant in the unfamiliar writing of familiar names; and it is even pleasant to hear a great scholar talk of the mighty heroes as if he remembered them when a boy, and had often seen their handwriting himself. When Mr. Grote chose to write about *Kekrops*, *Krete*, *Kleopatra*, and *Perikles*, we were gratified by the peculiarity; and we only wondered why he retained *Cyrus*, *Centaur*, *Cyprus* and *Thucydides*. And when Professor Freeman taught us to speak of 'Charles the Great,' and gave us three black marks for *Charlemagne*; or when, in the *Saturday Review*, we read about the *Battle of Senlac*, we all feel that we are superior people; and that to talk of *Hastings* would be a cockneyism.

But, in these days, the historical schools are growing in numbers and range. There are no longer merely Attic enthusiasts, and Somersætan champions, but other ages and races have thrown up their own historiographers and bards. There are 'Middle-English' as well as 'Old-English' votaries,—and Eliza-ists, and Jacob-ists, and Ann-ists. Then there are the French, the German, the Italian, the Norse schools, to say nothing of Ægyptologists, Hebraists, Sanscrit-ists, Accadians, Hittites, Moabites, and Cuneiform-ists. It becomes a very serious question, what will be the end of the English language if all of these are to have their way, and are to re-baptize the most familiar heroes of our youth and to re-spell the world-famous names.

Each specialist is full of his own era and subject, and is quite willing to leave the rest of the historical field to the popular style. But there is a higher tribunal beyond; and those who care for history as a whole, and for English literature in the sum, wonder how far this

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revival in orthography is to be carried. Let us remember that, both in space and in time, there is a vast body of opinion of which account must be taken. There is the long succession of ages, there is the cultivated world of Europe and America, in both of which certain names have become traditional and customary. And if every knot of students is to re-name at will familiar persons and historic places, historical tradition and the custom of the civilised world are wantonly confused. This true filiation in literary history is of far more importance than any alphabetic precision.

About forty years ago, Mr. Grote began the practice of re-setting the old Greek names; but his spelling has not commended itself to the world. There seems much to be said for *Themistokles* and *Kleon*; but when we were asked to write *Korkyra* and *Krete*, we felt that the filiation of *Corcyra* and *Crete* with Latin and the modern tongues was needlessly disturbed. *Kirke*, *Kilikia*, *Perdikkas*, *Katana*, seemed rather harsh and too subversive. And if *Sophokles* and *Sokrates* are right, why *Æschylus* and *Æneas*, in lieu of *Aischulos* and *Aineias*? Besides, on what ground stop short at a *k*, leaving the vowels to a Latin corruption? The modern Greeks call the author of the Iliad—*Oměros*; and the victor of Marathon—*Meelteeaâthes*; and it is highly probable that this is far nearer the true pronunciation than are *Homer* and *Miltiades*. To be consistent, we shall have to talk of *Aias*, *Odusseus*, *Purrhos*, *Lukourgos*, *Thoukudides*, *Oidipous*, *Aischulos*, and *Kirke*, wantonly interrupting the whole Greco-Roman filiation. And, whilst we plunge orthography into a hopeless welter, we shall stray even farther from the true ancient pronunciation. In the result, English literature has rejected the change with an instinctive sense that it would involve us in quicksands; and would to no sufficient purpose break the long tradition which bound Greece with Rome, and both with European literary customs.

Mr. Carlyle would have all true men speak of *Friedrich* and *Otto*; the *Kurfürst* of *Köln*; of *Trier*, *Prag*, *Regensburg*, and *Schlesien*. But then he is quite willing to speak like any common person about *Mahomet* and the *Koran*, of *Clovis* and *Lothar*, of a *Duke* of *Brunswick*, and of *Charles Amadeus of Savoy*; he anglicizes *Marseille*, *Preussen*, *Oesterreich*, and *Sachsen*; nay, he actually talks about 'Charlemagne' at 'Aix-la-Chapelle.' Tradition and English literature are in fact too strong for him, except where he wishes to be particularly affectionate or unusually impressive. I venture to think that *Frederick* and *Cologne* are names so deeply embedded in our English speech that there is nothing affectionate or impressive in the effort to uproot them by foreign words which the mass of Englishmen cannot pronounce. It is ridiculous to write 'the *Kurfürst* of *Köln*.' It should be '*der Kurfürst von Köln*.' But, then, we had better write in German at once.

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Of all the historical schools, that of Professor Freeman has been the most revolutionary in its method, and the most exacting in its demands. They go to their work of re-naming the personages of English history with the confident zeal of the Municipal Council in Paris, who will re-name a dozen historic streets in a morning sitting. It began by an onslaught on 'Charlemagne' and the 'Anglo-Saxons;' and now to use either of these familiar old names is to be guilty of something which is almost a vulgarism, if not an impertinence. We have all learned to speak by the card of *Karl* and the *Old English*; and it does us good. This, however, was but the first trumpet before the battle. One by one, the familiar names of English history, the names that recur in every family, were recast into something grotesque in look and often very hard indeed to pronounce. *Ecgberht*, *Cnut*, or *Knud*, the *Hwiccas*, *Ælfthryth*, *Hrofesceaster*, and *Cantwara-byryg* had rather a queer look. *Chlotachar*, *Chlodowig*, *Hrotland*, were not pleasing. But when we are asked to give up *Alfred*, *Edward*, and *Edgar*, and to speak of *Ælfred*, *Eadweard*, and *Eadgar*, we begin to reflect and to hark back.

Alfred, Edward, and Edgar are names which for a thousand years have filled English homes, and English poetry and prose. To re-write those names is to break the tradition of history and literature at once. It is no doubt true that the contemporaries of these kings before the Conquest did, when writing in the vernacular, spell their names with the double vowels we are now invited to restore. But is that a sufficient reason? We are not talking their dialect, nor do we use their spelling. We write in modern English, not in old English; the places they knew, the titles they held, the words they used, have to be modernised, if we wish to be understood ourselves. We cannot preserve exactly either the sounds they uttered, or the phrases they spoke, or the names of places and offices familiar to them. Why then need we be curious to spell their names as their contemporaries did, when we have altered all else—pronunciation, orthography, titles, and indeed the entire outer form of the language? The precision for which we vainly strive in the spelling of names is after all a makeshift, very imperfectly observed by any one, and entirely neglected by others. And it has the defect of ignoring a long and suggestive unity in history, language and common civilisation.

It may be true that the contemporaries of 'Edward the Elder,' 'Edward the Martyr,' and 'Edward the Confessor' spelt the name *Eadward*, or *Eadweard*, if they wrote in English, though they did not usually do so when they wrote it in Latin. But did the 'Edwards' of Plantagenet so spell their name; or 'Edward' Tudor; and will 'Edward the Seventh' so spell his name? And is *Alfred*, a name to conjure with wherever the English speech is heard, to be severed from the great king? 'Alfred' is a familiar name just as

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'king' is a familiar title; and it is as pedantic to insist on archaic forms of the name as it would be to insist on the Saxon form of the office. Since *Edward* was not called by his contemporaries either 'King' or 'The Elder,' what do we gain by such a hybrid phrase as '*King Eadweard the Elder*'? We might just as well write—'*Agamemnon*, the *anax andron* of Greece,' or '*Alexandros*, the famous king of Μακεδονία.'

It is only a half-hearted realism which writes, '*Eadweard* was now King of all England.' It should run, '*Eadweard* was now *Cyning* of all *Engla-land*.' It is quite correct to write in modern English, 'King Edward marched from London to York.' Here, the proper names are all alike adapted to our vernacular. It is an anachronism, or an anarchaism, to write, 'King *Eadweard* marched from London to York.' It ought to run, if we are bent on writing pure Old English, '*Eadweard Cyning* marched from *Lundenbyryg* to *Eoforwíc*.' That is the real *couleur locale*; but the general reader could hardly stand many pages of this. It is not true in fact that '*Æthelberht* lived at Canterbury.' He lived at '*Cant-wara-byryg*.' *Ethelbert*, however, may properly be said to have lived at *Canterbury*. For thirteen centuries *Canterbury* and *York* have been famous centres of our English life. Except in a parenthesis, or in a monograph, it would be a nuisance to mention them under the cumbrous disguises of '*Eoforwíc*' and '*Cant-wara-byryg*;' and for precisely the same reason it is a nuisance to read, *Ælfred*, *Ecgberht*, and *Eadweard*.

Where is it going to stop? Ours is an age of archæology, revival, and research; and in no field is research more active than in Biblical and other Oriental history. The grand familiar names, which have had a charm for us from childhood, which have kindled the veneration of a long roll of centuries, are all being 'restored' to satisfy an antiquarian purism. We shall soon be invited to call *Moses Môsheh*, as his contemporaries did. *Judah* should be written *Yehûdu*; Jacob will be *Ya'aqób*. Our old friend *Job* will appear, clothed and in his right mind, as *Iyob*. The prophet *Elijah* is *Eliyahu*; and the prophet *Isaiah* is now metamorphosed into *Yeshayahu*. Imagine how our descendants will have to re-write the lines:—

> O thou my voice inspire,
> Who touch'd *Yeshayahu's* hallow'd lips with fire.

And the teacher will have to explain to our grandchildren that '*Isaiah*' is an old vulgarism for *Yeshayahu*. 'Jerusalem the Golden' will appear in the children's hymns as *Yerûshalaïm*; and when we speak of the walls of *Jericho* we must sneeze and say *J'recho*. We must say—the Proverbs of *Shĕlômôh*. But this is not the end of it. The very names in men's prayers and devotions must be reformed.

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Catholics must learn to say their Aves to '*Mariám*'; and the Protestant must meditate on the 'Blood of *Jehoshua*.'

The historical mind will so have it. It has laid down a rigid canon that proper names should be spelt in the form in which their contemporaries wrote them. And if *Alfred*, a name which for so many centuries has been a watchword to the English race, is to be 'restored' into *Ælfred*, because he and his so spoke it and wrote it, by the same rule must we speak and write of *Jehoshua* of Nazareth, using the same letters in which the Scribes and Pharisees of his day recorded the name in official Hebrew. The historical mind has said it; and English literature, custom, the vernacular speech, poetry, patriotism, and devotion, must all give way.

The historical mind has an almost unlimited field; and all the names it records will have to be 'restored' in turn. When *Môsheh* led forth the people of *Yehûda* to the promised *Yerûshalaïm*, he really led them out of *Chemi* or *Kebt-hor*, not out of 'Egypt,' which is a Greek corruption. And *Pí-Re* and all his host were drowned in the *Yâm-Sûph*; for of course *Red Sea* is a mere translation of a late Hellenic term. About the central Asian monarchies we fortunately have an imperishable and infallible record; for the great king himself inscribed on the eternal rock the names of his ancestors and his contemporaries. It is therefore inexcusable in us if we continue to write the names of Oriental sovereigns in the clumsy corruptions of ignorant Greeks.

All history contains no record more authentic than the sculptured rock of Behistun, whereon the names of the great kings stand graven in characters as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and the Persians. 'Darius,' we used to write in our ignorant way, 'became King of Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, and Egypt.' Not so was it said by them of old time; not Darius, but *Dárayavush*; not king, but *Khsháyathiya*. So, then, the geography lessons of our grandsons will run, '*Dârayavush* was the *Khsháyathiya* of *Pársa*, of *'Uvaja*, of *Bábirush*, of *Athurá*, of *Arabáya*, of *Mudráya*.' The entire orthography of the Median and Persian Dynasties is now complete and exact. It was not 'Cyrus' who founded the Persian Empire, as we used to be told: it was *Kuraush*. The famous king who perished in the desert was *Kabujiya*, the son of *Kuraush*. And both, beside their own ancestral dominion of *Pársa*, ruled over the mighty world-famous city of *Bábirum*, and the country which lay between the rivers *Tigrám* and *Ufrátauvá*. Oriental history is at last as simple as an infant's A B C.

And we are now able to record the immortal tale of the war between *Hellas* and *Pársa* with some regard for orthographic accuracy. It was *Khshayárshá* who mustered the millions of Asia in the great struggle which ended in the glorious battles of the *Hot Gates* and of *Psyttaleia*. His great generals, *Ariyabhaja* and *Munduniya*, met

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the Hellenic hoplites only to court defeat; and *Khshayârshá*, the son of *Dâryavush*, at length withdrew from a land which seemed fatal to the entire race of *Hakhámanish*, and sought rest in his luxurious palace of *'Uvaja*. So will run the Hellenic histories of the future, in an orthography not quite so cacophonous and hieroglyphic as many a page in the *Making of England*.

Oriental literature is making vast strides, and the authentic books of the East are daily brought closer and clearer to our firesides. And under the influence of this learning our very children are coming to be familiar with the new dress of the old names. We have grown out of 'Mahomet,' 'Moslem,' 'Koran,' and 'Hegira,' and we are careful to write *Muhammad*, *Muslim*, *Qur'ân*, and *Hejra*. For our old friend *Mahomet* and his *Koran* various professors contend. *Mohammed*, *Muhammad*, *Mahmoud*, and *Mehemet* have had their day; and now they are contending whether *Qur'ân* or *Qorân* best represents the exact cacophony of the native Arabic. And so on through the whole series of famous Oriental names: the *Zend-Avesta*, or *Avesta*, the *Upanishads*, *K'ung Foo-tsze*, *Tsze-Kung*, and *Tsze-Sze*. Scholars, of course, have to tell us all about the *Sukhâvatî-Vyûha* and the *Pragñâ-Pâramitâ-Hridaya-Sûtra*; but the question is, if the rising generation will ever be familiarised with these elaborate names.

It may be doubted if, after all, the exact equivalent of these foreign sounds can ever be presented to the English reader by any system of phonetic spelling; all the more when this spelling has to call to its aid an elaborate system of circumflex, diphthong, comma, italic, breathing, Sh'va and Dâghesh, most alien to the genius of our language. Can a man, unlearned in the respective tongues, pronounce *K'ung-Foo-tsze*, *Kurfürst of Köln*, *Qur'ân*, with any real correctness? And, if he cannot, is it worth while to upset the practice of Europe for centuries, and so vast a concurrence of literature, for the sake of a phonetic orthography which is almost picture-writing in its lavish use of symbols: and all in pursuit of an accuracy which can never be consistently adopted? It may look very learned, but is it common sense?

It so happens that almost all of the founders of religions in the East are known to us by certain familiar names, which are obviously not the actual names they bore in their lifetime; but which for centuries have passed current in the literary speech of Europe. *Confucius*, *Mencius*, *Bouddha*, *Zoroaster*, *Mahomet*, *Moses*, and *Jesus* are popular adaptations of names which the European languages could not easily assimilate. As such those names are embedded in a thousand works of poetry, history, and criticism, and have gathered round them an imposing mass of interest and tradition. Is it not almost an outrage to discard these old associations and to re-baptize these hoary elders with the newfangled literalism of phonetic

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pedantry? *Kung-Foo-tsze*, *Măng-tsze*, *Sâkyamouni*, or *Siddhârtha*, *Zarathustra* or *Zerdusht*, *Muhammad*, *Môsheh*, and *Jehoshua*, may be attempts to imitate the sounds emitted by their contemporaries in Asia, but they are an offence in Europe in the nineteenth century, which has long known these mighty teachers under names that association has hallowed to our ears. If scholarship requires us to sacrifice these old familiar names, the necessity applies to all alike. If we are henceforth to talk of the *Qur'ân* of *Muhammad*, we had better give out the first lesson in church from the *Torath* of the law-giver *Môsheh*.

And, of course, our Roman history will have to be 'restored.' '*Romans*,' '*Etruscans*,' '*Tarquin*,' '*Appius Claudius*,' and the rest are now the *Ramnes*, the *Ras-ennœ*, *Tarchnaf*, and *Attus Clauzus*. What is to be the final issue of that bottomless pit of Roman embryology Dr. Mommsen only knows. Whether, when he has at last leapt into it, like Curtius in the Forum, that awful chasm will close, men know not yet. All that we now behold is a weltering gulf of *Ramnes*, *Tities*, *Sabelli*, *Ras*, *Curites*, where archaic and ethnologic fumes roll upwards incessantly, as from an unfathomable crater. Some day we shall know what was the true, unpronounced, and undivulged name of *Rome*; and what is the true phonetic equivalent of '*Romulus*' and '*Numa*,' of '*Tarquin*' and '*Brutus*.' We are even now in a position to speak with accuracy of the later history. When they come to the Punic wars, our boys and girls in the Board-schools of the twentieth century will learn to say:—'The great contest now begins between the *Ramnes* and the *Chna-ites* of the mighty city of *Kereth-Hadeshoth*; '*An-nee-baal*, the son of '*Am-Melech-Kirjath*, proved himself the greatest general of antiquity; but, when he was overwhelmed in the final defeat of *Naraggara*, the city of Queen *Jedidiah* fell before the irresistible valour of the worshippers of *Diovispater*.' And when the young scholars get down to the *Kym-ry* and the *Gâltachd*, the *Vergo-breiths*, *Ver-kenn-kedo-righ*, *Or-kedo-righ*, *Cara-dawg*, and *Heer-fürst*, may mercy keep their poor little souls! There are *Gâltachd-ic*, and *Kym-ric*, and *Duitisch* enthusiasts, as well as those of *Wessex* and *Gwent*. I understand there are people even now who want us to call Paris—*Loukh-teith*.

A very large proportion of famous men have been known in history and commemorated in literature under names other than those given to them by their godfathers and their godmothers in their baptism, or those that were entered in the parish register. Under those names we love them, think of them, and feel akin to them. Their names are household words: a part of European literature, and fill us with kindly and filial feelings. These good old names are being steadily supplanted by the alphabetic martinets who recall us to the register with all the formalism of a parish clerk or a herald from the College. Not *Molière*, but *Poquelin*; not *Voltaire*,

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but *Arouet*; not *George Sand*, but the *Baroness Dudevant*; not *Madame de Sévigné*, but *Marie de Rabutin-Chantal*. It will soon be a sign of ignorance to speak of *Tom Jones* and *Becky Sharp*. It will be *Thomas Summer, Esq., Junior, J. P.*, and *Mrs. Joseph Sedley*. We shall soon have the '*Essays of Viscount St. Albans*' and the '*Letters of the Earl of Oxford*.'

Every reader is familiar with the consummate perfection of the Library of the British Museum, the glory of British, the envy of foreign scholars. And it gives one an awful sense of the growth of this form of purism to watch it invading our noble library. Go to the Catalogue and turn to *Voltaire*, and you will read '*Voltaire*, see *Arouet*;' and you will have to trudge to the other end of the enormous alphabet. Why *Arouet*? What has his legal name to do with a writer who put his name, *Voltaire*, on the title-page of thousands of editions, and never on one, *Arouet*? And *Molière*?—is not *Molière*, as a name, a part of modern literature? Mr. Andrew Lang tells a most delightful story of a printer, who found in his 'copy' some reference to 'the *Scapin* of *Poquelin*.' This hopelessly puzzled him, till a bright idea struck his inventive mind, and he printed it—'the *Scapin* of *M. Coquelin*.'

Turn, in the Reference Catalogue of the Museum, to *Madame de Sévigné*, and we read:—'*Sévigné, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, Marchioness de*:—see *Rabutin-Chantal*.' Why should we 'see' *Rabutin-Chantal*? That was her maiden-name; and since she married at eighteen, and her works are letters to her daughter, it seems a little odd to dub an elderly mamma of rank by her maiden-name. And what in the name of precision is '*Marchioness de*'? It is like saying '*Mister Von Goethe*.' Once attempt a minute heraldic accuracy, and endless confusion results. Why need '*Mrs. Nicholls*' appear in the catalogue of the works of *Currer Bell*? And why need *George Eliot* be entered as *Marian Evans*—a name which the great novelist did not bear either in literature or in private life?

If we apply the baptismal theory strictly to history, universal confusion will result. Law students will have to study the Digest of *Uprauda*. His great general will be *Beli-Tzar*. And, by the same rule, the heroic *Saladin* becomes *Salah-ed-deen*, or rather, *Malek-Nasser-Yousouf*; *Dante* becomes *Durante Alighieri*; *Joan of Arc*, *Jeanne Darc*; *Copernicus* is *Kopernik*; and *Columbus* becomes *Cristóbal Colon*. If baptismal registers are decisive, we must turn '*Erasmus*' into *Gerhardt Praet*; '*Melanchthon*' into *Schwarzerd*; and '*Scaliger*' into *Bordoni*. There is no more reason to change '*Alfred*' into *Ælfred* and '*Frederick*' into *Friedrich* than there would be to transform the great sailor into *Cristóbal Colon*, and to talk about the *Code* of *Uprauda*.

And the dear old painters, almost every one of whom has a familiar cognomen which has made the tour of the civilised world. What a

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nuisance it is to read in galleries and catalogues *Vecellio*, *Vannucci*, and *Cagliari*, in lieu of our old friends *Titian*, *Perugino*, and *Veronese*! *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo*, *Masaccio* and *Tintoretto*, are no more: 'restorers' in oil are renewing for us the original brilliancy of their hues; whilst 'restorers' in ink are erasing the friendly old nicknames with '*vera copias*' of the baptismal certificates in their hands. Every chit of an æsthete will talk to you about the *Cenacolo*, or the *Sposalizio*, of *Sanzio*; and the *Paradiso* in the *Palazzo Ducale*; though these words are nearly the limit of his entire Italian vocabulary.

This new polyglott language of historians and artists is becoming, in fact, the speech which is known to the curious as *maccaronic*. It recalls the famous lines of our youth:—'*Trumpeter unus erat, coatum qui scarlet habebat.*' I remember an Anglo-maniac and sporting Italian nobleman, who was once heard to say, 'In *Firenze* I bought an Inglis mare; he was full; and when I voyaged to *Napoli*, there came a leetle horsey boy.' Into this maccaronic piebald, history and art are now being translated. 'Bless thee, Bottom, bless thee, thou art translated!'

There are two fatal impediments to this attempt at reproducing archaic sounds. It is at best but a clumsy symbolism of unpronounceable vocables, and it never is, and never can be, consistently applied. *Æthelthryth*, *Hrofesceaster*, and *Gruffydd* are grotesque agglomerations of letters to represent sounds which are not familiar to English ears, or utterable by English lips. The 'Old-English' school *pur sang* do not hesitate to fill whole sentences of what is meant to be modern and popular English with these choking words. Professor Freeman actually uses obsolete letters in an English sentence. Now, I venture to say that English literature requires a work which is intended to take a place in it, to be written in the English language. In mere glossaries, commentaries, and philological treatises, the obsolete letters and obsolete spelling have their place. But in literature, the ð and þ are as completely dead as a Greek Digamma.

The most glaring defect of this 'Neo-Saxonism' is its inconsistency. Human nature would revolt if all the schools were to adopt the same rule; but each separate school contradicts itself in the same page. It is curious that the 'Old-English' school wantonly modernise the spelling of names which happen not to be 'Old-English.' They first mangle the traditions of English literature by twisting household words into an archaic form; and then, in the case of names of the Latin race, they mangle the traditions of English and of foreign literature at once, by twisting other household words into a modern Anglicised form. Mr. Freeman writes in his great history, '*Ælfred* compared with *Lewis IX.*' Now, here is a double violation of the traditions of English literature; not on the same, but on two contradictory principles. '*Saint Louis*' is as familiar to us as '*Alfred.*' In French and in English, the

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name has long been written *Louis*, which is certainly the actual French form. But, as *Saint Louis* was only a Frenchman, and not a West-Saxon, his true name is to be Anglicised into what (in spite of Macaulay) is little better than a vulgarism. And *Alfred*, who is West-Saxon *pur sang*, is promoted or 'translated' into *Ælfred*. If *Lewis* can be shown to be literary English (and there is something to be said for that suggestion) one would not object. But by that rule, *Alfred* must stand; for assuredly that is literary English. One cannot have it both ways, except on the childish assumption that you intend to spell none but your own pets with archaic precision.

William the Conqueror, the great subject of Mr. Freeman's great book, was king of England for some twenty-one years, and one of the mightiest kings who ever ruled here. In Latin, his contemporaries called him *Willelmus*, *Wilielmus*, or *Wilgelmus*; in French, *Guillaume*, or *Willame*; in English, *Willelm*. We have his charter in English to this day; which runs, '*Willelm Kyng gret Willelm Bisceop.*' Now, if we are obliged to write *Ælfred*, and *Eadward*, why not write the Conqueror in one of the forms that his contemporaries used? But no; the great founder of the new English monarchy never got over the original sin of being a Frenchman; and so he is modernised like any mere '*Lewis*,' or '*Henry*,' or '*Philip*.'

In the case of English kings, their wives and relations, of non-English blood, Mr. Freeman can leave them to the vulgar tongue. It is *William*, *Henry*, *Margaret*, *Matilda*, *Mary*, *Stephen*, and so on. No doubt it would look very odd in an English history to read about our sovereign '*Stephne* (or *Estienne*) fighting with the *Kaiserinn Mathildis*.' But then, what is the good of all this precision if it is so grossly inconsistent? They who insist on talking of *Elsass* and *Lothringen* write, like the rest of us, *Venice* and *Florence*. And Mr. Freeman, who is quite content with *William* and *Stephen*, mere modern Anglicisms, is very particular how he writes *Sôkratês*. He happens to be fond of West-Saxon annals and Greek philosophers. And so, both get good marks in the aboriginal cacophony.

It is surely unworthy of serious history to mark your contempt for certain persons by giving them nicknames, and your regard for others by giving them archaic names. Whilst our old kings Alfred and Edward are disguised as *Ælfred* and *Eadweard*, Mr. Freeman always writes of Napoleon as *Buonaparte*. Now it is perfectly certain that, from the time that he ruled in France to this day, the name of the family has been written *Bonaparte*. In lampoons, no doubt, it was spelt *Buonaparte*, to suggest his Italian origin. But the family name was, and is, in legal and public documents, as well as in current literature, *Bonaparte*. Mr. Freeman, in serious history, chooses to revive the lampoon form of the Emperor's name, simply to express hatred and contempt. Most of us do detest Napoleon as a character. But, just as no gentleman stoops to misspell his opponent's name, so no

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grave writer should miscall an historical personage by nicknames picked up in a lampoon. If *Buonaparte*, why not *Boney*? All this is a piece of rather rough humour, as if Mr. Froude should insist in writing about Professor *Frei-mann*. Some day we shall have a Tory historian writing about the Protector *Noll*; or a Radical historian writing about the *Dizzy* administration. And why *Buonaparte*? Napoleon was for ten years emperor, by every possible legal and conventional title; so recognised in treaties, laws, records, and history. It is the universal practice of serious literature to recognise and respect every *de facto* title. Why, then, call one of the greatest *de facto* sovereigns who ever reigned in Europe by his family nickname, and not by his formal title? All this smacks of the gutter literature wherein Terrorists called Marie Antoinette *Veuve Capet*, and O'Donovan Rossa calls Queen Victoria *Mrs. Guelph*. Is it enough to answer that Napoleon was a usurper and a bad man? Are the histories of the future to run:—that Magna Carta was signed by *Lack-land*, and Bosworth field was lost by *Dickon Plantagenet*?

But there is a far more serious change of name that the 'Old-English' school have introduced; which, if it were indefinitely extended, would wantonly confuse historical literature. I mean the attempt to alter names which are the accepted landmarks of history. It is now thought scholarly to write of the 'Battle of *Senlac*,' instead of the 'Battle of *Hastings*.' As every one knows, the fight took place on the site of Battle Abbey, seven miles from Hastings; as so many great battles, those of *Tours*, *Blenheim*, *Cannæ*, *Châlons*, and the like, have been named from places not the actual spot of the combat. But since, for 800 years, the historians of Europe have spoken of the 'Battle of Hastings,' it does seem a little pedantic to re-name it '*Hastings*' is the only name for the fight in *Willelm's* Domesday Survey; it is the only name given by the Bayeux Tapestry. '*Exierunt de Hestenga et venerunt ad prelium*' is there written—not a word about *Senlac*. The nameless author of the Continuation of Wace's *Brut* says:—

> A Hastinges, sunt encontré
> Li rois e li dux par grant fierté.

And Guy, Bishop of Amiens from 1058–1076 A.D., wrote a poem, '*De Hastingæ prælio*.' One would think all this was sufficient authority for us to continue a name recorded in history for eight centuries. I am loth to argue with the master of forty legions of MSS.; but, so far as I know, there is no positive evidence that *Senlac* was a place at all; the sole authority for 'Battle of *Senlac*' is Orderic, a monk who lived and wrote in Normandy in the next century. Yet, on the strength of this secondary authority, the 'Old English' school choose to erase from English literature one of our most familiar names.

Battles are seldom named with geographical precision. The

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victors hastily give the first name; and so it passes into current speech. To be accurate, the Battle of *Salamis* should be the Battle of *Psyttaleia*, and the Battle of *Cannæ* should be named from the *Aufidus*; and the 'Battle of *Zama*' was really fought at *Naragara*. Imagine an historian of the future choosing to re-name the Battle of Waterloo, from *Hougoumont*; because, in the twentieth century, some French writer should so describe it. The Battle of *Trafalgar* would have to be described as the sea-fight of 'Longitude 6° 7′ 5″ West, and Latitude 36° 10′ 15″ North.' In old days we used to say that 'Charles Martel defeated the Saracens in the battle of Tours.' So wrote Gibbon, Hallam, Milman. Now, we shall have to write—'*Karl the Hammer* defeated the *Ya'arabs* of *Yemen* on the plateau of *Sancta Maura*.' Surely all this is the mint and anise of the annals, neglecting the weightier matters of the law.

Has not the 'Old-English' school made rather too much fuss about their wonderful discovery that *Karl the Great* was not a Gaul; and that 'the Anglo-Saxons' was not the ordinary name of any English tribe? No one is ever likely to make these blunders again, if indeed any one ever made them at all; but to taboo these convenient old names from English literature is surely a needless purism. 'Charlemagne' has been spoken of in England ever since, as Wace tells us, Taillefer at Hastings died singing, '*De Karlemaine è de Rollant*;' and in an enormous body of literature for a thousand years Charles has been so named. The reason is obvious enough; the great Emperor has become known to us mainly through Latin, French, and Old-French sources, *Chansons de Gestes*, and metrical tales in a Romance dialect. That in itself is an interesting and important fact in literary history. The pure Frank sources, in a Teutonic dialect, are very much fewer and less known. The name 'Charlemagne' is as much a part of the English language as is the title '*Emperor*,' and it is as little likely to be displaced by any contemporary phonogram as the names of Moses and Jesus. Let Germans talk about *Kaiser Karl*: Englishmen of sense will continue to talk of the 'Emperor Charlemagne:' a name which is good enough for Gibbon and Milman, for Hallam and Martin.

And so, 'Anglo-Saxon' is a very convenient term to describe the vernacular speech used in England before its settlement by the Normans. 'Old English' is a vague and elastic term. In one sense, the orthography of Dryden or of Milton is Old-English; so is Spenser's, or Chaucer's, or the *Ancren Riwle*. We want a convenient term for the speech of Englishmen, before it was affected by the Conquest. Edward the Elder, the first true King of all England, chose to call himself '*Rex Anglo-Saxonum*;' and an immense succession of historians and scholars have used the term. Is not that enough? The most learned authorities for this period have used it: men like Kemble, Bosworth, Thorpe, and Skeat. So too, Bishop Stubbs, in

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his magnificent work, systematically employs a term which is part of the English language, quite apart from its being current amongst this or that tribe of *Engles* or *West Saxons*. Perhaps, then, we need not be in such hurry to outlaw a term that was formally adopted for our nation by the first King of all England, and has since been in use in the language. Nor need we fear that to utter it were as bad as to drop one's *h*.

There is something essentially alien to the true historic spirit in any race jealousy and ethnological combativeness. History is the unbroken evolution of human civilisation; and the true historians are they who can show us the unity and the sequence of the vast and complex drama. It is all very well for monkish annalists and philological pedants to record the superiority of some particular tribe; but these petty prejudices are now best reserved for schoolboys at a cricket match. Theories of race are of all speculations the most cloudy and the most misleading. And to few nations are they less applicable than to England. Our ethnology, our language, our history are the most mixed and complex of which records exist. Our nationality is as vigorous and as definite as any in the world; but it is a geographical and a political nationality; and not a tribal or linguistic nationality. To unwind again the intricate strands which have been wrought into our English unity, and to range them by marks in classes, as in a competitive examination, is a futile task. If we exaggerate the power of one particular element of the English race, one source of the English people, one side of English institutions, one contributory to the English language, we shall find it a poor equipment for historical judgment.

Race prejudices are at all times anti-historic and inhuman. Professor Clifford used to talk about morality as an evolution of the 'tribal' conscience. Assuredly confusion is the only possible evolution for a 'tribal' history. To have 'pet' races, and 'favourite' dynasties, and 'own' languages, is a hindrance to the true historian. And when it comes to making mouths at the rulers of other races, and larding the speech of our day with the break-jaw terms of other languages or obsolete forms of English, why literature, as well as history, will cry out. The Carlylese school, and the Orientalists, and the *Deutsch* and *Jutish* enthusiasts, bid fair to turn our language and its literature into an ungainly polyglott. Their pages bristle with *Bretwaldas* and *Heretogas*, *Burhs* and *Munds*, *Folk-friths* and *Tun-gerefas*; or with *Reichs*, *Kurfürsts*, *Pfalzes*, and *Kaisers*. All this is very well in glossaries, but not in literature. How absurd is it to write—'The *Kurfürst* of *Köln*,' or 'The *Ealdorman* of the *Hwiccas*!' It is as if one wrote—'The *Duc* of *Broglie* was once *Ministre* of the *Affaires Etrangères*;' or that 'Wellington defeated the *Empéreur Napoléon* and all his *Maréchaux*:' just as they do in a lady's-maid's high-polite novel. Why are *Deutsch* and *Jutish*

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titles to be heaved at us any more than French or Spanish? In glossaries they are useful; but histories of England should be written in English. And it is pleasant to turn to a great book of history, like that of Bishop Stubbs; where, in spite of the temptations and often of the necessities of a specialist dealing with a technical subject, the text is not needlessly deformed with obsolete, grotesque, and foreign words.

To take 'sides,' like schoolboys, about races and tongues, is after all a very arbitrary and, in one sense, a narrow thing. A wide range of ethnology and philology shows us that these origins and primitive tongues were themselves the issue of others before them, and are only a phase in the long evolution of history and language. These Engles, and Saxons, and Jutes, these Norse and Welsh, had far distant seats, and far earlier modes of speech. They were no more 'Autochthones' in the forests of Upper Germany than they were in *Wessex* and *Caint*. Their speech has been traced back to Aryan roots current in Asia. And there, by the latest glimmerings of ethnographic science, we lose all these Cymric, and British, and Teutonic tribes in some (not definable) affinity, in some (not ascertainable) district of Central Asia, with some (not recoverable) common tongue of their own. So that all this shouting of war cries about the White Horse, and Engles, and Jutes, turns out to mean simply that a very industrious school of antiquarians choose to direct their attention to one particular phase of a movement which is in perpetual flux; and which, in time, in place, and in speech, can be traced back to very distant embryos in the infinite night of conjecture.

It is rank treason to our country and to scientific history to write (Professor Freeman is not the author of this extravagance) that 'with the landing of Hengest English history begins.' The history of England is something more than the tribal records of the Engles. The history of England began with the first authentic story of organised communities of men living in this island: and that most certainly existed since Cæsar narrated his own compaigns in Britain. The history of England, or the history of France, is the consecutive record of the political communities of men dwelling in the lands now called England and France. Tribal annals are useful as materials, but they are not history; and Orderics are quite obsolete in the reign of Victoria. The really great problem for history is the assimilation of race and the co-operation of alien forces. And so, too, the note of true literature lies in a loyal submission to the traditions of our composite tongue, and respect for an instrument which is hallowed by the custom of so many masterpieces. Loyal respect for that glorious speech would teach us to be slow how we desecrate its familiar names with brand-new archaisms; so as to ruffle its easy flow with alien cacophonies and solecisms, and daub its familiar typography with hieroglyphic phonograms.

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In passing from the literary iconoclasm of the 'Old-English' school I would venture to add that no man is a more humble admirer than I am of the vast learning and the marvellous powers of research belonging to the author of the *Norman Conquest.* Nor can any man more deeply deplore the disaster which our literature has sustained in the premature loss of the author of *A History of the English People*: one who has shown yet higher historical imagination and more cultivated literary power, and whom it is impossible to mention without a pang of regret. *Si qua fata aspera rumpas, Tu Marcellus eris.*

I pass to a few words about various names which under the influence of a most mistaken literalism are being wantonly transformed. Persons who are anxious to appear well informed seem almost ashamed to spell familiar names as their grandfathers did. What is the meaning of '*Vergil*'? As every one knows, two of the best MSS. in the last lines of the fourth Georgic spell *Vergilium*; and accordingly some scholars think fit so to alter the poet's name. Be it so. But '*Vergil*' is not Latin, any more than 'Homer' is Greek. *Virgil* is a familiar word, rooted deep in English literature and thought. To uproot it and the like of it, would be to turn the English language into a quagmire. We shall be asked next to write '*Omer*. If all our familiar names are to be recast, as new manuscripts or autographs turn up, none of these venerable names will remain to us. We shall have to talk of the epic poets, *Omeros* and *Durante*. Again, if autographs are conclusive, we shall have to write of *Marie, Quean of Scots*, and *Lady Jane Duddley*; of the statesmen, *Cecyll* and *Walsyngham*; of '*Lord Nelson and Bronte*,' of the great *Marleborough*, of the poet *Noel-Byron*, of *Sir Kenelme Digby, Sir Philip Sidnei*, and *Arbella Seymaure*; of Bloody '*Marye*,' and *Robert Duddley, Earl of Leycester*. The next step will be to write about these personages in the contemporary style; and archaic orthography will pass from proper names to the entire text.

The objection to insisting on strict contemporary orthography is this: the family name is continually changing, and to write it in a dozen ways is to break the tradition of the family. If we call Burleigh '*Cecyll*,' as he wrote it himself, we lose the tradition of the family of the Prime Minister. If we call the author of the *Arcadia Sidnei*, as he wrote it himself, we detach him from the Sidneys. The Percys, Howards, Harcourts, Douglas, Wyatts, Lindsays, and Montgomerys of our feudal history will appear as the *Perses, Hawards, Harecourts, Dowglas, Wiats, Lyndesays*, and *Monggomberrys*. Somebody will be editing *Chevy Chase* for us in the pure palæography; and will tell us how the '*Doughete dogglas*' spoke to the '*lord perse*;' and how there died in the fray, *Wetharryngton, ser hewe the monggomberry, ser dauy lwdale*, and *ser charls a murre*.

And then how the purists do drag us up and down with their

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orthographic edicts! Just as the Old-English school is restoring the diphthong on every side, the classical reformers are purging it out like an unclean thing. We need not care much whether we write of *Caesar* or 'Cæsar.' But just as we have learned to write *Caesar* and *Vergil's Aeneid*, in place of our old friends, we are taught to write *Bœda* and *Ælfred*, for 'Bede' and 'Alfred.' The 'Old-English' school revel in diphthongs, even in the Latin names; your classical purist would expire if he were called upon to write 'Cæsar' or 'Pompey.' Ah! the delightful gossipy style of the last century about 'Tully,' and 'Maro,' and 'Livy'! They knew quite as much about them at heart as we do to-day with all our Medicean manuscripts and our '*sic Cod. Vat.*'

The way in which it all works into ordinary books is this. The compilers of dictionaries, catalogues, compendiums, vade-mecums, and the like, the writers of newspaper paragraphs and literary announcements, are not only a most industrious, but a most accurate and most alert, race of men. They are ever on the watch for the latest discovery and the last special work on every conceivable topic. It is not to be expected that they can go very deeply into each matter themselves; but the latest spelling, the last new commentary, or the newest literary 'fad,' is eminently the field of their peculiar work. To them, the man who has abolished the 'Battle of Hastings' as a popular error must know more about history than any man living; and so, the man who writes *Shakspere* has apparently the latest lights on the Elizabethan drama. Thus it comes that our ordinary style is rapidly infiltrated with *Karls* and *Ælfreds*, and *Senlacs*, *Qu'râns*, and *Shaksperes*; till it becomes at last almost a kind of pedantry to object.

How foolish is the attempt to re-name Shakespeare himself by the aid of manuscripts! As every one knows, the name of Shakespeare may be found in contemporary documents in almost every possible form of the letters. Some of these are—*Shakespeare*, *Schakespere*, *Schakespeire*, *Shakespeyre*, *Chacsper*, *Shakspere*, *Shakespere*, *Shakespeere*, *Shackspear*, *Shakeseper*, *Shackespeare*, *Saxspere*, *Shackspeere*, *Shaxeper*, *Shaxpere*, *Shaxper*, *Shaxpeer*, *Shaxspere*, *Shakspeare*, *Shakuspeare*, *Shakesper*, *Shaksper*, *Shackspere*, *Shakspyr*, *Shakspear*, *Shakspeyr*, *Shackspeare*, *Shaxkspere*, *Shackspeyr*, *Shaxpeare*, *Shakesphere*, *Sackesper*, *Shackspare*, *Shakspeere*, *Shaxpeare*, *Shakxsper*, *Shaxpere*, *Shakspeyr*, *Shagspur*, and *Shaxberd*. Here are forty of the contemporary modes of spelling his name. Now are the facsimilists prepared to call the great poet of the world by whichever of these, as in a parish election, commands the majority of the written documents? So that, if we have at last to call our immortal bard, *Chacsper*, or *Shaxper*, or *Shagspur*, we must accept it; and in the meantime leave his name as variable as ever his contemporaries did?

Shakespeare no doubt, like most persons in that age, wrote his

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name in various ways; but the vast preponderance of evidence establishes that in the *printed literature* of his time his name was written—*Shakespeare.* In his first poems, *Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis*, he placed *Shakespeare* on the title-page. So it stands on the folios of 1623 and 1632. So also it was spelled by his friends in their published works; by Ben Jonson, by Bancroft, Barnefield, Willobie, Freeman, Davies, Meres, and Weever. It is certain that his name was pronounced *Shake-spear* (i.e. as '*Shake*' and '*Spear*' were then pronounced) by his literary friends in London. This is shown by the punning lines of Ben Jonson, by those of Bancroft and others; by Greene's allusion to him as the only *Shake-scene*; and, lastly, by the canting heraldry of the arms granted to his father in 1599:—'In a field of gould upon a bend sables a *speare* of the first: with crest a ffalcon *supporting* a *speare*.'

It is very probable that this grant of arms, about which Dethick, the Garter-King, was blamed and had to defend himself, practically settled the pronunciation as well as the spelling. It is probable that hitherto the family name had not been so spelt or so pronounced in Warwickshire. It is possible that *Shake-speare* was almost a nick-name, or a familiar stage-name; but, like Erasmus, Melanchthon, or Voltaire, he who bore it carried it so into literature. For some centuries downwards, the immense concurrence of writers, English and foreign, has so accepted the name. A great majority of the commentators have adopted the same form: Dyce, Collier, Halliwell-Phillipps, Staunton, W. G. Clark. No one of the principal editors of the poet writes his name '*Shakspere*.' But so Mr. Furnivall decrees it shall be.

One would have thought so great a preponderance of literary practice need not be disturbed by one or two signatures in manuscript, even if they were perfectly distinct and quite uniform. Yet, such is the march of palæographic purism, that our great poet is in imminent danger of being translated into *Shakspere* and ultimately *Shaxper*. The Museum Catalogue devotes six volumes to the poet and his editors. All these thousands of works are entered under '*Shakspere*;' though in about 95 per cent. of them the name is not so written. The editions of Dyce, Collier, Staunton, Halliwell-Phillipps, and Clark, which have *Shakespeare* on their title-pages, are lettered in the binding *Shakspere*. Nay, the facsimile of the folio of 1623, where we not only read *Shakespeare* on the title-page, but laudatory verses addressed to '*Shake-speare*' (*sic*), is actually lettered in the binding (facsimile as it purports to be), *Shakspere*. We shall certainly end with '*Shaxper*.'

The claim of the palæographists to re-name great men rests on a confusion of ideas. 'Shakespeare' is a word in the English language, just as 'Tragedy' is; and it is as vain to ask us, in the name of *etymography*, to turn that name into *Shakspere*, as it would be to

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ask us, in the name of *etymology*, to turn 'Tragedy' into *Goat-song*. The point is not, how did the poet spell his name—that is an antiquarian, not a literary matter, any more than how Homer or Moses spelled their names. Homer and Moses, as we know, could not possibly spell their names: since alphabets were not in use. And, as in a thousand cases, the exact orthography is not possible, the matter which concerns the public is the form of a name which has obtained currency in literature. When once any name has obtained that currency in a fixed and settled literature, it is more than pedantry to disturb it: it is an outrage on our language. And it is a serious hindrance to popular education to be ever unsettling familiar names.

If we are to re-edit Shakespeare's name by strict revival of contemporary forms, we ought to alter the names of his plays as well. Mr. Freeman has discovered that Macbeth was *Mælbæthe*. The twentieth century will go to see *Shaxper's Mælbæthe* performed on the stage. And so they will have to go through the cycle of the immortal plays. Hamlet was variously written *Hamblet*, *Amleth*, *Hamnet*, *Hamle*, and *Hamlett*; and every 'revival' of *Hamlet* will be given in a new name. *Leir's* daughters were properly *Gonorill*, *Ragan* and *Cordila*. If 'Shakspere's' own orthography is decisive, we must talk about the *Midsummer Night's Dreame*, and *Twelffe-Night*, *Henry Fift*, and *Cleopater*, for so he wrote the titles himself. Under the exasperating revivalism of the palæographic school all things are possible; and, in the next century, it will be the fashion to say that 'the master-creations of Shaxper are undoubtedly Cordila, Hamblet, and Mælbæthe.' Goats and monkeys! can we bear this?

All this combative revivalism rests upon the curious delusion of antiquarians, that bits of ancient things can be crammed into the living organism of modern civilisation. Any rational historical culture must be wisely subordinate to organic evolution; gross lumps of the past are not to be inserted into our ribs or thrust down our throats like a horse drench. A brick or two from our fathers' houses will not really testify how they built their homes; and exhuming the skeletons of their buried words may prove but a source of offence to the living. An actor who had undertaken the character of Othello once blacked himself all over the body, in order to enter more fully into the spirit of the part; but it is not recorded that he surpassed either Kean or Salvini. So, we are told that, in the Early-English Groves of Hampstead, there exists a company of enthusiastic Ann-ists, who meet in the dress of Addison and Pope, in boudoirs which Stella and Vanessa would recognise, and read copies of the old *Spectator*, reprinted in contemporary type.

In days when we are warned that the true feeling for high art is only to be acquired by the wearing of ruffles and velvet breeches, we shall soon be expected, when we go to a lecture on the early Britons, to stain our bodies all over with woad, in order to realise the sensations

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of our ancient 'forbears;' and no one will pass in English history till he can sputter out all the guttural names in the Saxon Chronicle. Palæography should keep to its place, in commentaries, glossaries, monographs, and the like. In English literature, the literary name of the greatest ruler of the West is *Charlemagne*; the literary name of the most perfect of kings is *Alfred*; and the literary name of the greatest of poets is *Shakespeare*. The entire world, and not England alone, has settled all this for centuries. Manuscripts and Palæography have nothing to do with it.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NAVY.

1880–85.

It is proposed in the present paper to give a general view of the administration of the Navy under the late Government. In dealing with naval affairs political partisanship should be forgotten. It is believed that the present statement will be found impartial and accurate.

As an introductory observation it may not be superfluous to remark that each successive administration is bound, at least at the outset, to a large extent by the policy of their predecessors. Now what was the state of the Navy as it was handed over to us by our predecessors? What was the standard of expenditure which they had accepted? What were the distinctive features of their administration? They had devoted great attention to the repairs of the fleet. They had been called upon to prepare for warlike operations in the East. The construction of ironclads had been retarded by the controversy raised by Sir Edward Reed as to the design for the 'Inflexible;' but four ironclads had been purchased out of money provided under a vote of credit. During the Russo-Turkish war the naval expenditure had been largely increased, and at the conclusion of peace a policy of retrenchment was naturally desired by the country. We cannot complain of the reduction of estimates in the year immediately preceding our acceptance of office; but it may be claimed for the Board of which the present writer was a member, that its policy must in fairness be viewed in connection with that of the previous Board.

Dealing first with the *personnel* of the Navy, successive Admiralties have come to a common understanding that the force of bluejackets should be maintained at an average of from 18,000 to 19,000. Lord Northbrook accepted this decision, and, finding that the number of boys in training was insufficient, he largely increased the entries. It is a point of supreme importance to maintain an adequate reserve of men for the Navy. It was decided by the late Board of Admiralty to equalise the numbers in the First and Second class, and to maintain the Reserve at a strength of 20,000. With this force, with 4,000 highly trained seamen in the Coast Guard, with 5,000 men in the Seamen Pensioners' Reserve, and with a body of Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers, which, encouraged by the capitation grant accorded by the present Government, we hope ere long to see raised to 4,000 or 5,000 members, an ample number of men will be available to meet

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any sudden emergency. In lieutenants, and in our engine-room complements, we should be deficient. For reinforcements we should appeal with confidence to our noble merchant service.

In the cruise of the experimental squadron under Admiral Hornby several officers of the Naval Reserve were appointed for duty to the different ships. They worked with the utmost zeal, and their services were greatly valued. It will be noticed with satisfaction that the present Board have decided to enter 2,000 stokers for the Reserve.

An important change was made by the late Board, tending to economy in the non-effective charges, and securing increased efficiency, by retaining men in the prime of life for a longer period in the service. The change in question was the extension of the first term of service in the Navy from ten to twelve years. The training of the Navy was closely watched by the naval advisers of the late Board. With a view to make officers and men more efficient in fleet duties, the admirals on foreign stations were directed to assemble each year as many ships as possible for cruising in a squadron. The results have been satisfactory.

From the *personnel* we pass to the *matériel* of the Fleet. By far the greater part of our expenditure is automatic. It represents the pay, the victualling, the pensions of officers and men, and the charge for the maintenance of our large establishments at home and abroad. It is therefore in the building votes chiefly that the distinctive policy of a Government is directly and immediately felt. Viewed in the light of these observations the following table affords a clear indication of the course pursued by successive administrations :—

EXPENDITURE ON SHIPBUILDING, 1875–76 TO 1885–86.

Year	Ascertained expenditure on shipbuilding and new machinery, dockyard and contract		Number of men employed on shipbuilding in dockyards at Home		Ascertained expenditure on repairs at Home and Abroad	Number of men employed on repairs in dockyards at Home and Abroad	Total number of men employed in dockyards at Home	Expenditure on Naval Ordnance (Army and Navy Estimates)	Total expenditure under Votes 6 and 10	Total expenditure on Shipbuilding and Ordnance
	Armoured	Unarmoured	Armoured	Unarmoured						
	£	£			£			£	£	£
1875–76	1,058,463	554,755	3,592	1,997	953,677	5,265	15,780	246,189	3,540,092	3,772,601
1876–77	940,318	1,181,642	3,142	3,007	807,656	4,776	15,807	416,865	3,929,846	4,301,711
1877–78	1,948,472[2]	973,970[2]	2,308	3,345	1,069,425	5,413	16,074	369,348	5,123,591	5,458,839
1878–79	631,195	876,854	3,228	2,764	1,064,151	5,471	17,177	507,000	3,810,737	4,269,737
1879–80	631,724	756,883	3,545	2,688	822,220	4,566	16,381	397,000	3,106,563	3,460,563
1880–81	698,798	727,551	4,362	2,206	841,710	4,708	16,894	(211,745)[3] 377,968 (248,975)	3,082,803	3,425,803
1881–82	949,313	733,187	5,306	2,557	691,080	4,465	17,192	458,686 (290,719)	3,318,555	3,736,669
1882–83	990,710	776,304	5,718	2,675	881,810	5,486	18,924	740,691 (534,695)	3,472,953	4,156,644
1883–84	1,260,137	669,953	5,922	2,742	929,236	5,885	19,610	792,023 (509,429)	3,615,264	4,245,382
1884–85[1]	1,284,700	699,550	5,193	3,200	958,680	5,803	18,849	794,497 (512,549)	3,998,320	4,607,237
1885–86[1]	1,590,000	1,431,440	5,012	3,277	875,862	5,308	18,702	1,399,232 (856,908)	5,047,320	6,102,652

[1] Estimated only.
[2] These amounts include the cost of armoured and unarmoured tonnage purchased out of vote of credit.
[3] The figures in parenthesis do not include cost of ammunition and small arms.

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The comparison between the shipbuilding votes in France and England is given in the next table, taken from the Navy estimates presented to Parliament in the two countries.

England		France	
Date.	(Votes 6, 10)[1]	Date.	(Votes 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and Budget Extraordinaire)
	£		£
1875–76	3,636,538	1875	2,050,000
1876–77	3,983,605	1876	2,038,880
1877–78	5,179,601	1877	2,391,910
1878–79	3,861,317	1878	2,398,758
1879–80	3,162,622	1879	2,840,860
1880–81	3,147,585	1880	2,898,112
1881–82	3,376,484	1881	3,120,899
1882–83	3,516,216	1882	3,254,569
1883–84	3,830,633	1883	3,383,346
1884–85	3,810,105	1884	3,175,357

[1] The amounts provided in Vote 10 for gun-mountings are omitted.

The committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the French estimates for 1886 have given in their report a table prepared by the Ministry of Marine, in which the several items in the shipbuilding votes of France and England are carefully compared. The total amounts are:—

		Francs
England	1884–5	97,692,250
	1885–6	126,444,575
France	1886	63,054,447

The subjoined table (p. 109), also compiled at the Ministry of Marine in Paris from the published estimates, gives the comparative expenditure on building, as distinguished from maintenance and repairs, in France and England for a period of twenty-five years.

Having shown the increase of the shipbuilding votes in the aggregate, it may be asked, 'What were the objects on which the efforts of the late Board of Admiralty were concentrated?' When they took office their special attention was directed to the active exertions of the French administration in the building of armoured ships. While in completed ships we stood well, anxiety had been aroused by the large number of armoured ships laid down in France. In 1876–80 we had laid down only six ships, and had bought four from the vote of credit for preparations during the Russo-Turkish war. In the same period the French had laid down no less than fifteen ships. To meet this development of construction Lord Northbrook announced in an early speech, as First Lord of the Admiralty, that two ironclads would be laid down in England to every new ship laid down in France. This pledge was observed. In the five years 1880–85, ten ships were laid down in England as against five in France.

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DÉPENSES FAITES POUR CONSTRUCTIONS DE NAVIRES ET D'APPAREILS À VAPEUR.

Années	Constructions sur les chantiers de l'Etat		Constructions confiées à l'Industrie		Total des dépenses	Year	English expenditure: stores, labour, and machinery. Contract and dockyard
	Navires (coques et accessoires)	Machines et chaudières à vapeur	Navires (coques et accessoires)	Machines et chaudières à vapeur			
	£	£	£	£	£		£
1864	507,586	134,067	162,656	115,887	920,196	1863-64	1,282,710
1865	635,880	136,140	20,192	81,088	873,300	1864-65	1,674,574
1866	551,748	154,926	72,358	151,816	931,348	1865-66	1,116,198
1867	575,185	105,061	45,877	149,345	875,468	1866-67	1,014,406
1868	564,409	59,516	79,890	93,289	797,104	1867-68	1,800,749
1869	506,434	65,376	53,450	43,520	668,780	1868-69	1,694,362
1870	343,614	158,180	127,989	25,233	655,016	1869-70	1,387,047
1871	292,205	89,862	13,266	16,615	411,948	1870-71	1,330,814
1872	302,638	105,998	7,120	14,076	429,832	1871-72	1,184,172
1873	415,024	101,156	65,611	32,669	614,460	1872-73	809,087
1874	561,758	157,323	24,204	46,399	789,684	1873-74	1,290,028
1875	615,409	161,670	57,776	86,525	921,380	1874-75	1,528,161
1876	709,037	124,073	133,011	88,439	1,054,560	1875-76	1,613,218
1877	788,533	121,478	242,214	149,763	1,301,988	1876-77	2,121,960
1878	843,506	128,944	319,341	210,093	1,501,884	1877-78	2,922,442
1879	765,092	110,196	412,607	216,761	1,504,656	1878-79	1,508,049
1880	792,583	112,849	237,382	232,482	1,375,296	1879-80	1,388,607
1881	722,344	104,014	320,796	197,930	1,345,084	1880-81	1,426,349
1882	774,966	109,358	341,401	174,427	1,400,152	1881-82	1,682,500
1883	851,876	127,455	374,668	205,645	1,559,644	1882-83	1,767,014
1884				Estimated [1]	1,536,508 [1]	1883-84	1,928,847
1885					1,510,704 [1]	1884-85	1,900,000
	12,119,827	2,367,642	3,112,309	2,332,002	22,978,992		34,371,294

[1] Inserted from estimates.

The policy of the late Board in relation to the construction of armoured ships is indicated clearly by the additional expenditure to which they gave their sanction. The amount appropriated to armoured building and the machinery for ironclads was raised from 634,000*l.* in 1879–80, to 699,000*l.* in 1880–81, 949,000*l.* in 1881–82, 991,000*l.* in 1882–83, 1,260,000*l.* in 1883–84, 1,285,000*l.* in 1884–85, and 1,593,000*l.* in 1885–86. In the estimates for 1885–86 we have a great expansion, in response to a strong popular demand; but the advance was not considerably greater than in 1881–82, and again in 1883-84, when the Admiralty were but feebly supported by opinion out of doors and in Parliament in their efforts to strengthen the Navy.

The policy of the late Admiralty was, even in its latest phase, consistent with the line which had been taken from the beginning. It was my duty to speak in public from time to time as the representative of the Board; and while claiming for the Navy that superiority of strength which had been secured by the combined efforts of successive administrations, the necessity for further efforts was insisted upon with a frankness not common in official statements. In a speech delivered at the Colston Hall, at Bristol, in November 1881, I said: 'In the present position of affairs the action of the British

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naval administration must depend mainly on the policy pursued by the French Government. In ships actually ready for sea, our ironclad fleet compares favourably with the French, but this will cease to be the case if armoured shipbuilding in France is continued with the activity displayed since the close of the Franco-German war. Since 1877, the total armoured tonnage launched has been 29,171 tons for the French, and 21,704 tons for the British Navy; and while our Navy estimates provide 750,000*l.* for armoured construction, the sum provided for the same service in the French estimates is no less than 1,081,000*l.*

'It is obvious that this disparity cannot long continue. From an English point of view it seems impossible to justify the lavish expenditure of the French; and I would venture to hope that the friendly representations of our Foreign Office would not be without effect in relieving us from the necessity of imposing additional burdens on the British taxpayers.'

The French made no further addition to their rate of expenditure on ironclads. On our side the expenditure was increased in the proportions already detailed; and thus we maintained a position which enabled us subsequently to draw comparisons between our armoured navy and that of France and other Powers, establishing a superiority of force not inadequate to the necessities of our vast empire.

Having dealt with the quantity of armoured building as indicated by the appropriation of money for that purpose, we may turn to the question of type. The policy of the late Board with reference to dimensions will be generally approved. Both professional and non-professional opinion is opposed to the construction of vessels of war on the scale adopted, for example, in the Italian Navy. Without laying down any arbitrary figure, it is generally admitted that within the limit of from 10,000 to 11,000 tons all reasonable requirements can be met. In considering this question of dimensions our policy must be governed by one important consideration. However large the sum of money at our disposal, as we increase in size and cost so we cut down in number; and while the larger ship may have an advantage in thickness of armour, ships of moderate size will have an advantage in the great quality of quick obedience to the helm, and therefore in power of attack with the ram and torpedo.

The armoured ships laid down by the late Board are of five types, represented by the 'Impérieuse,' the 'Admiral' class, the 'Hero,' an exact repetition of the 'Conqueror,' the 'Sanspareil' and 'Renown,' which may be described as improved 'Conquerors,' and the five belted cruisers. The principal dimensions of the 'Impérieuse' are, length 315 feet, breadth 61 feet, tonnage 7,300. The speed at the measured mile is 17 knots. The 'Impérieuse' carries four 18-ton breechloading guns, and a powerful minor armament. As compared

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with the 'Admiral' class, the disposition of the belt and deck armour is similar, but the thickness is reduced from eighteen to ten inches. The belt in each case extends along more than two-fifths of the length. It protects the machinery and the magazines, and assists in securing the stability and the buoyancy. The armour of the barbette towers in which the heavy guns are mounted protects the loading machinery, and the gun's crews are screened from horizontal fire. The absence of a complete belt round the water-line has been criticised. Protection by thin vertical armour is inferior to the under-water deck and compartments into which the unarmoured ends of the 'Warspite' are subdivided. The French constructors, with all their traditional skill and ingenuity, in the endeavour to protect their ships by a continuous belt, have been compelled to accept armour too thin to afford an effective protection.

The type of ironclad represented by the 'Impérieuse' was the first new design originated under the late administration. The designs for the 'Admiral' class were considerably advanced under the administration of Mr. W. H. Smith. The 'Colossus,' 'Edinburgh,' and the 'Admiral' class are built on nearly the same lines. These ships have an extreme breadth of 68 feet, as compared with 66 feet in the 'Ajax.' The length has been extended from 280 to 325 feet. With this more favourable proportion of length to breadth, an additional speed of nearly two knots has been obtained without increasing the horse-power. In the 'Admiral' class an important change was introduced in the disposition of the armour. In the 'Colossus' it forms the wall of the citadel. In the 'Collingwood' it is taken away from the central citadel, and formed into separate fixed barbette towers. The towers are placed 140 feet apart, and the guns 22 feet above the water. The inclosed turrets of the 'Colossus' are 80 feet apart, and the guns are twelve feet above the water. The minor armament forms an important and novel feature in the 'Admiral' class. Between the barbettes and above the true upper deck is a large unarmoured battery, protected by 1-inch steel plating from the fire of machine-guns, and containing six 6-inch breechloading guns, fought at ports 14 feet above the water. The battery is protected from a raking fire by winged bulkheads plated with six inches of steel-faced armour. In this respect the 'Collingwood's' battery resembles the batteries of the 'Nelson' and the 'Shannon.' The crew will be berthed in the upper battery, and will have accommodation infinitely superior to that of any turret-ship. The deck above the upper battery affords ample space for the stowage of boats and for working the ship.

The advantages presented by the 'Admiral' type will be best appreciated whenever squadrons are compelled to keep the seas for extended periods. Ships with a low freeboard are too much under

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water to be reasonably habitable. This disadvantage was brought prominently into view during the cruise of the evolutionary squadron. Steaming to the westward from Berehaven on a summer's night, the fore-deck of the 'Devastation' was swept by sheets of foam, while the upper decks of the broadside ships were towering high above the waves. That a turret-ship of low freeboard is the most powerful type for battle will not be disputed, but life on board in a long cruise would be wretched.

In the 'Admiral' class, as in the 'Inflexible,' 'Ajax,' 'Agamemnon,' 'Colossus,' 'Edinburgh,' and new armoured cruisers, the belt armour stops short at the ends, and the protection of vitals is continued by an under-water deck. In the 'Admiral' type steel-faced deck-plating is for the first time introduced, and the length of the belt is extended from 123 feet, as in the 'Colossus,' to 140 feet.

The weights of armour, including deck armour, are—

	Tons
'Ajax'	2,223
'Colossus'	2,364
'Conqueror'	1,720
Armoured cruiser	1,446
'Collingwood'	2,548

The heavy guns of the 'Admiral' class are mounted *en barbette*. Various plans were proposed for inclosed turrets. The additional expense involved ranged from 40,000*l*. to 100,000*l*., and considerable delay would have resulted from any material alterations. The improvements anticipated did not appear to be sufficient to justify the loss of time and the heavy outlay. The introduction of barbettes into our Navy when first proposed led to anxious discussion. It was considered that the additional weight required for the armoured citadel, which is indispensable for the protection of the base of the turret, could be better used in increasing the speed and the coal endurance, and in mounting a greater number of heavy and auxiliary guns. Turret-guns cannot be mounted as high above the water as guns *en barbette*.

The ironclads of earlier design will not require detailed description. The speed of 15½ knots attained in the trials of the 'Conqueror' was most satisfactory. The 'Conqueror' is a valuable addition to the Navy, being well armed and armoured, an effective and handy ram, and a thorough sea-going ship. With their superior manœuvring qualities, such vessels must be formidable in battle, and they will always be required for the general duties of the fleet. The 'Hero,' a repetition of the 'Conqueror,' was laid down in 1883, and has recently been launched. The rapid progress of this vessel does credit to Mr. Warren and the professional officers and workmen at Chatham yard.

In April 1885 two improved 'Conquerors' were put out to contract.

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The 'Sanspareil' and 'Renown' will have a displacement of just over 10,000 tons. The armour will have a thickness of 18 inches, and the framing behind the armour will be stronger than any hitherto employed. They will carry in a single turret two 110-ton guns, the most powerful yet manufactured. An 18-ton gun will be mounted right aft. Twelve 4-ton guns will be carried in the battery protected with armour, proof not only against all machine-guns, but also against the new 6-pounder shell-guns. The estimated speed is 15½ knots.

The belted cruisers formed the most novel and important feature in the extended programme of building commenced under the late Board in the present financial year. The belted cruiser is a ship of about 5,000 tons displacement, and 3,000 tons weight of hull, including 1,000 tons of armour. The water-line being protected by 10-inch armour, or a belt deck from end to end, and the conning tower being strongly armoured, the belted cruiser may fairly be reckoned with many ironclads in foreign navies. The guns will be two of 18 tons and twelve of 4 tons, with machine-guns. The estimated speed is 17·5 knots. The coal supply will be sufficient for 2,000 knots at full speed, and 8,000 knots at 10 knots. We might have produced a ship with higher speed, but only by sacrificing protection or increasing dimensions. Five of this type were ordered by contract in April 1885.

During the administration of the late Board of Admiralty, a difficult question was raised by Sir Edward Reed. For the defence of the water-line he asked for a greater length of armoured belt. Sir Nathaniel Barnaby preferred a system of protection by cellular subdivision. These eminent authorities are at issue—not on a point of principle, but as to the extent to which an accepted principle should be applied. While the arguments in favour of the design adopted in the case of the 'Collingwood,' and other ships of the 'Admiral' class, are powerful and cogent, we may expect to see an extension of the belt in any new ships which may be laid down in the future.

The trials of our recent ships at the measured mile have been eminently satisfactory. The speed has never yet been approached by that of any armoured ships. Their gunnery arrangements, for which we are indebted to Mr. Rendel, are entirely successful. The French have not produced as yet any ironclad ships with speeds exceeding 15 knots. Our six first-class battle-ships of the 'Admiral' type steam more than 16 knots at the measured mile. The powerful cruisers 'Impérieuse' and 'Warspite' may be reckoned as 17-knot ships under the same favourable conditions; and they again will be surpassed by the five belted cruisers, which on their trials will be nearly 18-knot vessels.

Having accelerated greatly the armoured construction, the late

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Board in the earlier years of their administration did not feel justified in pressing for a similar increase of expenditure on the unarmoured ships. In the estimates of the present year, the expenditure proposed for unarmoured building was advanced to 1,431,000*l.*, or nearly double the average of the eight preceding years. Commencing their task under the conviction that in point of expenditure they must be content to work within the limits accepted by their predecessors, their attention was concentrated on improvement of type. In cruisers high qualities of speed and coal endurance are indispensable. In these important points the British Navy was sensibly inferior to the French. In 1880, of ships capable of steaming 14 knots we possessed only eleven; the French had twenty-five.

In the period 1868–84 twenty-six cruisers were launched for the British Navy ranging in dimensions from 1,860 to 2,380 tons. Of this large fleet two only, the 'Cleopatra' and 'Comus,' attained the speed of 14 knots on the measured mile. In the same period the French launched eight cruisers of a similar class; but the measured mile speed in all cases was a knot in excess of the English results. The want of speed in the British Navy was due to the attempt to combine the qualities of a sailing ship and a steamer with a heavy weight of metal. An unsatisfactory compromise was the inevitable result. The continued construction of gun-vessels without speed has given us a large number of craft of little value except to show the flag. On distant stations, where the Navy should at all times be in a position to give protection to commerce, we have numerous vessels in commission with a speed ranging from 9 to 11 knots on the measured mile, and with a coal endurance at full speed of from two to two and a half days.

A new and a better policy in unarmoured construction was adopted by the Admiralty of 1874–80. They began by building the two despatch vessels 'Mercury' and 'Iris' with a speed not approached up to that date in any naval service. In the 'Mercury' and the 'Iris' the speed was obtained by an enormous development of horse-power. The defensive arrangements were but little superior to those of a cruiser from the mercantile marine. The cost per ton was equal to that of the most powerful ironclad, while the fighting power was inconsiderable. As a fighting ship, the most appropriate function of the 'Mercury' would be that of a torpedo-boat catcher. It was in this service that the ship was employed in the experimental squadron under Admiral Hornby. The 'Polyphemus' was another bold experiment in the class of ocean-going torpedo-boats. The 'Leander' also was the forerunner of a new and valuable type which we owe to the same administration.

The late Board were deeply impressed with the necessity for developing the construction of vessels of the 'Leander' and 'Polyphemus' types. They cut down top hamper, and took advantage of the recent

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advance in gun construction to reduce considerably the weights of armaments while adding greatly to their power. The new designs were much more favourable to high speed. The recent shipbuilding policy in relation to unarmoured vessels may be traced in the enumeration of the ships laid down. Of vessels steaming 16 knots and over, one only was laid down in each of the years 1875, 1876, and 1878. In 1880 three ships were laid down, and in each of the years 1881–83 one ship of this class. The number was increased by a rapid stride to seven in 1884, and to twelve in 1885. By the steady development lately given to the construction of fast ships, we have now established a decided superiority over the cruisers of any other Power.

Passing from numbers to type, the first four ships of a large class laid down for the protection of commerce under the late Board were of the 'Leander' type. These ships were followed by the four ships of the 'Mersey' type, with an estimated speed of 17 knots, which will probably be exceeded. In the smaller unarmoured vessels, such as corvettes and sloops, the speed was advanced from the 10 knots previously accepted to an average of not less than 13 knots. Taking the important types in detail, the 'Mersey' may be described as a twin-screw steel corvette protected by an underwater armoured deck extending right through the ship, and varying in thickness from two to three inches. By this deck and by internal subdivision buoyancy and stability are secured. The 'Mersey' is of the same general type as the 'Leander,' and has the same principal dimensions and the same form under water, except as modified to give a ram bow and to keep the machinery below the protected deck. Unlike the 'Leander,' the 'Mersey' will have no rig, but only two pole masts for signalling. The speed expected under forced draught is about 17 knots, practically the same as the 'Leander's.' The 'Mersey' class will be armed with two long 8-inch armour-piercing guns, of a new type. The armament is completed with ten 6-inch guns, which are also capable of piercing armour of moderate thickness.

Having dealt with the protection of commerce, we had to take in hand the construction of a torpedo flotilla. The torpedo ram, proposed in the programme of building for 1885-6, is a vessel of 3,000 tons, identical with the 'Polyphemus' in the principal underwater arrangements, while greater habitability is secured by building an ordinary ship from above the 'turtle' deck. This feature, and the additional supply of fuel, will give to the new type independent cruising power, which the 'Polyphemus' was not designed to have. The armoured torpedo ram will have a small gun armament. The estimated speed is 17½ knots. The coal supply is equal to 1,600 knots at full speed, and 6,400 knots at 10 knots.

The 'Scout' class was first introduced into the building programme

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in 1884. This vessel is in many respects an enlarged torpedo-boat, intended to keep the sea in all weathers, and to guard our commercial marine. The displacement is 1,450 tons; the armament consists of eleven separate torpedo-ejectors. The speed is over 17 knots. Nine vessels of this type and two despatch vessels, which would be made available for the same purpose, have been laid down.

For the police of the seas the late Admiralty accepted the 'Heroine' type, of which seven were laid down. The displacement of these vessels is 1,420 tons. The speed under steam on the measured mile equals that of the large 'C' class, while the cost is 72,000*l.* in the 'Heroine,' against 118,000*l.* in the 'C' class. As cruisers under canvas the less costly vessels have a great advantage. Among the smaller craft laid down by the late Board, the 'Curlew' and the 'Landrail' deserve mention. They are gun-boats of a type entirely new in our service. Their displacement is only 785 tons, and their estimated speed 14 knots. Their steaming distance at 10 knots will be 6,000 miles. They will be well armed with torpedoes and breechloading guns.

In addition to the flotilla of torpedo-cruisers, fifty-four first-class sea-going torpedo-boats, 125 feet long, and of 19 knots speed, were laid down in 1885. If war had been declared with Russia, and our squadron had been sent to the Baltic, these boats would have been required to defend our ships from torpedo attacks. Immediately on an outbreak of hostilities the Russian men-of-war would have been withdrawn into the basins of Cronstadt and Sveaborg, secured from attack, whether by torpedo-boats or by ironclads, behind an impassable barrier of booms and obstructions, and under the protection of stone and iron-plated batteries bristling with powerful guns. Meanwhile what would have been the position of the British blockading squadron? Our ships, being compelled to keep the sea, would have been exposed to attack on every favourable opportunity of fog or darkness. We were anxious to devise the best means for giving protection to a squadron placed in so hazardous a situation. The best opinions were unanimous in favour of surrounding the ironclads with a cordon of torpedo-boat catchers. The boats required were similar to torpedo-boats in all respects except as to armaments. For the duty assigned to them of defending large ships against swift and puny antagonists, offering a small and rapidly moving target very difficult to hit, the armament proposed was to consist, not of torpedoes, but of powerful quick firing and machine-guns. Peace having been restored, these torpedo-boat catchers will be utilised for defensive purposes. They will be distributed to the several naval stations and commercial harbours at home, and to the coaling stations abroad, and they will be armed with the torpedo.

In connection with the subject of shipbuilding some allusion

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will be appropriate to the efforts lately made to accelerate the construction of ships. The delays in completion have given occasion for much unfavourable comment. These delays have occurred chiefly in the later stages of advancement, and are mainly attributable to those demands of the Navy for perfection which it must always be difficult and often unwise to refuse. Considerable pressure has been used to hasten completion without sacrificing efficiency, and in a comparative sense not unsuccessfully Not a single ironclad laid down by the French during the term of office of the late Board has yet been launched. Of the British ships commenced within the same period, two, the 'Impérieuse' and the 'Warspite,' are nearly completed. The 'Howe,' the 'Rodney,' the 'Benbow,' 'Camperdown,' and 'Hero' have been launched. The 'Hero' was less than two years on the stocks. Another recent instance may be quoted of rapid construction in the smaller class: the 'Icarus,' of 950 tons, was laid down at Devonport in August 1884; she was in frame in six weeks, and launched in July last.

The policy of the late Board in dealing with the reserves of cruisers in the mercantile marine deserves notice. It has been stated that until recently no increase had taken place in the amount of unarmoured tonnage annually built. There was no reason to anticipate that in a time of profound peace public opinion would have been prepared to accept such an increase in the Navy estimates as was proposed for 1885-86. Assuming that the administration must be content to make the best use of a limited sum of money, our efforts were concentrated mainly on vessels of a class which could not be obtained from any source external to the Navy itself. It is obvious that for ironclads we must depend entirely upon special construction for naval purposes. For the defence of our commerce against fast merchant steamers, taken up by an enemy and converted into cruisers, vessels of a similar class might be selected from our mercantile marine. The views entertained by the Board were, it is believed, very fairly conveyed in a speech delivered at Birkenhead by the present writer in December 1882. In insisting upon the intimate connection between the fighting navy and the mercantile marine, it was said: 'Your shipbuilding yards may be regarded as so many supplementary dockyards. Your powerful steamers become transports or cruisers. Your seamen and engineers are an inexhaustible reserve for the Navy. Unless we could rely on the mercantile marine to help us, it would be impossible to accept the responsibility of protecting our commerce with the present estimates, or indeed with any estimates which Parliament could be induced to vote.'

It was an essential part of the policy of the late Board to carry on the work begun by their predecessors, to organise a reserve of cruisers in the merchant service, and gradually to provide suitable armaments. Our reliance upon the mercantile marine was fully justified

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on a late occasion. We were able to take up at a few days' notice a powerful fleet of ocean steamers. Of these vessels, the 'Oregon' was actually commissioned as a ship of war, and formed part of the fleet commanded by Sir Geoffrey Hornby. The many useful services which our mercantile auxiliaries could render even to a fleet of ironclads were clearly shown in the course of the cruise. While claiming a high value for our improvised frigates as look-out ships to squadrons, or for the protection of commerce against privateers, it will be admitted that in vessels specially built for war internal subdivision and the protection of the machinery and boilers can be carried much further than would be possible in ships designed for the purposes of trade. By the recent increase of the estimates we were enabled to give to our unarmoured construction that development which had been from the first manifest in our programme of armour construction.

Having dealt with the ships we must notice their armaments. In the financial year 1879–80 not a single breechloading gun of the heavier calibres was mounted in a British ship of war. The whole subject of naval ordnance was under examination by a committee. Their inquiries resulted in a recommendation in favour of the breechloading system, which the Admiralty lost no time in adopting. It involved a complete re-armament of the Navy, and a heavy additional charge on the estimates. The expenditure on ordnance in the three years 1878–81 averaged 444,000*l.* The expenditure for the three succeeding years averaged 775,000*l.* In 1885 a further advance was made to 1,399,000*l.*, being an increase of more than a million per annum upon the expenditure for similar purposes during the two years 1879–80.

Criticism of the armament of the British Navy has been severe. No doubt there has been a delay, but that delay has not been due to prejudice in favour of any particular system, or to want of determination in pushing forward essential improvements on the part of the Parliamentary administrators who have been from time to time charged with the management of the Navy. The naval service hesitated to accept the complications and risks of the breechloading system as applied to heavy ordnance. That hesitation would probably have continued but for the introduction of the slow-burning powder, the full results from which can only be obtained by greatly lengthening the guns. We are now pushing the construction of guns on a scale not approached by any other Power.

The committee on the French estimates for 1886 gives comparative tables of penetration for English and French guns, from which the figures immediately following are extracted. While admitting that our calculated results are superior, the committee expresses the belief that in practice the guns of the two Navies of corresponding dates are approximately equal.

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COMPARATIVE PENETRATION TABLES FOR BRITISH AND FRENCH NAVAL ORDNANCE.

	Calibre	Penetration of armour at point-blank range
	Inches	Inches
English	6	10·23
French	6·45	9·05
English	9	21·26
French	9·44	18·11
English	12 (43-ton)	25·59
French	13·38	25·98
English	13 (63-ton)	38·18
French	13·38	29·92

In the criticisms of the naval administration of the late Board, the neglect of the *torpedo* was a prominent topic. The reasons for hesitation in the expenditure of large sums on the torpedo are not far to seek. The Admiralty had made a great advance in the extent of armoured construction. They were doing much to improve the armoured fleet. Before undertaking repetitions of the 'Polyphemus,' it was essential to obtain a solution of many problems which were not advanced beyond the experimental stage. The necessity for very rapid progress in building mere boats was not regarded as urgent. In a period of transition the Admiralty could not put out of view the great resources at the disposal of a British administration for the rapid construction of torpedo-boats in case of emergency. Ironclads, on the other hand, could not, it is obvious, even with the most lavish expenditure, be produced in a short space of time. The multiplication of torpedo-boats elsewhere did not necessarily require a corresponding construction for ourselves. Mere torpedo-boats are the arm of the feeble; they are efficient chiefly for defensive purposes. The torpedo-boats in the Gulf of Finland are a good defence for the Russian ports, but they could not be sent across the sea, or threaten the coasts or the commerce of this country. The writer accompanied the squadron commanded by Admiral Hornby in its cruise round the coast of Ireland, and had, as an eye-witness, an opportunity of seeing the behaviour of the torpedo-boats at sea. The difficulties experienced in bad weather fully proved that the sphere of action of mere torpedo-boats is limited to coast defence. These results fully vindicate the policy of the late Board of Admiralty. When they were enabled to propose a large increase of construction for 1885–86, the programme was sharply criticised on the ground that more attention should have been given to torpedo-boats. The Admiralty were of opinion that the provision of sea-going torpedo cruisers was, in the circumstances with which they had to deal, a more urgent necessity. Their programme included a repetition of the 'Polyphemus' and the sea-keeping vessels represented by the 'Scout' or 'Archer' class. Seven of the latter were to be laid down in the present year. Two had been commenced

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in 1884. These vessels, combined with the 'Polyphemus,' form the first instalment of a most powerful and efficient sea-going torpedo flotilla. It is reported that the present Admiralty are about to put in hand more vessels of the 'Polyphemus' type, with the improvements which experience has suggested.

The proceedings of the late administration in dealing with building and armaments having been described in detail, the adequacy of the efforts put forth may be gauged by comparing our available strength with that of our most formidable rival on the seas.

The following description of the French Navy is taken from the Report of the Select Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the Estimates for 1884:—

We possess at this moment, exclusive of ships in construction, ten effective sea-going ironclad battle-ships. Four are in commission—namely, the 'Admiral Duperré,' the 'Devastation,' the 'Colbert,' and the 'Suffren.' One ship is complete for sea. Five are under repair. Of these ironclads, seven are of the old type—the 'Colbert,' the 'Friedland,' the 'Marengo,' the 'Ocean,' the 'Richelieu,' the 'Suffren,' and the 'Trident.' All except the 'Friedland' are wood-built and without water-tight compartments. Our fleet of completed ironclads includes in addition five cruisers and four coast-defence ships. The cruisers are deficient in speed. The coast-defence vessels are less open to criticism. The ironclad fleet in construction comprises thirteen ships with a speed somewhat superior to that of the majority of the completed battle-ships, two armoured cruisers, two coast-defence ships, and eight armoured gun-boats. The latter are intended for coast defence, but would be much less effective than torpedo-boats. If the use of the torpedo did not tend in a great measure to neutralise the armoured strength of maritime Powers, we should regard our ironclad fleet as absolutely insufficient.

It is not true to say that we have not a single cruiser, but the truth—and it is painful enough—is that we have four, the 'Duquesne,' the 'Tourville,' the 'Milan,' and the 'Hirondelle,' two being of the first class, one of the second, and one of the third. A fifth, the 'Sfax,' is approaching completion. Of our fast cruisers, built and building, the 'Sfax' and the three others of the same type alone combine those conditions of unsinkability which are required in a ship of war. The insufficiency of our fleet in fast cruisers is therefore obvious. It should be remedied as soon as possible.

We do not think it necessary to refer in detail to other types largely represented in our Navy list. All these ships are a sort of naval dust, *sorte de poussière navale*, constructed to meet the requirements of our extended colonial empire, and, if useful for the maintenance of order in our Indo-Chinese and other territories, they add nothing to the strength of our Navy. It might even be said that they tend to weaken it by absorbing a part of its resources. We want some *modus vivendi*, some plan for defraying the cost of maintaining order and security in our great possessions out of local revenues, reserving exclusively for the fleet the appropriations derived from the Navy estimates.

The committee report that at the present time there are in the French Navy sixty-four torpedo-boats complete, of which twelve are of the first class, and forty-three of the second class, with four torpedo vedette boats. They have in construction eight torpedo-sloops, nine sea-going torpedo-boats, and four torpedo-cruisers. They recommend that at least 100 additional torpedo-boats should be provided for the

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defence of the naval ports, and an equal number for the general defence of the coast of France.

Having quoted the latest official opinion on the strength of the French Navy, a few statistics may appropriately be added which will supply the most important data upon which an independent judgment may be formed.

The following tables give a summary of the present and prospective condition of the armoured fleets of France and England :—

ARMOURED SHIPS.

1885

ENGLAND			FRANCE		
Class	Ships	Displacement	Class	Ships	Displacement
1st . . .	13	122,010	1st . . .	3	29,860
2nd . . .	14	86,310	2nd . . .	12	86,030
3rd . . .	14	112,410	3rd . . .	13	61,800
Coast defence .	14	41,530	Coast defence .	12	34,200
Total . .	55	362,260	Total . .	40	211,890

1890

ENGLAND			FRANCE		
Class	Ships	Displacement	Class	Ships	Displacement
1st . . .	22	210,450	1st . . .	10	103,140
2nd . . .	22	132,730	2nd . . .	18	125,920
3rd . . .	12	98,380	3rd . . .	4	19,630
Coast defence .	14	41,530	Coast defence .	19	42,080
Total . .	70	483,090	Total . .	51	290,770

The ships included in the first and second classes are shown in the tables, pp. 122, 123.

The ships of the third class are of obsolete type, but all the English ships are iron-built, and solidly constructed. The British coast defence list includes five small turret-vessels permanently stationed in colonial waters, the 'Glatton,' and four ships of the 'Gorgon' class, well adapted for the defence of our commercial harbours.

The French coast defence list comprises three vessels of greater power than any British ships in the same class :—

Name.	Displacement.	Speed.	Maximum Armour.	Armament Heavy.	Date of Launch	Hulls
	Tons	Knots	Inches	Tons		
Tonnant	4,630	10	17¾	2·47	1880	Iron
Tempête	4,450	11·75	13	2·28	1876	
Vengeur	4,450	11	13	2·48	1878	

The French list includes in addition eight armoured gun-boats, four having a displacement of 1,030 tons, and four of 1,610 tons.

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Comparative Statement of the Armoured Fleets of France and England, 31st March, 1890.

SHIPS COMPLETED.

TABLE I.—FIRST CLASS.

Hulls of Iron. Armour not less than 9 inches. Displacement exceeding 8,500 tons.

ENGLAND								FRANCE					
Name	Displacement	Speed	Maximum Armour	Armament (Heavy)			Date of Launch	Name	Displacement	Speed	Maximum Armour	Armament (Heavy	Date of Launch
	Tons	Knots	Inches						Tons	Knots	Inches		
Devastation	9,330	13·84	14	4	35-ton	M.L.	1871	Amiral Duperré	10,900	14·47	21½	4 48-ton	1879
Dreadnought	10,820	14·52	14	4	38	„	1875	Dévastation	9,930	15·17	15	4 48 „	1879
Inflexible	11,880	14	24	4	80	„	1876	Redoutable	9,030	14·66	14	4 28 „	1876
Neptune	9,310	14·2	13	4	38	„	Purchased in 1878	Foudroyant	9,480	15	15	4 49 „	1882
								Amiral Baudin	11,200	15	21½	3 75 „	1883
Thunderer	9,330	13·40	14	2	38	„	1872	Formidable	11,200	15	21½	3 75 „	1885
Alexandra	9,490	15	12	2	25	„	1875	Neptune	10,400	15	18	4 52 „	
Hercules	8,680	14·69	9	8	18	„	1868	Hoche	10,200	15	18	2 52 „	
Sultan	9,290	14·13	9	4	12	„	1870	Marceau	10,400	15	18	4 52 „	
Téméraire	8,540	14·65	11	4	25	„	1876	Magenta	10,400	15	18	4 52 „	
Superb	9,170	13·8	12	16	18	„	Purchased in 1878						
Ajax	8,510	13	18	4	38	„	1880						
Agamemnon	8,510	13	18	4	38	„	1879						
Edinburgh	9,150	16	18	4	43-ton	B.L.	1882						
Colossus	9,150	16	18	4	43	„	1882						
Collingwood	9,150	16	18	4	43	„	1882						
Howe	9,600	16	18	4	64	„	1885						
Rodney	9,600	16	18	4	64	„	1884						
Benbow	10,000	16	18	2	110	„	1885						
Camperdown	10,000	16	18	4	64	„							
Anson	10,000	16	18	4	64	„							
Sanspareil	10,470	16	18	2	110	„							
Renown	10,470	16	18	2	110	„							
Total, 22	210,450							Total, 10	103,140				

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TABLE II.—SECOND CLASS.

Hulls of Iron (I.) or of Wood (W.) Maximum Armour not less than 8 inches. Displacement less than 8,500 tons.

ENGLAND							FRANCE						
Name	Displacement	Speed	Maximum Armour	Armament (Heavy)	Date of Launch	Hulls	Name	Displacement	Speed	Maximum Armour	Armament (Heavy)	Date of Launch	Hulls
	Tons	Knots	Inches					Tons	Knots	Inches			
Monarch	8,320	14·94	10	4 25-ton M.L.	1868	I.	Colbert	8,450	14·4	8¾	8 23-ton	1875	W.
Audacious	6,010	12·83	8	10 12 „	1869	I.	Trident	8,670	14·25	8½	8 23 „	1876	W.
Belleisle	4,870	12·20	12	4 25 „	1876	I.	Richelieu	8,650	14 about	8¾	6 23 „	1873	W.
Invincible	6,010	14·09	8	10 12 „	1869	I.	Friedland	8,770	13·4	8½	8 23 „	1873	I.
Iron Duke	6,010	13·64	8	10 12 „	1870	I.	Marengo	7,750	12	8¾	4 23 „	1869	W.
Nelson	7,630	14·05	9	4 18 „	1876	I.	Suffren	7,620	14·30	8½	4 23 „	1870	W.
Northampton	7,630	13·17	9	4 18 „	1876	I.	Océan	7,650	13·70	8¾	4 23 „	1868	W.
Swiftsure	6,910	13·75	8	10 12 „	1870	I.	Bayard	5,890	14·53	10	4 15½ „	1880	W.
Triumph	6,640	14·07	8	10 12 „	1870	I.	Turenne	5,790	14·14	10	4 15½ „	1879	I.
Orion	4,870	13	12	4 25 „	1879	I.	Fulminant	5,500	12	13	2 28 „	1877	I.
Shannon	5,390	12·35	9	2 18 „	1875	I.	Tonnerre	5,500	12·3	13	2 28 „	1875	I.
Hotspur	4,360	12·65	11	2 25 „	1870	I.	Vauban	5,780	14	10	4 18½ „	1882	I.
Impérieuse	7,600	16	10	4 18-ton B.L.	1883	I.	Terrible	7,100	14·50	19¾	2 75 „	1881	I.
Warspite	7,600	16	10	4 18 „	1884	I.	Furieux	5,600	12	17¾	2 47 „	1883	I.
Conqueror	6,220	15	12	2 43 „	1881	I.	Indomptable	7,100	14·50	19¾	2 75 „	1883	I.
Rupert	5,440	13·59	14	2 18-ton M.L.	1872	I.	Dugueslin	5,780	14	10	4 18½ „	1883	I.
Hero	6,220	15	12	2 43-ton B.L.		I.	Caïman	7,100	14·50	19¾	2 75 „	1885	I.
Belted cruisers	5,000	18	10	2 18 „		I.	Requin	7,100	14·50	19¾	2 75 „	1885	
	5,000	18	10	2 18 „		I.							
	5,000	18	10	2 18 „		I.							
	5,000	18	10	2 18 „		I.							
	5,000	18	10	2 18 „		I.							
Total, 22	132,730						Total, 18	125,900					

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The fast unarmoured ships of France and England, built and building, are shown in the following tables:—

ENGLAND.

16 to 17 knots	Speed	Tons	Total Tons	17 to 18 knots	Speed	Tons	Total Tons	18 and over	Speed	Tons
Inconstant .	16	—	5,780	Polyphemus .	17	—	2,640	Mercury .	18	3,755
Raleigh . .	16	—	5,200	Iris . . .	17	—	3,750	Torpedo ram	18·5	2,800
2 Scouts . .	16·5	1,430	2,860	C Alacrity and	17	1,400	2,800			
C 4 Leanders	17	3,750	15,000	Surprise .						
B 7 Archers .	16·5	1,600	11,200	B 4 Merseys .	17	3,550	14,200			
			40,040				23,390			6,555

B, building; C, completing.

FRANCE.

16 to 17 knots		Speed	Tons	17 to 18 knots	Speed	Tons	Total Tons	18 knots and over	Speed	Tons
Duquesne . . .		16	5,883	(a) 4 Condor	17	1,260	5,040	Milan . .	18	1,546
Tourville . . .		16	5,507	(a) 8 Bombe	17	321	2,568			
Building and completing	Sfax . .	16	4,503							
	Aréthuse .	—	2,356							
	Dubourdieu	—	3,354							
			21,603				7,608			1,546

(a) Building and completing.

The defences of our coaling stations have occupied the attention of successive Governments. They have shrunk from undertaking the task, under an apprehension of the enormous expenditure to which they might find themselves committed. Looking at the experience of the past, such apprehensions cannot be regarded as altogether without foundation. The fortifications of our home ports have involved an expenditure of many millions, and a visit to Bermuda cannot fail to impress the traveller with the conviction that the defensive works have been unduly extended. To man them properly, a garrison of at least 6,000 men would be required. The permanent force in time of peace is 1,600 men, and it may be questioned whether a sufficient addition to the strength could be spared, even under the apprehension of war. The Royal Commission on our Colonial Defences arrived at the conclusion that a comparatively moderate sum would suffice to place all our foreign stations in a position of defence against the attacks of the light vessels of an enemy. It is certain that we have nothing to fear from their ironclads. Having regard to the limited number of such vessels at their disposal, no European Power could venture to weaken the means of home defence in time of war by sending fleets of ironclads to distant quarters of

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the globe. The public have now the assurance that the necessary works for our coaling stations have been taken in hand. The charge on imperial funds can be kept within reasonable limits. The cost of permanent fortifications will be borne by the wealthy communities established under the protection of our flag at Hong Kong and Singapore. The Australian colonies are fully prepared to provide their own local defences. We look for assistance from India for the fortification of Aden. At the Cape, Malta, and Gibraltar the charge must necessarily be borne by the Imperial exchequer. In connection with these works of defences the patriotic efforts of our most powerful colonies to create a naval force deserve attention. They already possess ironclads, torpedo-vessels, and powerful sea-going boats, and they have organised a considerable naval reserve. The late Admiralty readily afforded all the assistance which it was in their power to give to the colonial governments.

Under the late Board the dock accommodation for the Navy was considerably extended. They completed a dock of the first class at Devonport, and they commenced a similar dock at Malta. They obtained the sanction of the Treasury for a grant towards the construction of a private dock at Hong Kong, large enough to take in ironclads of the most powerful class which would be despatched to those distant waters. They assiduously represented to the Government of India the necessity for providing a dock at Bombay capable of receiving an ironclad.

In concluding, two points may be specially urged: let there be less of self-depreciation and less of party spirit in dealing with the Navy. In the anxious desire to arouse public opinion, and to bring pressure to bear upon the Government, accuracy has been too little regarded in the comparisons of our Navy with foreign fleets from time to time presented to the public. Happily these pessimist views are not accepted abroad with the credulity which is exhibited at home. Foreign observers know very well that we are not defenceless, and they have a wholesome respect for our naval power. This impression is our best protection against the miseries of war. In recent years the naval debates in Parliament have been free from the acrimony formerly displayed. The discussions in the House of Commons on naval matters were lifted out of the region of party conflict. It was agreed on both sides to treat the affairs of the Navy as a common object in which, if the rivalry of party was to be felt at all, it should be displayed not in mutual recrimination, but in striving which would contribute most from his stores of knowledge and experience for the advantage of the public service.

The permanent strength of the Navy must ever depend on the will of the nation. No movement such as that which has lately taken place could proceed from the action of a particular party or the influence of an individual minister. Lord Beaconsfield said truly: 'It

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is quite a wild idea that a body of men, though they may be ministers, can meet in a room and suddenly alter the establishments of the country. . . . The establishments of the country are adapted to the policy which the country pursues.'

Under the late administration the building votes were increased from 3,082,000*l.* in 1880–81 to 5,047,000*l.* in 1885–86. They were increased because at the bidding of the nation we entered upon a new policy. We have undertaken to provide upon a scale never contemplated before for the protection of the commerce of the country. We have resolved on a complete re-armament of the Fleet.

In asking for a full and fair recognition of the strength and resources of the Navy as it was handed over by the late Government to their successors, the present writer disclaims any special share of credit for the Board with which he was connected. The strength of the Navy as we see it to-day, in its officers and men, in its ships, in the great stations and establishments which it possesses in all parts of the world, is the result of the labour of a long succession of Boards of Admiralty, and it is intimately bound up with the history of the country. The ablest ministers in a short and precarious term of office can add but little to our maritime power: a short interval of bad administration may do much to weaken it.

> A thousand years scarce serve to form a State:
> An hour may lay it in the dust.

It may be confidently asserted that under the late Board of Admiralty much was done to maintain the traditional superiority of the British Navy.

THOMAS BRASSEY.

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IRISH EDUCATION.

For nearly fifty years the system of mixed education imposed upon Ireland for politic reasons by Parliament, against the almost unanimous wishes of her people of all religious denominations, has been fairly tried, and, all must acknowledge, has been found wanting.

The primary or national schools have owed whatever success they have attained to the circumstance that practically they have been worked upon the denominational principle.

Of the Queen's colleges it may be said that only one, that of Belfast, has achieved any real success, and that for the same reason, for to all intents and purposes it is a Presbyterian college; those of Cork and Galway being conspicuous failures. Coming to higher or university education, the Queen's University, founded as a portion of the above system, may be dismissed as a thing of the past.

There have been two large and generous attempts in later times to meet the inequality under which the Roman Catholics suffer, but still adhering to the principle of avoiding actual and open denominational endowment.

The first, Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1873, was wrecked, partly from want of support from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, but chiefly through the bigoted opposition of Mr. Gladstone's own English Nonconformist and Radical supporters.

Then came Lord Beaconsfield's measure, on much the same lines as his Intermediate Education Bill, which had attained a certain degree of success: the principle of which is the liberal endowment of scholarships open to all.

This is the present Royal University, which, as an examining and rewarding machinery, has been eminently successful; but still it leaves the great grievance of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects unredressed. We still have, face to face, the magnificently endowed Trinity College, which cannot help retaining its Protestant character, and the Catholic University, which has never received one shilling from the State.

Now, it is in these circumstances, and with the view of suggesting a remedy for this manifest inequality and injustice, that I venture to put forward the following remarks.

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There can be no doubt but that public opinion has ripened very much of late on this matter, and appears to offer an opportunity for its generous settlement.

I think that, in the face of the evidence of feeling upon the subject of religious education shown in the English elections, the secularist party in Parliament can hardly maintain their rigid attitude of hostility to all denominational endowment; and from the declarations of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, as leader of the opposite party, and from a remarkable article on the subject in the Dublin *Evening Mail* of November 7, 1885 (the organ of the most uncompromising section of the Tory party in Ireland), I do not think much opposition would be offered on that side of the House. There is also at the present time the great desire of all parties to meet in a favourable spirit the wishes of the National party in Ireland on any subject that does not involve danger to the empire.

There are two alternatives in dealing with the question: one being the conversion of the present Royal University into a purely Catholic one, and affiliating the Catholic colleges to it; the other, the formation, as Mr. Gladstone proposed, of only one university for all Ireland. The latter is the plan on which I propose to write now, because it is alleged that the Catholics have, as is no doubt the case, the grievance that they have to start from a lower level than the Protestants, on account of their want of an ancient and well endowed and equipped university, such as is possessed by the latter at Trinity College, Dublin.

The omission of the chairs of History and Philosophy in Mr. Gladstone's Bill was an attempt to remedy this inequality, by relegating these controversial subjects to private study; but this was looked upon by everyone as an objection to the measure, and it seems as if now it might be possible to obtain equality by a method which did not meet with public favour at that time—the establishment *and endowment* of Catholic colleges under a common university.

The Catholic hierarchy both in England and Ireland have always pronounced emphatically that religion should be inculcated in connection with education in all its branches, as well in primary and intermediate schools as in universities and colleges.

The Protestants of Ireland also hold that opinion, and the doctrinal differences between them have always proved the *crux* which has prevented any agreement between them in mixed education.

Any one who lives in Ireland, as I do, cannot but observe the impossibility of mixing the two antagonistic creeds, but I write with great diffidence on the subject, from not having, unfortunately, received a university education myself. On the other hand, I have lived a good many years in constant communication with both parties, and have therefore thought right to endeavour to press this most important subject upon public attention.

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In primary schools, under the National Board, it is well known that, wherever there is a sufficient number of scholars of each creed, it has been found best to establish a Catholic and a Protestant school, side by side, with teachers and managers, in each case, of the creed of the school children respectively.

I have established this on my own estate with the greatest success, and no complaints have been heard on either side since this practically denominational system has been in force.

Of course there are some places where this is not possible—where the number on one side or the other is too small to admit of two schools receiving grants from the National Board; but in these cases, where the Protestants are generally in the minority, sometimes there are private schools, not under the Board, supported by the local landlords or other persons. There must be very few places in Ireland where the Catholics are in so small a minority as to be unable to obtain a grant. Probably, therefore, the main alteration which would be required in the National Board would be that a sufficient number of the Commissioners should be always of the creed of the majority. That is, as I understand, the view expressed by the Catholic authorities in Ireland. I believe that, even in Ulster, the Catholics are 47 per cent., or thereabouts, of the population, and in the other provinces, of course, the proportion of Catholics is much larger. The National Board might, if necessary, have power to declare schools which are practically in most cases already denominational to be such in fact and name.

I am quite convinced that it is useless attempting to go on, in any grade of education in Ireland, on the mixed system, which satisfies neither one side nor the other, and that it would be better in the interest of peace as well as of every other good influence to agree to differ, as I have said above—some provision being made in the rules of the National Board to prevent the interference by the members of one creed with the rights of the other. Each party having their full rights conceded and guaranteed, there would not be any just cause for jealousy or interference.

But to return to the higher education in the universities: the Royal University has been lately established, with the view of meeting the claims of the Catholics, who did not think themselves justified in entering either the Queen's University or the, until lately, Protestant University of Trinity College.

A large proportion of Catholics are on its Senate, including the Vice-Chancellor, Lord Emly, who succeeded the late Lord O'Hagan. Still, the inequality under which the Catholics suffer as to endowment is left untouched.

England has but too often legislated for Ireland upon lines which are well suited to English affairs, and then has turned round in surprise because everything has not worked as smoothly as she

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expected; but could anything be imagined more different, to take this education question as an instance, than the circumstances of England and those of Ireland? There, all differences are questions of degree; but in Ireland there is one difference only, which is so sharply accentuated that all minor points, such as High and Low Church, &c., sink into insignificance, and yet it is persistently sought to mix these discordant elements and to braise in one mortar ingredients which cannot possibly be amalgamated. Suppose that the English people were to try and look at affairs here from the point that in some essential matters, at all events, Irishmen know what is best suited to the circumstances of their own country. I should myself—though not a Catholic, living among Catholics in constant intercourse, and among whom I count some of my greatest friends—be most anxious to see this highly important question solved in such a way as to remove all possible cause of complaint, and so as to give to all creeds in Ireland absolute equality in all matters of education. There is but one way to effect this, and that is by denominationalism. I think that all parties in Ireland have pretty much come to this conclusion.

Take the case of our neighbours in France. No one can have thought of the events which happened there in 1871 without feeling that the spread of infidelity is a worse calamity to a nation than any differences of creed which could possibly exist, and without feeling that, however opinions may vary on controversial subjects, it is absolutely necessary that the teachings of religion should be retained in intimate connection with the training of the young, as the only means by which virtue and morality can be upheld in a nation. God forbid that we should ever have a Commune in this country! I do not believe that such feelings are natural to the Irish people. The religious feeling of the Catholics of Ireland, although, I regret to say, apparently impaired by recent events, is, I maintain, still there, and we saw on several occasions lately at political meetings, where the bishops have been present, the whole assembly kneeling down to receive their blessing—a most impressive and remarkable sight. I think it is certain that, the people having been led away into the commission of crime of late years, it must tend to an improvement in Irish affairs that the clergy should be able to control the course of events, and this can best be done by influencing the minds of the young. The way to combat crime is not by withholding religious and educational advantages, but by admitting those who, in Ireland, are the great majority of the people, to the utmost privileges on a complete equality with their countrymen of other creeds, so as to reclaim them from temptation by removing all just cause for animosity or jealousy, and giving every facility for the inculcation of religious as well as secular knowledge in the young, before and in connection with their entrance into the duties of citizens on attainment of manhood. It

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has been said that if the conduct of education is handed over to the influence of the Catholic clergy, the standard of the curriculum would be lowered; but we have in the pronouncement lately delivered by the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin a complete refutation of that charge.

I quote his words, uttered at the opening of the Medical Session of the Catholic University in Dublin, on the 6th of November, 1885.

> The requisite goodness of curriculum we cannot and do not object to, but what we must continue to object to, is our being subjected to a system in which, if we wish to hold our heads as high as our more fortunate neighbours are entitled to hold theirs, we can do so only by making our curriculum *better* and our examination *stiffer* than those by which their qualifications are tried. We surely have a claim to an equal share of prestige, as well as to an equal share of everything else.

In his address to the students of the French College, Blackrock, shortly after his return from being consecrated at Rome, he says:

> I regard it as the first, the most formidable, and, if the word be not too strong a one, the fatal defect of the structure of the new university [meaning the Royal University], that it has been built upon a principle radically different from that laid down as fundamental in one of his greatest speeches by that great statesman, of whom, notwithstanding much that has been said and written, I cannot speak but as an earnest friend of Ireland, Mr. Gladstone. That principle, so lucidly set forth in the speech in which he unfolded the nature of his well-meant, but in so many respects sadly defective, Irish University Bill of 1873, was this, that if the university arrangements of Ireland were to be remodelled so as to admit Catholics and their colleges to the advantages of a university system, the university should not be a new university, 'hobbling and lagging,' as he expressed it, behind the ancient University of Dublin. The very starting-point, then, of his proposed reform was that we should be admitted to the advantages of the University of Dublin itself, in which, in fact, he would have included the whole university organisation of the country. And, as he showed, by thus including it, so far would he have been from introducing any violent change into the constitution of the Dublin University that he would rather be giving effect to one of the fundamental principles of that constitution; for, as he explained, Trinity College, Dublin, had originally been founded, not as practically constituting a university, which it now does, but as the 'Mater Universitatis,' meaning thereby, to quote Mr. Gladstone's words, 'that from that college a university was to spring up'—as it soon sprang up, in fact—'a university of which other colleges were to appear from time to time.'

Archbishop Walsh went on to quote again from his own former speech:—

> In suggesting the amalgamation of all our university colleges, all that are worthy of the name, into the compact union of a National University, let me not be misunderstood. That union, if it is to be effected, as I believe it ultimately will be, must be effected in a way that will be in no respect unworthy of the venerable institution which now stands in so unnaturally an isolated condition. And among other advantages to which I should look with confidence as certain to result from a settlement of the question based upon the fundamental principle of Mr. Gladstone's scheme, would be that from our present so-called university system would be eliminated much that is sadly out of place in it, which would thus, to the advantage of both University and Intermediate Education, be fixed in its own natural sphere in the Intermediate School; and you [addressing the medical students] as well as I have by this time sufficient knowledge of some so-called university colleges and their ways, to know that if, as an essential principle of such a scheme, it were

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insisted, as of course it should be, that the same scholarship, the same amount of academic training, which are now certified by a degree of the Dublin University, should be an essential condition of obtaining a university degree in the National University of Ireland, it is not from your college, or from those others which form our present Catholic University organization, that any objection to the proposal is to be feared.

The feeling is evidently very strong in Ireland that Catholics and Protestants should be placed upon an absolutely equal footing with regard to university education. When Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton was addressing his late constituents in Dublin and soliciting their suffrages for re-election to Parliament the other day, questions were addressed to him as to whether he would, if re-elected, support a measure for a national university, with endowed denominational colleges affiliated to it. His answer was that the Conservative party always considered that religion should not be separated from education. There I entirely agree with him. That is the contention of the Catholic bishops and clergy. It is also the sentiment of the Protestants of Ireland. The Protestants have established, since their Church became a voluntary one, a Board of Religious Education, mainly with the object of training the Protestant teachers in national and other primary schools in the tenets and principles of the Protestant Church. I think, as a Protestant myself, that this is a most important and essential thing, so that the children in Protestant schools should have instructors who will be competent to teach them in the hours set apart for religious learning. This is exactly what the Catholics also desire, and the Catholic schoolmasters, in the same way, are trained according to their creed, for the same purpose. These objects, therefore, are already provided for, both by Catholics and Protestants in primary schools. Why not in higher education? It is so in the Catholic University, but the complaint is that, while all disabilities against Catholics in the United Kingdom have been abrogated, they are still at a great disadvantage in comparison with their endowed Protestant brethren, not only because they have no endowment, but no equipment in the way of buildings, libraries, &c. Of course their university has not the prestige of old Trinity, nor has it at present even the privilege of conferring degrees. The letters T.C.D. after a man's name carry as much weight, from an educational point of view, as degrees of Oxford or Cambridge or the London University; but the Dublin Catholic University is not looked upon by the world as so important an institution, and, whether the curriculum there be as stiff as those of other universities or not, still it is a great fact that a student of the Catholic University in Dublin would not, so to speak, bear a hall-mark which would be sufficient to warrant him in the way in which students of the University of Dublin are warranted. This inferiority of prestige may be sentimental, but many Irish grievances are sentimental, and it is felt most strongly, and the Royal University has been lately established, with a strong

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and representative governing body, with a view of remedying that evil. I believe, however, that it is now, after having been tried for some years, admitted by many, not only Catholics but Protestants, not to have entirely removed the grievance, although it may have to some extent mitigated it. The Catholics feel, as the large majority of the Irish nation, that even with that boon (and it is admitted to be a boon as far as it goes) complete equality has not been attained. What they desire, and demand as their right, is that there shall be no difference whatever between the university which passes the Protestant into the world as a finished scholar and the educational test of the Catholic, either in examinational standard or prestige. They say that one great university would be sufficient for Ireland, the University of Dublin. Their view is that expressed in Mr. Gladstone's measure of 1873, that the university now seated in Trinity College should be made a really national one, including all colleges throughout Ireland, whether Protestant or Catholic, under itself, as one great national institution.

Public opinion was not ripe for this in 1873. When Mr. Gladstone made his great speech on this question, as I remember well, there was a pause, and those in Ireland who took interest in the subject held their breath for a short time to weigh and consider on every side the bearings of his most important proposal.

It is an extraordinary thing to think that until 1879 the great University of Dublin was practically closed to Catholics, who number more than three-fourths of the population of the island. People who have not taken up the subject of the former government of Ireland wonder at the ceaseless complaints of Irishmen, and it is often said that although so much has been done for them of late years still they remain discontented and dissatisfied, crying out against the alleged misrule of England, wanting a separate Government, saying that they get no justice from an 'alien' Parliament, and they are looked upon as insatiable agitators, ready to devour their Protestant neighbours, and always in an incurable state of discontent. There has been much done for Ireland lately, and no one, in either past or present time, has done so much as Mr. Gladstone, and I have great confidence that if he has the opportunity, he will be able to set this matter also at rest. But here is a grievance, surely a great one, and although the Royal University has been set up, with many eminent Catholics on its governing body, the Irish people still complain, and do not consider that institution an adequate recognition of their claims.

The Catholics, to remedy as far as lay in their power their educational wants, so lately as 1854 established the Stephen's Green Catholic University under Cardinal Newman, of which the Very Rev. Gerald Molloy is Rector; but how could they, few of whom are wealthy, endow or maintain a university commensurate with their numbers, or hope to rival the ancient one of their Protestant fellow-

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countrymen? Their religion prevents them entering in any considerable numbers into Trinity, or being examined at the university connected with it, where the governing and examining bodies are still almost entirely Protestant. There is still, at the present time, only one Catholic Fellow of Trinity College. Of course it will be said that the university has always been open to them, and that it was their own fault if they did not take advantage of it. But to any one who knows how Catholics cherish their own faith, and how jealous they are of any interference, can it be a wonder that they have held aloof as a body from an institution where they considered that faith to be in danger?

Now, as an Irishman and a Protestant, I should be the last person to say anything against the University of Dublin.

I consider that Trinity College and its university are among the noblest institutions in Ireland, with their ancient traditions, their great wealth, their splendid buildings and magnificent museums and libraries. But it will be acknowledged by Irishmen, and perhaps by some even of the adherents of old Trinity themselves, that as a national university it does not satisfy the aspirations or meet the wants of the people of Ireland as a whole. What is required is an equal institution, with provision made for Catholics corresponding to what Trinity College, Dublin, is to Protestants. The main flaw in Mr. Gladstone's scheme was that, while it opened to Catholic students the examinations and degrees of the University of Dublin, it provided no endowment for the colleges which would enable them to give the education to fit the students for the examinations. It left to the Protestant community the endowments of Trinity College, and left the Catholics to their own meagre and insufficient resources. The same general scheme as was proposed in his Bill would be perfectly satisfactory if only it was made to provide for them equal endowments to those enjoyed by the Protestants in Trinity College.

This is the essential point, and would involve, of course, a considerable money vote, but it would be a small sum compared with what the British nation has over and over again expended of late years upon wars which have brought but little glory and credit to its arms, and would remove a cause of dispute and make a permanent peace on this question in Ireland which would be more honourable to the English people than any of those I have referred to. I am sure that if it came home in all its naked truth to the thinkers of England that there was this great institution, with everything comprised in it that is necessary for the university requirements of the Irish nation, and which is only prevented from being available by the obsolete notions formerly in vogue as to the ostracism of Catholics, they would consider whether such a beam in the eye of Parliament, such a standing injustice to a nationality, such a reproach

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to the boasted civil and religious liberty of the age, should any longer remain a load upon the conscience of the United Kingdom and its legislature, especially as it is not proposed that Trinity College, as a college, should be deprived of anything, but only that a Catholic College should be raised to an equality with it, and the University of Dublin be made a truly national one, the ancient college remaining as it is for the Protestants of Ireland.

I believe that it would not be that in Ireland, where I write, the chief opposition to such a scheme would be found.

Some opposition there would no doubt be, but I cannot but think that Protestants who know the facts would admit that the Catholics have a grievance in this matter, which has not, up to this time, been completely redressed.

Now I will ask reasonable men in England, where the youth of the country have the advantages of the universities there all open to them, is this a very violent or revolutionary demand on the part of the majority in Ireland? I believe that the great opposition to the scheme for a national university with denominational colleges would come from the English Nonconformists and doctrinaires. Of course these classes are very much opposed to the Catholic creed; they stand, so to speak, at the opposite pole; but could it not be entertained by them in a spirit of fairness and concession, that the feelings of the Irish Catholics ought to be considered, and that they shall be placed on a just and equal footing with other subjects of the Queen?

One sees the argument always brought forward, 'This is giving the power into the hands of the priests!' Well, is not the control of the youth of any country by religious influences in which their childhood has been reared, and in which they and their parents have confidence and faith, better than a godless system leading to indifference, if not infidelity?

The Irish Catholic bishops and clergy are taking now a prominent part in the leading of the people, and however much we may disagree with some views that are being expressed, may we not concede to them the belief that they are trying to guide their flocks into paths more likely to be safe than would be the case if they were left altogether to influences apart from any religious feelings at all?

I hope and trust that the Nonconformists of England, who are, in general politics, mainly if not entirely Liberals, may consider this, and not forsake their Liberalism because in Ireland those principles happen to tend in a different direction in educational matters from what they do in England. Do not they desire that, granting to Ireland as well as to Scotland or England control to such an extent as may be found possible and advisable over local matters, in which the circumstances of each country differ, the union between the three kingdoms should be preserved, and at the same time the reproach should be taken away from England

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which is so often thrown in her face, that she does not rule Ireland according to Irish ideas? The educational system which appears, therefore, to be most suitable to Ireland would be somewhat on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's scheme of 1873, only that under the arrangement that there should be denominational colleges with a common university there would be no difficulty as to the teaching of philosophy and history in these separate institutions, and thus the greatest blot in his scheme would be effectually got rid of.

I believe that some such general idea as the following might meet the case. Let the two existing universities, apart from colleges, be merged in one, to be called the University of Dublin or of Ireland, with a governing body composed of Catholics as well as Protestants; Trinity College to remain, as now, the college for the members of the Protestant Episcopalian Church. Let the Queen's College at Cork and the one at Galway be distinctly denominational Catholic colleges, and the Belfast College be given to the Presbyterians. The present endowments of these colleges, it is said, would be sufficient as they are, and all should be affiliated to the University of Dublin. The Catholic college in Stephen's Green to be endowed in a manner commensurate with its importance as the chief Catholic educational institution in Ireland. Then, in the reformed University of Dublin, all students, Catholic as well as Protestant, Presbyterian as well as Episcopalian, would start fair in the race of life, and be absolutely equal in the examinations which they would have to undergo.

In conclusion, I may state what the endowment, in the opinion of others well qualified to judge, besides myself, should be, to give the satisfaction which is desired.

As I said above, it is considered that the present incomes of the three colleges at Cork, Galway, and Belfast are sufficient. All that would be required, therefore, as regards them, would be to declare the Cork and Galway colleges to be denominational Catholic colleges, making their governing bodies entirely Catholic, the Belfast college to be handed over in the same manner to the Presbyterians.

The endowment to be provided for the principal Catholic college in Stephen's Green should be sufficient for: (1) the purchase of a site and the erection of larger and more suitable buildings; (2) the library, museum, laboratories, physical cabinet, and all the material equipment of education in the departments of Arts, Medicine, Engineering and Law.

It should be observed that if the Royal University were wound up, there would be an annual sum of 20,000*l.* set free, which is the present endowment of that university. Then 700,000*l.* invested in the funds, it is computed, would produce 20,000*l.* a year more, making the required income for the Catholic college 40,000*l.* per annum. 300,000*l.* would be sufficient for the site, buildings and equipment mentioned as Nos. 1 and 2.

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In this case one million sterling would be required.

The university would still have to be provided for, and Mr. Gladstone proposed in his Bill of 1873 that a definite fixed portion of the present endowment of Trinity College, as a university, should be applied to the one he proposed to establish, and, if that was done, the income of Trinity College would still considerably exceed the proposed income of the Catholic College.

But if, to prevent any difficulties with Trinity College, it was thought preferable to leave its endowments untouched, then the Royal University might remain, with its present endowment, as the University of Ireland, and an additional sum to produce 20,000*l.* per annum might be provided by the State, which would raise the total sum required for all purposes to 1,700,000*l.*

I venture to make an appeal to Englishmen and Scotchmen—Irishmen I need hardly appeal to: they know the pressing necessity for a settlement.

Will they give Ireland the greatest engine of civilisation that is possible, on lines which the Irish people understand and which would suit them and render it impossible for them in future to say with any justice that the State had not made a generous and liberal provision for their wants, or that there was any inequality between them and their Protestant fellow-countrymen?

POWERSCOURT.

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THOMAS MIDDLETON.

If it be true, as we are told on high authority, that the greatest glory of England is her literature and the greatest glory of English literature is its poetry, it is not less true that the greatest glory of English poetry lies rather in its dramatic than its epic or its lyric triumphs. The name of Shakespeare is above the names even of Milton and Coleridge and Shelley: and the names of his comrades in art and their immediate successors are above all but the highest names in any other province of our song. There is such an overflowing life, such a superb exuberance of abounding and exulting strength, in the dramatic poetry of the half-century extending from 1590 to 1640, that all other epochs of English literature seem as it were but half awake and half alive by comparison with this generation of giants and of gods. There is more sap in this than in any other branch of the national bay-tree: it has an energy in fertility which reminds us rather of the forest than the garden or the park. It is true that the weeds and briars of the underwood are but too likely to embarrass and offend the feet of the rangers and the gardeners who trim the level flower-plots or preserve the domestic game of enclosed and ordered lowlands in the tamer demesnes of literature. The sun is strong and the wind sharp in the climate which reared the fellows and the followers of Shakespeare. The extreme inequality and roughness of the ground must also be taken into account when we are disposed, as I for one have often been disposed, to wonder beyond measure at the apathetic ignorance of average students in regard of the abundant treasure to be gathered from this widest and most fruitful province in the poetic empire of England. And yet, since Charles Lamb threw open its gates to all comers in the ninth year of the present century, it cannot but seem strange that comparatively so few should have availed themselves of the entry to so rich and royal an estate. The subsequent labours of Mr. Dyce made the rough ways plain and the devious paths straight for all serious and worthy students. And now again Mr. Bullen has taken up a task than which none more arduous and important, none worthier of thanks and praise, can be undertaken by any English scholar. In his beautiful and valuable edition of Marlowe there are but two points to which exception may be taken. It was, I think, a fault of omission to exclude the apocryphal

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play of *Lust's Dominion* from a place in the appendix: it was, I am certain, a fault of commission to admit instead of it the much bepuffed and very puffy rubbish of the late Mr. Horne. That clever, versatile, and energetic writer never went so far out of his depth, or floundered so pitifully in such perilous waters, as when he ventured to put verses of his own into the mouth of Christopher Marlowe. These errors we must all hope to see rectified in a second issue of the text: and meantime we can but welcome with all possible gratitude and applause the magnificent series of old plays by unknown writers which we owe to the keen research and the fine appreciation of Marlowe's latest editor. Of these I may find some future occasion to speak: my present business is with the admirable poet who has been promoted to the second place in Mr. Bullen's collection of the English dramatists.

The selection of Middleton for so distinguished a place of honour may probably not approve itself to the judgment of all experts in dramatic literature. Charles Lamb, as they will all remember, would have advised the editor 'to begin with the collected plays of Heywood:' which as yet, like the plays of Dekker, of Marston, and of Chapman, remain unedited in any serious or scholarly sense of the term. The existing reprints merely reproduce, without adequate elucidation or correction, the corrupt and chaotic text of the worst early editions: while Middleton has for upwards of half a century enjoyed the privilege denied to men who are usually accounted his equals if not his superiors in poetic if not in dramatic genius. Even for an editor of the ripest learning and the highest ability there is comparatively little to do where Mr. Dyce has been before him in the field. However, we must all give glad and grateful welcome to a new edition of a noble poet who has never yet received his full meed of praise and justice: though our gratitude and our gladness may be quickened and dilated by the proverbial sense of further favours to come.

The first word of modern tribute to the tragic genius of Thomas Middleton was not spoken by Charles Lamb. Four years before the appearance of the priceless volume which established his fame for ever among all true lovers of English poetry by copious excerpts from five of his most characteristic works, Walter Scott, in a note on the fifty-sixth stanza of the second fytte of the metrical romance of *Sir Tristrem*, had given a passing word of recognition to the 'horribly striking' power of 'some passages' in Middleton's masterpiece: which was first reprinted eleven years later, in the fourth volume of Dilke's Old Plays. Lamb, surprisingly enough, has given not a single extract from that noble tragedy: it was reserved for Leigh Hunt, when speaking of its author, to remark that 'there is one character of his (De Flores in *The Changeling*) which, for effect at once tragical, probable, and poetical, surpasses anything I know of in the drama of

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domestic life.' The praise is not a whit too high: the truth could not have been better said.

The play with which Mr. Bullen, altering the arrangement adopted by Mr. Dyce, opens his edition of Middleton, is a notable example of the best and the worst qualities which distinguish or disfigure the romantic comedy of the Shakespearean age. The rude and reckless composition, the rough intrusion of savourless farce, the bewildering combinations of incident and the far more bewildering fluctuations of character—all the inconsistences, incongruities, incoherences of the piece are forgotten when the reader remembers and reverts to the passages of exquisite and fascinating beauty which relieve and redeem the utmost errors of negligence and haste. To find anything more delightful, more satisfying in its pure and simple perfection of loveliness, we must turn to the very best examples of Shakespeare's youthful work. Nay, it must be allowed that in one or two of the master's earliest plays—in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, for instance —we shall find nothing comparable for charm and sincerity of sweet and passionate fancy with such enchanting verses as these.

> O happy persecution, I embrace thee
> With an unfettered soul! So sweet a thing
> It is to sigh upon the rack of love,
> Where each calamity is groaning witness
> Of the poor martyr's faith. I never heard
> Of any true affection, but 'twas nipt
> With care, that, like the caterpillar, eats
> The leaves off the spring's sweetest book, the rose.
> Love, bred on earth, is often nursed in hell:
> By rote it reads woe, ere it learn to spell.

Again: the 'secure tyrant, but unhappy lover,' whose prisoner and rival has thus expressed his triumphant resignation, is counselled by his friend to 'go laugh and lie down,' as not having slept for three nights; but answers, in words even more delicious than his supplanter's;

> Alas, how can I? he that truly loves
> Burns out the day in idle fantasies;
> And when the lamb bleating doth bid good night
> Unto the closing day, then tears begin
> To keep quick time unto the owl, whose voice
> Shrieks like the bellman in the lover's ears:
> Love's eye the jewel of sleep, O, seldom wears!
> The early lark is wakened from her bed,
> Being only by love's plaints disquieted;
> And, singing in the morning's ear, she weeps,
> Being deep in love, at lovers' broken sleeps:
> But say a golden slumber chance to tie
> With silken strings the cover of love's eye,
> Then dreams, magician-like, mocking present
> Pleasures, whose fading leaves more discontent.

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Perfect in music, faultless in feeling, exquisite in refined simplicity of expression, this passage is hardly more beautiful and noble than one or two in the play which follows. *The Phœnix* is a quaint and homely compound of satirical realism in social studies with utopian invention in the figure of an ideal prince, himself a compound of Harun al-Rashid and 'Albert the Good,' who wanders through the play as a detective in disguise, and appears in his own person at the close to discharge in full the general and particular claims of justice and philanthropy. The whole work is slight and sketchy, primitive if not puerile in parts, but easy and amusing to read; the confidence reposed by the worthy monarch in noblemen of such unequivocal nomenclature as Lord Proditor, Lussurioso, and Infesto, is one of the signs that we are here still on the debatable borderland between the old Morality and the new Comedy—a province where incarnate vices and virtues are seen figuring and posturing in what can scarcely be called masquerade. But the two fine soliloquies of Phœnix on the corruption of the purity of law (Act i. scene iv.) and the profanation of the sanctity of marriage (Act ii. scene ii.) are somewhat riper and graver in style, with less admixture of rhyme and more variety of cadence, than the lovely verses above quoted. Milton's obligation to the latter passage is less direct than his earlier obligation to a later play of Middleton's, from which he transferred one of the most beautiful as well as most famous images in *Lycidas*: but his early and intimate acquaintance with Middleton had apparently (as Mr. Dyce seems to think[1]) left in the ear of the blind old poet a more or less distinct echo from the noble opening verses of the dramatist's address to 'reverend and honourable matrimony.'

In *Michaelmas Term* the realism of Middleton's comic style is no longer alloyed or flavoured with poetry or fancy. It is an excellent Hogarthian comedy, full of rapid and vivid incident, of pleasant or indignant humour. Its successor, *A Trick to catch the Old One*, is by far the best play Middleton had yet written, and one of the best he ever wrote. The merit of this and his other good comedies does not indeed consist in any new or subtle study of character, any Shakespearean creation or Jonsonian invention of humours or of men: the spendthrifts and the misers, the courtesans and the dotards, are figures borrowed from the common stock of stage tradition: it is the

[1] Mr. Dyce would no doubt have altered his opinion had he lived to see the evidence adduced by the Director of the New Meltun Society that the real author of *A Game at Chess* was none other than John Milton himself: whose earliest poems had appeared the year before the publication of that anti-papal satire. This discovery is only less curious and precious than a later revelation which we must accept on the same authority, that *Comus* was written by Sir John Suckling, *Paradise Regained* by Lord Rochester, and *Samson Agonistes* by Elkanah Settle: while on the other hand it may be affirmed with no less confidence that Milton—who never would allow his name to be spelt right on the title-page or under the dedication of any work published by him—owed his immunity from punishment after the Restoration to the admitted fact that he was the real author of Dryden's *Astræa Redux*.

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vivid variety of incident and intrigue, the freshness and ease and vigour of the style, the clear straightforward energy and vivacity of the action, that the reader finds most praiseworthy in the best comic work of such ready writers as Middleton and Dekker. The dialogue has sometimes touches of real humour and flashes of genuine wit: but its readable and enjoyable quality is generally independent of these. Very witty writing may be very dreary reading, for want of natural animation and true dramatic movement: and in these qualities at least the rough and ready work of our old dramatists is seldom if ever deficient.

It is, however, but too probable that the reader's enjoyment may be crossed with a dash of exasperation when he finds a writer of real genius so reckless of fame and self-respect as the pressure of want or the weariness of overwork seems but too often and too naturally to have made too many of the great dramatic journeymen whose powers were half wasted or half worn out in the struggle for bare bread. No other excuse than this can be advanced for the demerit of Middleton's next comedy. Had the author wished to show how well and how ill he could write at his worst and at his best, he could have given no fairer proof than by the publication of the two plays issued under his name in the same year 1608. *The Family of Love* is in my judgment unquestionably and incomparably the worst of Middleton's plays: very coarse, very dull, altogether distasteful and ineffectual. As a religious satire it is so utterly pointless as to leave no impression of any definite folly or distinctive knavery in the doctrine or the practice of the particular sect held up by name to ridicule: an obscure body of feather-headed fanatics, concerning whom we can only be certain that they were decent and inoffensive in comparison with the yelling Yahoos whom the scandalous and senseless license of our own day allows to run and roar about the country unmuzzled and unwhipped.

There is much more merit in the broad comedy of *Your Five Gallants*, a curious burlesque study of manners and morals not generally commendable for imitation. The ingenious and humorous invention which supplies a centre for the picture and a pivot for the action is most singularly identical with the device of a modern detective as recorded by the greatest English writer of his day. 'The Butcher's Story,' told to Dickens by the policeman who had played the part of the innocent young butcher, may be profitably compared by lovers of detective humour with the story of Fitsgrave —a 'thrice worthy' gentleman who under the disguise of a young gull fresh from college succeeds in circumventing and unmasking the five associated swindlers of variously villainous professions by whom a fair and amiable heiress is beleaguered and befooled. The play is somewhat crude and hasty in construction, but full of life and fun and grotesque variety of humorous event.

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The first of Middleton's plays to attract notice from students of a later generation, *A Mad World, my Masters*, if not quite so thoroughly good a comedy as *A Trick to catch the Old One*, must be allowed to contain the very best comic character ever drawn or sketched by the fertile and flowing pen of its author. The prodigal grandfather, Sir Bounteous Progress, is perhaps the most lifelike figure of a good-humoured and liberal old libertine that ever amused or scandalized a tolerant or intolerant reader. The chief incidents of the action are admirably humorous and ingenious: but the matrimonial part of the catastrophe is something more than repulsive, and the singular intervention of a real live succubus, less terrible in her seductions than her sister of the *Contes Drolatiques*, can hardly seem happy or seasonable to a generation which knows not King James and his Demonology.

Of the two poets occasionally associated with Middleton in the composition of a play, Dekker seems usually to have taken in hand the greater part, and Rowley the lesser part, of the composite poem engendered by their joint efforts. The style of *The Roaring Girl* is full of Dekker's peculiar mannerisms: slipshod and straggling metre, incongruous touches or flashes of fanciful or lyrical expression, reckless and awkward inversions, irrational and irrepressible outbreaks of irregular and fitful rhyme. And with all these faults it is more unmistakably the style of a born poet than is the usual style of Middleton. Dekker would have taken a high place among the finest if not among the greatest of English poets if he had but had the sense of form—the instinct of composition. Whether it was modesty, indolence, indifference or incompetence, some drawback or shortcoming there was which so far impaired the quality of his strong and delicate genius that it is impossible for his most ardent and cordial admirer to say or think of his very best work that it really does him justice—that it adequately represents the fullness of his unquestionable powers. And yet it is certain that Lamb was not less right than usual when he said that Dekker 'had poetry enough for anything.' But he had not constructive power enough for the trade of a playwright—the trade in which he spent so many weary years of ill-requited labour. This comedy in which we first find him associated with Middleton is well written and well contrived, and fairly diverting—especially to an idle or an uncritical reader: though even such an one may suspect that the heroine here represented as a virginal virago must have been in fact rather like Dr. Johnson's fair friend Bet Flint; of whom the Great Lexicographer 'used to say that she was generally slut and drunkard; occasionally whore and thief' (Boswell, May 8, 1781). The parallel would have been more nearly complete if Moll Cutpurse 'had written her own Life in verse,' and brought it to Selden or Bishop Hall with a request that he would furnish her with a preface to it. But the seventeenth century was inadequate to so perfect a production of the kind; and we doubt not

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through the ages one increasing purpose runs, and the thoughts of girls are widened with the process of the suns.

The plays of Middleton are not so properly divisible into tragic and comic as into realistic and romantic—into plays of which the mainspring is essentially prosaic or photographic, and plays of which the mainspring is principally fanciful or poetical. Two only of the former class remain to be mentioned; *Anything for a Quiet Life*, and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*. There is very good stuff in the plot or groundwork of the former, but the workmanship is hardly worthy of the material. Mr. Bullen ingeniously and plausibly suggests the partnership of Shirley in this play: but the conception of the character in which he discerns a likeness to the touch of the lesser dramatist is happier and more original than such a comparison would indicate. The young stepmother whose affectation of selfish levity and grasping craft is really designed to cure her husband of his infatuation, and to reconcile him with the son who regards her as his worst enemy, is a figure equally novel, effective and attractive. The honest shopkeeper and his shrewish wife may remind us again of Dickens by their points of likeness to Mr. and Mrs. Snagsby; though the reformation of the mercer's jealous vixen is brought about by more humorous and less tragical means than the repentance of the law-stationer's 'little woman.' George the apprentice, through whose wit and energy this happy consummation becomes possible, is a very original and amusing example of the young Londoner of the period. But there is more humour, though very little chastity, in the *Chaste Maid*; a play of quite exceptional freedom and audacity, and certainly one of the drollest and liveliest that ever broke the bounds of propriety or shook the sides of merriment.

The opening of *More Dissemblers besides Women* is as full at once of comic and of romantic promise as the upshot of the whole is unsatisfactory—a most lame and impotent conclusion. But some of the dialogue is exquisite; full of flowing music and gentle grace, of ease and softness and fancy and spirit; and the part of a poetic or romantic Joseph Surface, as perfect in the praise of virtue as in the practice of vice, is one of Middleton's really fine and happy inventions. In the style of *The Widow* there is no less fluency and facility: it is throughout identical with that of Middleton's other comedies in metre; a style which has so many points in common with Fletcher's as to make the apocryphal attribution of a share in this comedy to the hand of the greater poet more plausible than many other ascriptions of the kind. I am inclined nevertheless to agree with Mr. Bullen's apparent opinion that the whole credit of this brilliant play may be reasonably assigned to Middleton; and especially with his remark that the only scene in which any resemblance to the manner of Ben Jonson can be traced by the most determined ingenuity of critical research is more like the work of a pupil than like a hasty

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sketch of the master's. There is no lack of energetic invention and beautiful versification in another comedy of adventure and intrigue, *No Wit, no Help like a Woman's*: the unpleasant or extravagant quality of certain incidents in the story is partially neutralized or modified by the unfailing charm of a style worthy of Fletcher himself in his ripest and sweetest stage of poetic comedy.

But high above all the works yet mentioned there stands and will stand conspicuous while noble emotion and noble verse have honour among English readers the pathetic and heroic play so memorably appreciated by Charles Lamb, *A Fair Quarrel*. It would be the vainest and emptiest impertinence to offer a word in echo of his priceless and imperishable praise. The delicate nobility of the central conception on which the hero's character depends for its full relief and development should be enough to efface all remembrance of any defect or default in moral taste, any shortcoming on the æsthetic side of ethics, which may be detected in any slighter or hastier example of the poet's invention. A man must be dull and slow of sympathies indeed who cannot respond in spirit to that bitter cry of chivalrous and manful agony at sense of the shadow of a mother's shame:—

> Quench, my spirit,
> And out with honour's flaming lights within thee!
> Be dark and dead to all respects of manhood!
> I never shall have use of valour more.

Middleton has no second hero like Captain Ager: but where is there another so thoroughly noble and lovable among all the characters of all the dramatists of his time but Shakespeare?

The part taken by Rowley in this play is easy for any tiro in criticism to verify. The rough and crude genius of that perverse and powerful writer is not seen here by any means at its best. I cannot as yet lay claim to an exhaustive acquaintance with his works, but judging from what I have read of them I should say that his call was rather towards tragedy than towards comedy; that his mastery of severe and serious emotion was more genuine and more natural than his command of satirical or grotesque realism. The tragedy in which he has grappled with the subject afterwards so differently handled in the first and greatest of Landor's tragedies is to me of far more interest and value than such comedies as that which kindled the enthusiasm of a loyal Londoner in the civic sympathies of Lamb. Disfigured as it is towards the close by indulgence in mere horror and brutality after the fashion of Andronicus or Jeronimo, it has more beauty and power and pathos in its best scenes than a reader of his comedies—as far as I know them—would have expected. There are noticeable points of likeness—apart from the coincidence of subject—between this and Mr. Caldwell Roscoe's noble tragedy of *Violenzia*. But in the underplot of *A Fair Quarrel* Rowley's besetting faults of

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coarseness and quaintness, stiffness and roughness, are so flagrant and obtrusive that we cannot avoid a feeling of regret and irritation at such untimely and inharmonious evidence of his partnership with a poet of finer if not of sturdier genius. The same sense of discord and inequality will be aroused on comparison of the worse with the better parts of *The Old Law*. The clumsiness and dullness of the farcical interludes can hardly be paralleled in the rudest and hastiest scenes of Middleton's writing: while the sweet and noble dignity of the finer passages have the stamp of his ripest and tenderest genius on every line and in every cadence. But for sheer bewildering incongruity there is no play known to me which can be compared with *The Mayor of Queenborough*. Here again we find a note so dissonant and discordant in the lighter parts of the dramatic concert that we seem at once to recognize the harsher and hoarser instrument of Rowley. The farce is even more extravagantly and preposterously mistimed and misplaced than that which disfigures the play just mentioned: but I thoroughly agree with Mr. Bullen's high estimate of the power displayed and maintained throughout the tragic and poetic part of this drama; to which no previous critic has ever vouchsafed a word of due acknowledgement. The story is ugly and unnatural, but its repulsive effect is transfigured or neutralized by the charm of tender or passionate poetry; and it must be admitted that the hideous villainy of Vortiger and Horsus affords an opening for subsequent scenic effects of striking and genuine tragical interest.

The difference between the genius of Middleton and the genius of Dekker could not be better illustrated than by comparison of their attempts at political and patriotic allegory. The lazy, slovenly, impatient genius of Dekker flashes out by fits and starts on the reader of the play in which he has expressed his English hatred of Spain and Popery, his English pride in the rout of the Armada, and his English gratitude for the part played by Queen Elizabeth in the crowning struggle of the time: but his most cordial admirer can hardly consider *The Whore of Babylon* a shining or satisfactory example of dramatic art. The play which brought Middleton into prison, and earned for the actors a sum so far beyond parallel as to have seemed incredible till the fullest evidence was procured, is one of the most complete and exquisite works of artistic ingenuity and dexterity that ever excited or offended, enraptured or scandalized an audience of friends or enemies: the only work of English poetry which may properly be called Aristophanic. It has the same depth of civic seriousness, the same earnest ardour and devotion to the old cause of the old country, the same solid fervour of enthusiasm and indignation, which animated the third great poet of Athens against the corruption of art by the sophistry of Euripides and the corruption of manhood by the sophistry of Socrates. The delicate skill of the workmanship can only be appreciated by careful and thorough study;

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but that the infusion of poetic fancy and feeling into the generally comic and satiric style is hardly unworthy of the comparison which I have ventured to challenge, I will take but one brief extract for evidence.

> Upon those lips, the sweet fresh buds of youth,
> The holy dew of prayer lies, like pearl
> Dropt from the opening eyelids of the morn
> Upon a bashful rose.

Here for once even 'that celestial thief' John Milton has impaired rather than improved the effect of the beautiful phrase borrowed from an earlier and inferior poet. His use of Middleton's exquisite image is not quite so apt—so perfectly picturesque and harmonious—as the use to which it was put by the inventor.

Nothing in the age of Shakespeare is so difficult for an Englishman of our own age to realize as the temper, the intelligence, the serious and refined elevation of an audience which was at once capable of enjoying and applauding the roughest and coarsest kinds of pleasantry, the rudest and crudest scenes of violence, and competent to appreciate the finest and the highest reaches of poetry, the subtlest and the most sustained allusions of ethical or political symbolism. The large and long popularity of an exquisite dramatic or academic allegory such as *Lingua*, which would seem to appeal only to readers of exceptional education, exceptional delicacy of perception, and exceptional quickness of wit, is hardly more remarkable than the popular success of a play requiring such keen constancy of attention, such vivid wakefulness and promptitude of apprehension, as this even more serious than fantastic work of Middleton's. The vulgarity and puerility of all modern attempts at any comparable effect need not be cited to throw into relief the essential finish, the impassioned intelligence, the high spiritual and literary level, of these crowded and brilliant and vehement five acts. Their extreme cleverness, their indefatigable ingenuity, would in any case have been remarkable: but their fullness of active and poetic life gives them an interest far deeper and higher and more permanent than the mere sense of curiosity and wonder.

But if *A Game at Chess* is especially distinguished by its complete and thorough harmony of execution and design, the lack of any such artistic merit in another famous work of Middleton's is such as once more to excite that irritating sense of inequality, irregularity, inconstancy of genius and inconsequence of aim, which too often besets and bewilders the student of our early dramatists. There is poetry enough in *The Witch* to furnish forth a whole generation of poeticules: but the construction or composition of the play, the arrangement and evolution of event, the distinction or development of character, would do less than little credit to a boy of twelve; who at any rate would hardly have thought of patching up so ridiculous a

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reconciliation between intending murderers and intended victims as here exceeds in absurdity the chaotic combination of accident and error which disposes of inconvenient or superfluous underlings. But though neither Mr. Dyce nor Mr. Bullen has been at all excessive or unjust in his animadversions on these flagrant faults and follies, neither editor has given his author due credit for the excellence of style, of language and versification, which makes this play readable throughout with pleasure, if not always without impatience. Fletcher himself, the acknowledged master of the style here adopted by Middleton, has left no finer example of metrical fluency and melodious ease. The fashion of dialogue and composition is no loubt rather feminine than masculine: Marlowe and Jonson, Webster and Beaumont, Tourneur and Ford,—to cite none but the greatest of authorities in this kind—wrote a firmer if not a freer hand, struck a graver if not a sweeter note of verse: this rapid effluence of easy expression is liable to lapse into conventional efflux of facile improvisation: but such command of it as Middleton's is impossible to any but a genuine and a memorable poet.

As for the supposed obligations of Shakespeare to Middleton or Middleton to Shakespeare, the imaginary relations of *The Witch* to *Macbeth* or *Macbeth* to *The Witch*, I can only say that the investigation of this subject seems to me as profitable as a research into the natural history of snakes in Iceland. That the editors to whom we owe the miserably defaced and villainously garbled text which is all that has reached us of *Macbeth*, not content with the mutilation of the greater poet, had recourse to the interpolation of a few superfluous and incongruous lines or fragments from the lyric portions of the lesser poet's work—that the players who mangled Shakespeare were the pilferers who plundered Middleton—must be obvious to all but those (if any such yet exist anywhere) who are capable of believing the unspeakably impudent assertion of those mendacious malefactors that they have left us a pure and perfect edition of Shakespeare. These passages are all thoroughly in keeping with the general tone of the lesser work: it would be tautology to add that they are no less utterly out of keeping with the general tone of the other. But in their own way nothing can be finer: they have a tragic liveliness in ghastliness, a grotesque animation of horror, which no other poet has ever conceived or conveyed to us. The difference between Michel Angelo and Goya, Tintoretto and Gustave Doré, does not quite efface the right of the minor artists to existence and remembrance.

The tragedy of *Women beware Women*, whether or not it be accepted as the masterpiece of Middleton, is at least an excellent example of the facility and fluency and equable promptitude of style which all students will duly appreciate and applaud in the riper and completer work of this admirable poet. It is full to overflowing of

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noble eloquence, of inventive resource and suggestive effect, of rhetorical affluence and theatrical ability. The opening or exposition of the play is quite masterly: and the scene in which the forsaken husband is seduced into consolation by the temptress of his wife is worthy of all praise for the straightforward ingenuity and the serious delicacy by which the action is rendered credible and the situation endurable. But I fear that few or none will be found to disagree with my opinion that no such approbation or tolerance can be reasonably extended so as to cover or condone the offences of either the underplot or the upshot of the play. The one is repulsive beyond redemption by elegance of style, the other is preposterous beyond extenuation on the score of logic or poetical justice. Those who object on principle to solution by massacre must object in consistency to the conclusions of *Hamlet* and *King Lear*: nor are the results of Webster's tragic invention more questionable or less inevitable than the results of Shakespeare's: but the dragnet of murder which gathers in the characters at the close of this play is as promiscuous in its sweep as that cast by Cyril Tourneur over the internecine shoal of sharks who are hauled in and ripped open at the close of *The Revenger's Tragedy*. Had Middleton been content with the admirable subject of his main action, he might have given us a simple and unimpeachable masterpiece: and even as it is he has left us a noble and a memorable work. It is true that the irredeemable infamy of the leading characters degrades and deforms the nature of the interest excited: the good and gentle old mother whose affectionate simplicity is so gracefully and attractively painted passes out of the story and drops out of the list of actors just when some redeeming figure is most needed to assuage the dreariness of disgust with which we follow the fortunes of so meanly criminal a crew: and the splendid eloquence of the only other respectable person in the play is not of itself sufficient to make a living figure, rather than a mere mouthpiece for indignant emotion, of so subordinate and inactive a character as the Cardinal. The lower comedy of the play is identical in motive with that which defaces the master-work of Ford: more stupid and offensive it hardly could be. But the high comedy of the scene between Livia and the Widow is as fine as the best work in that kind left us by the best poets and humourists of the Shakespearean age; it is not indeed unworthy of the comparison with Chaucer's which it suggested to the all but impeccable judgment of Charles Lamb.

The lack of moral interest and sympathetic attraction in the characters and the story, which has been noted as the principal defect in the otherwise effective composition of *Women beware Women*, is an objection which cannot be brought against the graceful tragicomedy of *The Spanish Gipsy*. Whatever is best in the tragic or in the romantic part of this play bears the stamp of Middleton's genius alike in the sentiment and the style. 'The code of modern morals,' to

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borrow a convenient phrase from Shelley, may hardly incline us to accept as plausible or as possible the repentance and the redemption of so brutal a ruffian as Roderigo: but the vivid beauty of the dialogue is equal to the vivid interest of the situation which makes the first act one of the most striking in any play of the time. The double action has some leading points in common with two of Fletcher's, which have nothing in common with each other: Merione in *The Queen of Corinth* is less interesting than Clara, but the vagabonds of *Beggars' Bush* are more amusing than Rowley's or Middleton's. The play is somewhat deficient in firmness or solidity of construction: it is, if such a phrase be permissible, one of those half-baked or underdone dishes of various and confused ingredients, in which the cook's or the baker's hurry has impaired the excellent materials of wholesome bread and savoury meat. The splendid slovens who served their audience with spiritual work in which the gods had mixed 'so much of earth, so much of heaven, and such impetuous blood'—the generous and headlong purveyors who lavished on their daily provision of dramatic fare such wealth of fine material and such prodigality of superfluous grace—the foremost followers of Marlowe and of Shakespeare were too prone to follow the reckless example of the first rather than the severe example of the second. There is perhaps not one of them—and Middleton assuredly is not one—whom we can reasonably imagine capable of the patience and self-respect which induced Shakespeare to rewrite the triumphantly popular parts of Romeo, of Falstaff, and of Hamlet, with an eye to the literary perfection and permanence of work which in its first light outline had won the crowning suffrage of immediate or spectacular applause.

The rough and ready hand of Rowley may be traced, not indeed in the more high-toned passages, but in many of the most animated scenes of *The Spanish Gipsy*. In the most remarkable of the ten masques or interludes which appear among the collected works of Middleton the two names are again associated. To the freshness, liveliness, and spirited ingenuity of this little allegorical comedy Mr. Bullen has done ample justice in his excellent critical introduction. *The Inner-Temple Masque*, less elaborate than *The World Tost at Tennis*, shows no lack of homely humour and invention: and in the others there is as much waste of fine flowing verse and facile fancy as ever excited the rational regret of a modern reader at the reckless profusion of literary power which the great poets of the time were content to lavish on the decoration or exposition of an ephemeral pageant. Of Middleton's other minor works, apocryphal or genuine, I will only say that his authorship of *Microcynicon*—a dull and crabbed imitation of Marston's worst work as a satirist—seems to me utterly incredible. A lucid and melodious fluency of style is the mark of all his metrical writing: and this stupid piece of obscure and clumsy jargon could have been the work of no man endowed with more faculty of expres-

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sion than informs or modulates the whine of an average pig. Nor is it rationally conceivable that the Thomas Middleton who soiled some reams of paper with what he was pleased to consider or to call a paraphrase of the *Wisdom of Solomon* can have had anything but a poet's name in common with a poet. This name is not like that of the great writer whose name is attached to *The Transformed Metamorphosis*: there can hardly have been two Cyril Tourneurs in the field, but there may well have been half a dozen Thomas Middletons. And Tourneur's abortive attempt at allegoric discourse is but a preposterous freak of prolonged eccentricity: this paraphrase is simply a tideless sea of limitless and inexhaustible drivel. There are three reasons—two of them considerable, but the third conclusive—for assigning to Middleton the two satirical tracts in the style of Nash, or rather of Dekker, which appeared in the same year with his initials subscribed to their prefatory addresses. Mr. Dyce thought they were written by the poet whose ready verse and realistic humour are both well represented in their text: Mr. Bullen agrees with Mr. Dyce in thinking that they are the work of Middleton. And Mr. Carew Hazlitt thinks that they are not.

No such absolute and final evidence as this can be adduced in favour or disfavour of the theory which would saddle the reputation of Middleton with the authorship of a dull and disjointed comedy, the work (it has hitherto been supposed) of the German substitute for Shakespeare. *Middleton* has no doubt left us more crude and shapeless plays than *The Puritan*; none, in my opinion,—excepting always his very worst authentic example of farce or satire, *The Family of Love*—so heavy and so empty and so feeble. If it must be assigned to any author of higher rank than the new Shakspere, I would suggest that it is much more like Rowley's than like Middleton's worst work. Of the best qualities which distinguish either of these writers as poet or as humourist, it has not the shadow or the glimmer of a vestige.

In the last and the greatest work which bears their united names —a work which should suffice to make either name immortal if immortality were other than an accidental attribute of genius—the very highest capacity of either poet is seen at its very best. There is more of mere poetry, more splendour of style and vehemence of verbal inspiration, in the work of other poets then writing for the stage: the two masterpieces of Webster are higher in tone at their highest, more imaginative and more fascinating in their expression of terrible or of piteous wrath: there are more superb harmonies, more glorious raptures of ardent and eloquent music, in the sometimes unsurpassed and unsurpassable poetic passion of Cyril Tourneur. But even Webster's men seem but splendid sketches, as Tourneur's seem but shadowy or fiery outlines, beside the perfect and living figure of De Flores. The man is so horribly human, so fearfully and wonderfully natural, in his single-hearted brutality of devotion, his absolute

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absorption of soul and body by one consuming force of passionately cynical desire, that we must go to Shakespeare for an equally original and an equally unquestionable revelation of indubitable truth. And in no play by Beaumont and Fletcher is the concord between the two partners more singularly complete in unity of spirit and of style than throughout the tragic part of this play. The underplot from which it most unluckily and absurdly derives its title is very stupid, rather coarse, and almost vulgar: but the two great parts of Beatrice and De Flores are equally consistent, coherent and sustained, in the scenes obviously written by Middleton and in the scenes obviously written by Rowley. The subordinate part taken by Middleton in Dekker's play of *The Honest Whore* is difficult to discern from the context or to verify by inner evidence: though some likeness to his realistic or photographic method may be admitted as perceptible in the admirable picture of Bellafront's morning reception at the opening of the second act of the first part. But here we may assert with fair confidence that the first and the last scenes of the play bear the indisputable sign-manual of William Rowley. His vigorous and vivid genius, his somewhat hard and curt directness of style and manner, his clear and trenchant power of straightforward presentation or exposition, may be traced in every line as plainly as the hand of Middleton must be recognized in the main part of the tragic action intervening. To Rowley therefore must be assigned the very high credit of introducing and of dismissing with adequate and even triumphant effect the strangely original tragic figure which owes its fullest and finest development to the genius of Middleton. To both poets alike must unqualified and equal praise be given for the subtle simplicity of skill with which they make us appreciate the fatal and foreordained affinity between the ill-favoured, rough-mannered, broken-down gentleman, and the headstrong unscrupulous unobservant girl whose very abhorrence of him serves only to fling her down from her high station of haughty beauty into the very clutch of his ravenous and pitiless passion. Her cry of horror and astonishment at first perception of the price to be paid for a service she had thought to purchase with mere money is so wonderfully real in its artless and ingenuous sincerity that Shakespeare himself could hardly have bettered it:

> Why, 'tis impossible thou canst be so wicked,
> And shelter such a cunning cruelty,
> To make his death the murderer of my honour!

That note of incredulous amazement that the man whom she has just instigated to the commission of murder 'can be so wicked' as to have served her ends for any end of his own beyond the pay of a professional assassin is a touch worthy of the greatest dramatist that ever lived. The perfect simplicity of expression is as notable as the perfect innocence of her surprise; the candid astonishment of a nature ab-

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solutely incapable of seeing more than one thing or holding more than one thought at a time. That she, the first criminal, should be honestly shocked as well as physically horrified by revelation of the real motive which impelled her accomplice into crime, gives a lurid streak of tragic humour to the lifelike interest of the scene; as the pure infusion of spontaneous poetry throughout redeems the whole work from the charge of vulgar subservience to a vulgar taste for the presentation or the contemplation of criminal horror. Instances of this happy and natural nobility of instinct abound in the casual expressions which give grace and animation always, but never any touch of rhetorical transgression or florid superfluity, to the brief and trenchant swordplay of the tragic dialogue.

> That sigh would fain have utterance: take pity on 't,
> And lend it a free word; 'las, how it labours
> For liberty! I hear the murmur yet
> Beat at your bosom.

The wording of this passage is sufficient to attest the presence and approve the quality of a poet: the manner and the moment of its introduction would be enough to show the instinctive and inborn insight of a natural dramatist. As much may be said of the few words which give us a ghastly glimpse of supernatural terror:—

> Ha! what art thou that tak'st away the light
> Betwixt that star and me? I dread thee not:
> 'Twas but a mist of conscience.

But the real power and genius of the work cannot be shown by extracts—not even by such extracts as these. His friend and colleague Dekker shows to better advantage by the process of selection: hardly one of his plays leaves so strong and sweet an impression of its general and complete excellence as of separate scenes or passages of tender and delicate imagination or emotion beyond the reach of Middleton: but the tragic unity and completeness of conception which distinguish this masterpiece will be sought in vain among the less firm and solid figures of his less serious and profound invention. Had *The Changeling* not been preserved, we should not have known Middleton: as it is, we are more than justified in asserting that a critic who denies him a high place among the poets of England must be not merely ignorant of the qualities which involve a right or confer a claim to this position, but incapable of curing his ignorance by any process of study. The rough and rapid work which absorbed too much of this poet's time and toil seems almost incongruous with the impression made by the noble and thoughtful face, so full of gentle dignity and earnest composure, in which we recognise the graver and loftier genius of a man worthy to hold his own beside all but the greatest of his age. And that age was the age of Shakespeare.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

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THE BATTLE OF ABU-KLEA.

MUCH has been written about the last Soudan campaign, and I should not have added one line had not some misapprehension been created as to many of its incidents, especially as to the part taken by the Heavy Camel Regiment[1] at the battle of Abu-Klea, to which action I confine my remarks.

On leaving the zeribas (which had been formed on the previous evening on coming in contact with the enemy), Sir Herbert Stewart formed a square, as shown in the diagram (No. I.), which differs slightly from the one in the article by Lieutenant Douglas Dawson in the November number of this Review, in that the detachment of the Sussex Regiment were on the right face of the square and not on the rear face. The rear face was formed of four companies of the Heavy Camel Regiment, with its fifth company round the angle and on the left face of the square. The Gardner gun and Naval Brigade were between the 3rd and 4th companies of the regiment, dividing it into two wings.

By the time the attack took place, the company of the Royals and Scots Greys (No. 4) had been partly moved from the rear to the left face to fill up the gap caused by the gradual lengthening out of the sides of the square, due to the impossibility of keeping up the strings of camels carrying litters for the wounded, ammunition, and water. By the transference of the company to the left face the rear of the square was considerably weakened.

The route taken was parallel to, and a few hundred yards from, the wadi, or shallow ravine, that ran on our left to the wells of Abu-Klea, in which grew stunted trees, and thick high grass concealing deep watercourses, giving admirable cover for the enemy.

Our course was up and down, and across steep hillocks of hard sand, which sloped towards the wadi, and it was commanded by hills to the right and rear occupied by Arab riflemen. It was trying ground for camels, hardly a yard of it being level, and also for the Gardner gun, which was hauled by the bluejackets with an energy and activity that deserve all praise.

[1] Composition of the Heavy Camel Regiment. Total strength 390. *Right wing*: 1st Company—1st Life Guards, 2nd Life Guards; 2nd Company—Royal Horse Guards, Queen's Bays. *Left wing*: 3rd Company—4th Dragoon Guards, 5th Dragoon Guards; 4th Company—Royal Dragoons, Scots Greys; 5th Company—5th Lancers, 16th Lancers.

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To face page 154

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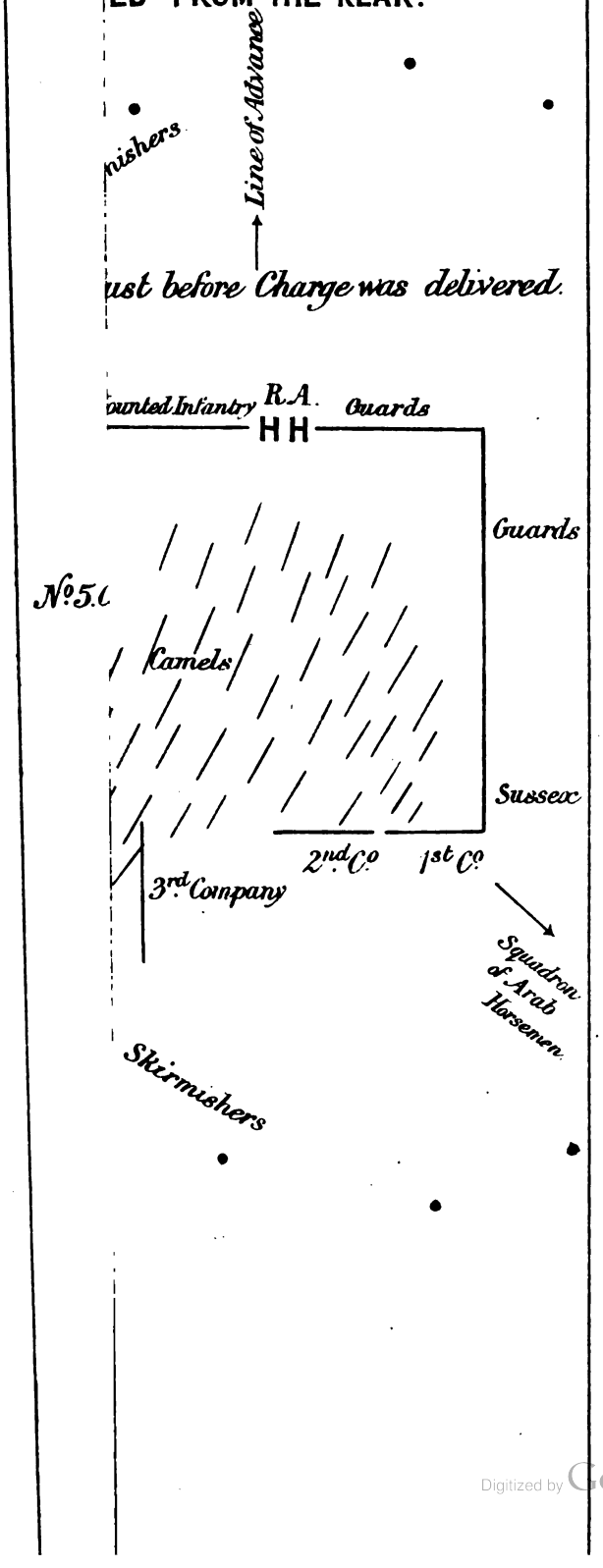

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Immediately after leaving the zeriba, the enemy's sharpshooters commenced firing upon the flanks and rear of the square, chiefly upon the right rear, and the Heavy Camel Regiment here lost many men, killed and wounded, and amongst the officers Lieutenant Beech and Lord St. Vincent, a most gallant and promising officer, severely wounded. One man was wounded three times. The camels in the square also received many a bullet which would otherwise have found its way to the leading portion of the square.

The Brigadier then directed skirmishers from the Heavy Camel Regiment to be sent out to the rear and to the rear flanks to silence their fire, and this to a great extent they succeeded in doing. There were also skirmishers to the front and flanks; but as I confine my story to what I saw, I will not enter into detail of what happened in the leading portion of the square.

On the march Lord C. Beresford and others exchanged views, and expressed their anxiety at the manner in which the camels dragged out, making it impossible to keep the rear properly closed up, thus impairing the formation and strength of the square. (Diagram No. II.)

The camels, or rather their drivers, sidling and edging away from the fire of the enemy's riflemen on our right rear, pressed out the left corner of the square. The Gardner gun, owing to the splendid exertions of the sailors, managed to keep up, although much interfered with by the camels.

After marching for about two miles at a very slow rate, the enemy's flags, which had been visible since leaving the zeriba, suddenly became animate, and a large force of Arabs, distant some 500 to 700 yards, sprang up, and advanced as if to attack the left leading corner of the square. The square was at once halted, but immediately afterwards was moved to the right on to a slightly elevated knoll—a simple movement for men, but difficult for camels, many of which remained outside the square when it was halted; among others, the one carrying Lord St. Vincent. A gap existed on the left face, through which was taken the Gardner gun, and brought into action. After firing a few rounds it jammed and became useless. The officers, except one, and many bluejackets were killed or wounded fighting by their gun.

At this moment the wadi to our left became alive with Arabs, from which a solid column was seen emerging; but our skirmishers were still out, and their attention being concentrated upon the enemy's sharpshooters, with whom they were exchanging shots, they did not soon enough perceive the attack upon the main body. Consequently the fire of the rear of the square had to be reserved, and the efforts of the officers were directed to prevent the men taking up the fire of the Guards and Mounted Infantry until our skirmishers had returned into the square. The last but one to get back was Major Byng; the last man was overtaken and speared. Almost with our skirmishers

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came on a cloud of Arabs, if such an expression is permissible to a dense formation, led by their chiefs on horseback, unshaken by fire from the rear portion of the square; for until this moment the Heavy Camel Regiment had withheld their fire, which was now delivered at the advancing column. Whether the Arabs had executed a flank movement to their right as described by Sir Charles Wilson, or whether a large force was concealed in the wadi on our flank, it is not easy to say; but certain it is that, taking advantage of the opening in the square, they hurled themselves with terrific rapidity and fury upon it. The company of the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards (No. 3) had a few moments before been wheeled outwards by Colonel Burnaby, with the intention no doubt of bringing their fire to bear (Diagram No. III.); but no sooner did he see that, not only on our flanks, but on our rear, the attack was being developed, than he rode in front of the company and shouted to the men to wheel back. The order was obeyed, the men stepping steadily backwards. Before they had got back into their original place, the Arabs were in through the interval thus created and through the gap already existing at the left rear corner of the square. Burnaby, whose horse had fallen, was one of the first to be attacked, and as he lay on the ground he received a mortal wound in the neck from a sword cut.

The Royals, Greys, 5th Lancers (No. 4 and 5 Company), upon whose rear the camels pressed, hampering their free movement, were now attacked in rear by those of the enemy who had succeeded in passing the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards, coming through and under the camels, at the same time they were engaged (with the enemy) in front. A severe hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which the strength and determination of our men told, and not an Arab escaped alive. The affair was a matter of moments, and from first to last not more than five minutes elapsed. The fire of the Mounted Infantry principally and of the Guards Camel Regiment (who faced their rear rank about), of the detachment of the Sussex and of the right wing of the Heavy Camel Regiment, prevented the Arabs from reinforcing their attacking column; but the brunt of the fight, the hand-to-hand encounter, was borne by the left wing of the last-named regiment. No men could have fought better, and although two detachments lost their officers, their places were at once assumed by the non-commissioned officers. It was an Inkerman on a small scale—a soldiers' battle; strength, determination, steadiness, and unflinching courage alone could have stemmed the onslaught.

Sir C. Wilson speaks of the Heavies being clubbed. When it is remembered that there was a severe hand-to-hand fight, and eighty-six officers and men in that portion of the square killed or wounded, it will readily be understood that some confusion was inevitable; but, as the men never lost their heads and the officers retained control over their men, the expression is hardly accurate or fair.

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Some people, apparently the writer of the article in the November number of this Review, seemed to have thought that the battle was lost, and that it only remained to sell our lives as dearly as possible. I can only say that it never occurred to me that the fight was lost, and in evidence of this I never drew sword or pistol. Most determined fighting was going on, but there were no signs of giving way, still less of demoralisation. The testimony of the Arabs is conclusive; for in all native accounts of the fight it was said that the English opened the square to encourage them to come on in order to kill every one who got inside.

An incident occurred at the moment of the main attack which has not been recorded. A squadron, mounted on black horses, advanced and threatened to charge the right rear angle of the square, where the Household Cavalry were stationed. It was met with volleys from their brethren of the Black Horse, and the attack was at once repelled. Afterwards thirty dead horses were counted on the spot where the advance was made, which tends to show that the shooting of the Heavy Camel Regiment was not so indifferent as has been implied.

There is no necessity to make any comparison between the corps that formed the Desert Column. The Guards Camel Regiment, the Mounted Infantry, the Heavy and Light Camel Regiments (unfortunately the latter were not at Abu-Klea), and the other regiments were the flower of the British army. Sir Herbert Stewart often said that no more splendid body of men could be formed—picked shots, men of stamina and strength. In the events that happened no credit belongs to one corps more than another. The brunt of the attack at Abu-Klea fell upon the left wing of the Heavy Camel Regiment and the Naval Brigade, and they acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of their General, but not a whit better did they acquit themselves than others of the column would have done. They all did their work in the several places in which they found themselves. Sir C. Wilson remarks that not a single Arab penetrated the ranks of the 1st and 2nd Lifeguards or Blues (he might have added Bays). It is perfectly true; but, like the other portions of the square, they did not bear the chief force of the main attack; they only had to resist portions of the surging force whose fury chiefly spent itself on the left rear corner of the square. They were able moreover to meet the attacks with fire, and they were not impeded to the same extent by lagging camels. They would be the last to accept credit which implies undeserved criticism of the left wing of their regiment. It cannot be admitted that the fate of the day depended upon any one portion of the force more than another, and that, had it not been for the front and right faces of the square, or, as Lieutenant Dawson puts it, the Guards, all would have been lost. All credit to their right good behaviour; but it is not a fact that the whole of the rear face or left face was driven back and only

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prevented from retreating by the steadfastness of the other faces. The words of the Brigadier in his despatch to the Commander-in-Chief show at all events that he was satisfied. 'It has been my duty to command a force from which exceptional work, exceptional hardships, and it may even be said exceptional fighting, have been called. It would be impossible for me adequately to describe the admirable support that has been given to me by every officer and man of the force.'

It has been asked how it was that the Arabs entered the square: the cause was that it was not closed up when the attack took place. It was not broken, because it was never properly formed. No doubt the masking of the fire from the rear of the square by our skirmishers enabled the enemy to approach comparatively unharmed. The jamming of the rifles was a very serious matter, and added to the difficulties and diminished the volume of fire from all portions of the square; but, on the other hand, it caused the men to use their bayonets, which in a hand-to-hand fight are safer and more effective weapons.

It has been hinted that cavalry, fighting on foot, were not suited to the work they were called upon to perform, and again that the Heavy Camel Regiment was wanting in cohesion and *esprit de corps*.

No cavalry soldier ever wishes to be separated from his horse, except when honoured by being selected for some exceptional service like the advance across the Bayuda desert. But, having been called upon, their General, at all events, was of opinion that no troops could have done better under the circumstances than those upon whom the shock of the fight fell. Certain it is that no one regiment, either cavalry or infantry, could have supplied an equal number of highly trained, active, strong, efficient men, selected from their regiments for general efficiency and good shooting. As to the *esprit de corps* which bound together and supported this regiment on many a trying occasion, it was as if it had been the growth of years instead of weeks. Nothing could have exceeded the cordial feelings that existed between each detachment, or the belief and confidence that they had in each other. Cohesion and *esprit de corps* were qualities that existed to a remarkable extent.

The last written order of Sir Herbert Stewart, showing the opinion he had formed of the troops who were present at Abu-Klea, will not be an inappropriate conclusion to this article. Sir Herbert Stewart was one of the ablest, most intrepid of generals. He inspired all under him with confidence and devotion. Had he lived, a great career was before him. His loss was irreparable at the moment it occurred, and what it may be to this country in the future cannot be estimated.

Brigade Orders by Brigadier-General Sir H. Stewart, K.C.B.

Abu-Klea, January 13, 1885.

The Brigadier expresses the most sincere thanks to the officers and men under his command for the exertions they made during the march from Korti; these were crowned yesterday by a triumphant victory which proved once again—so often

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proved before—that the courage of British soldiers when united with discipline is more than a match for any number of savages. The Brigadier knows well what work the men are doing, and he regrets sincerely the exceptional labours he is obliged to ask from them in a trying climate under privations of food and water; but he is confident that they are animated by the same spirit that supports him, and feels that, if the trials are exceptional, the honour of being called on to undertake them is exceptional also. The Brigadier-General deplores deeply the loss of so many brave comrades, and laments they were not spared to share the high reputation for fearlessness and discipline which was earned by them equally with the living. The Brigadier asks the men for another display of courage and self-denial. We have to reach the Nile, a distance of twenty-five miles, and when that is done a large part of our work will be ended, and a feat will have been achieved at the end of which every man can say that he has indeed striven to do his duty.

R. TALBOT,
Lieut.-Colonel.

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'DAWN OF CREATION'—AN ANSWER TO MR. GLADSTONE.

I HAD been already a month in Italy and expected to remain at least another there, and I was so absorbed in my journey, which was partly for pleasure, partly for instruction, through that beautiful country, that I gave absolutely no thought to politics or theology, except to the very special subject which had drawn me to Ravenna and Rome. Had there been elections in France which might have thrown my country into Parliamentary confusion? Were other elections impending in England menacing a people to whom I am much attached, with a similar fate? Did the Bulgarian question threaten Europe with a terrible storm? I confess, to my shame, that all these questions had become as foreign to my thoughts as the conflicts of Peru and Chili, or the question of the prolongation of the mandates of the Hungarian deputies. I lived wholly in Pagan and Christian antiquity. My time also was limited and barely sufficient for the task I had undertaken. I only remember that one day at *table d'hôte* I took somewhat warmly the side of Mr. Gladstone—as far as it was proper for a stranger discussing the affairs of a country not his own to do so—against an old English lady who was vehemently denouncing the Patriarch of British Liberalism. For with all due reserve on the points on which the English alone are competent to speak, Mr. Gladstone is, to us who hold ourselves Continental Liberals, one of the glories, one of the great moral forces of European Liberalism. I am bound, however, to add that my defence of him was entirely restricted to the field of politics.

There seemed, therefore, a certain irony of fate to the writer of these lines when, a few days after this episode, at the same *table d'hôte*, an Italian count, who, unlike myself, was living wholly in the contemporary world, suddenly said to me, 'You are M. Réville, are you not—Professor of the Collège de France?' 'Yes.' 'Well, it seems that Mr. Gladstone has been attacking you sharply in an English Review.' 'Impossible!' I exclaimed. 'Yes, the *Italie* (an Italian newspaper published in French) says so, and I bring you the number.'

This incident brought me a great increase of attention and courtesy in my hotel, where I had hitherto only been No. 17 or 19. I heard, or I thought I heard, that they were saying behind me, 'That

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is the gentleman whom Mr. Gladstone has attacked in an English Review.' I had become a personage. The hotel-keeper and the waiters became more deferential, and I soon saw that it was beyond all doubt an honour and an advantage to be attacked by Mr. Gladstone.

Honours, however, have their drawbacks, and I think I perceived it when I paid my bill. The newspaper which had been shown me gave an account, after its fashion, of the attack of which I had been the object, but it threw very little light on the points of controversy, and I was not able to procure the number of the *Nineteenth Century*. It was no matter of indifference to me to know that I had been censured by the ex-Premier of the United Kingdom, for whose character and superior talents I had long felt a sincere admiration. But *age quod agis*. I had come to Italy for a special object. I could not deviate from it even for an empire, and when the first moment of surprise and emotion was over I said to myself, like a merchant on his holiday, 'Business to-morrow! We will see to this in Paris.'

At last, thanks to the obliging intervention of some friends in England, and especially to the kind editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, I am in a position not only to make myself acquainted with the article about myself, but also to submit to the English public, and, with every respect, to Mr. Gladstone himself, some reflections on the points on which, in language at once indulgent and severe, he has done me the honour of attacking me.

These remarks will serve to explain why I am so late in replying to the objections of my illustrious assailant. The delay, however, has had this advantage, that I have found my work half done, and by abler hands than mine. M. Max Müller, in an article entitled 'Solar Myths,' has defended with his usual talent the theory which gives a naturalistic interpretation to the greater part of the myths that have come down to us from antiquity, or that can be even now collected in uncivilised nations. Mr. Huxley has demonstrated, with his accustomed vigour and with his indisputable competence, that Mr. Gladstone labours under illusions about the harmony which he supposes himself to have established between the Biblical account of the creation and the conclusions of modern science. I can only express to these two eminent men my gratitude for their good opinion of my humble person, and assure Mr. Huxley in particular that, so far from resenting it, I am happy and proud that a man of his calibre should have so warmly taken my part, or, to speak more accurately, should have taken my writings as an occasion for defending what for him as for me is the cause of scientific truth.

I now come to the points of dispute. Mr. Gladstone, with a courtesy for which I must thank him, accuses my 'Prolegomena' of being rather Epilegomena, because, as he says, I have in the first place, without any preliminary demonstration, eliminated from the field of the

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scientific history of religions all theories which start from the supposition of a supernatural revelation granted to primitive humanity. I have put, he maintains, in the 'preface' of the 'History of Religions' what ought logically only to come at the end, if it comes at all.

I will venture respectfully to observe that prefaces are usually composed by authors when their books are completed, and that they contain directly or indirectly their conclusions; at all events they foreshadow them. I did not begin a history of religions without having studied the subject as a whole. Moreover, the natural end of Prolegomena is to expound, and if necessary to demonstrate, the method which it is proposed to follow in the works to which they are prefixed. Mr. Gladstone is too clear-sighted not to understand at once that it makes an essential difference in the manner in which the history of religions must be treated, whether the writer starts from the idea of a primitive revelation made to the human race, or whether he rejects this hypothesis as unproved or anti-scientific. In the first case this history is the history of a prolonged decadence. In the second it is the history of a progressive evolution. I was therefore forced, by the very nature of things, to state which side I took on this grave question, since all that followed depended upon it. If Mr. Gladstone himself undertook a general history of religion, I would defy him to escape from this necessity.

My honoured critic in the next place complains that I have chosen him, rather than many others, as the representative of the point of view favourable to the idea of a primitive revelation founded on the testimony of the Bible, whereas I ought rather to have referred to specialists, such as Dr. Reusch, who have developed this theory *ex professo*. Mr. Gladstone acknowledges that he would not now formulate his views as 'crudely' as formerly on this question, which seemed then more simple than in these later times; that to presuppose the supernatural in such matters is to deviate from the law of scientific method; that he was especially absorbed with the luxuriant beauties of the Homeric poetry, and that he only entered indirectly into the theological bearings of his researches. He maintains only that there are evident traces in the poems of Homer of an historical connection with the traditions of the Hebrews, and especially with the Book of Genesis. As for the precise form in which he expressed his views on this question, he insists on it so little that he has not wished to republish the book which contains them, and it has now become very rare. In fine, he refuses to admit the too dogmatic form given by me to that primitive orthodoxy which was revealed to the first man. It consisted at most 'of rudimentary indications of what are now developed and established truths.'

I can only bow before these attenuations, introduced by the author himself, into a theory which had appeared to me, and to others also, to have assumed a much more definite and angular form. If I

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selected Mr. Gladstone rather than others as the representative of a point of view which is not mine, I did so on account of his eminence. His name has been often put forward in support of the theory which I considered myself obliged to attack. Being called upon by the position I hold to endeavour to make the educated public of my country familiar with an order of studies and controversies as yet very little cultivated in France, it was my duty to consider carefully the antagonists who might be opposed to me. The name of Dr. Reusch would have conveyed nothing to my audience or to my readers. The name of Mr. Gladstone shone with a very different splendour. I did not know, and was not bound to know—especially when I saw so eminent an Englishman as Sir G. Cox forming the same estimate as myself of Mr. Gladstone's views—that Mr. Gladstone had somewhat receded from the 'crudity' of his early affirmations. I note with great satisfaction his corrections. I see in them a sign that his views are not as far as they were from mine, and I shall certainly mention in a new edition the limitations which Mr. Gladstone has himself thought fit to place upon his earlier ideas about the religious origins of humanity.

My illustrious adversary next passes from the defensive to the offensive, and reproaches me first of all for my manner of looking on the Book of Genesis, and in the second place for my errors about the mythology of Homer.

On the second point I must decline at present to enter into a prolonged controversy. Time, and, to a certain point, courage, fails me. In Homeric literature Mr. Gladstone is a specialist who might well intimidate greater scholars than myself. This does not, however, prevent me from thinking that when he sees an historical relation between the accounts in Genesis and the traditions embalmed in the Homeric poems he is looking through deceptive glasses which unconsciously impair the clearness of his sight. In our age he is about the only eminent scholar who has perceived this family resemblance. This is not a reason for asserting that it does not exist, but it is a reason for distrusting it, and I own that, for my part, I find it impossible to establish it. Purely external coincidences, analogies of detail, prove nothing in such a matter. The general history of religious beliefs and practices shows that very curious ideas and customs, entirely unconnected with those that now occupy us, have existed among very different and very distant nations, although it is not possible reasonably to suppose that they were communicated. In such cases it is necessary simply to investigate the psychological point of departure of these ideas and customs; and if this can be discovered, the conclusion must be drawn that the essential unity of the human mind causes it often, when starting from the same intuition or principle, to arrive in many different regions at consequences, applications, and analogies of belief which are truly astonishing both from their strangeness and

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from their resemblances. The Incas who ruled over ancient Peru had certainly never read Machiavel, but those who study their history must admire the consummate art with which they knew how to govern their vast empire, regulating their conduct by maxims which might seem borrowed from the great Florentine theorist. I much suspect that what Mr. Gladstone has taken for signs of an 'historical relationship' between the Homeric poems and Genesis are merely superficial analogies, explained by the very nature of the human mind when brought face to face with the same problems, and implying none of those consequences which the eminent statesman wishes to draw from them.

I shall push my boldness one step further. Mr. Gladstone acknowledges himself, with the most engaging modesty (p. 699), that 'of any other system than the Olympian it would be presumption in him to speak, as he has, beyond this limit, none but the most vague and superficial knowledge.' Let me regret deeply this gap in the learning of so distinguished a Hellenist. If there be any department of knowledge in which a comparison of analogies and correspondences is especially instructive, it is undoubtedly the history of religions. Each part of it throws light upon the others, and all who have devoted themselves to it will, I am sure, agree with me, that at every step some problem arises which appears inexplicable as long as we look at it only in one local religion, but finds an easy and immediate solution by reference to some other religion. M. Max Müller and the 'Indianists' of his school have supplied us by this comparative method with very plausible explanations of many exceedingly obscure points in Greek mythology which could never have been elucidated if we had confined ourselves to Greece alone. Who could have otherwise arrived at the explanation of the love of Apollo for Daphne, and of the transformation of the young nymph into a laurel? By what other way could we have traced to its origin the story of Prometheus? And to what error, to what impotence are not those now condemned who attempt to explain the Olympian mythology by itself alone, without ever comparing it with the mythologies that are its sisters?

Let me add, however, that, while speaking in this way, I am one of those who are inclined to think that in these later years some injustice has been done to the Greek mythology and to its originality by resolving it, so to speak, into a multitude of extraneous elements coming from all quarters. I may perhaps give some small pleasure to Mr. Gladstone by informing him that I on the whole share his view about Heracles, whom I do not at all identify with the Phœnician Melkart. Both, I am persuaded, are solar divinities. The myths concerning Melkart or forged in honour of that itinerant divinity have largely entered into the developed legend of Heracles. Nevertheless, I think with Buttmann, Otfried Müller, and Schmidt, that Heracles is primitively a conception purely and authentically Greek. Not only are the

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characters of the two divinities very different, it is also inadmissible that an exotic god should have held so considerable a place in the history of primitive Greece.

I acknowledge moreover that the place and the part assigned to Heracles in the Homeric poems have something in them difficult to explain. He is far from being represented there as a hero without reproach. He appears to be rather imposed on the poet by a commanding tradition than liked by him. I will add—what perhaps Mr. Gladstone will think very rash—that being but little convinced of the unity of the Homeric poems, I regard as a not very skilful interpolation of a harmonist the passage of the Odyssey, xi. 601-604, where the received text distinguishes the Heracles admitted into the divine abode from the Heracles whom Ulysses perceives among the mournful shades that inhabit the kingdom of Hades. I have myself a little explanation of this apparent anomaly, but I hardly venture to propose it to the learned commentator of Homer. I think that Heracles was long a popular divinity in the lower ranks of the Greek population, still more legendary and especially less refined than his rival, the beautiful Phœbus Apollo, even though both may have sprung from the same root. But Phœbus Apollo was the sun-god preferred by the upper classes, by the nobles, the princes, and the kings. He was the aristocratic sun, and the poetry of the *aēdes*, a poetry in some sort feudal, was from the beginning more in sympathy with the poet-and-musician-god, the sun-god of the upper classes, than with the Gargantua of the populace. Hence the depreciation of the latter, and the kind of satisfaction with which his brutality, his arrogance, even his impiety and his crimes are recounted. At a later period the popular legend obliged every one to respect its favourite hero, and, without effacing all his faults, impressed upon him definitively in the mythology the characters of the pacificator, the liberator, and the 'Good Giant,' which Mr. Gladstone, imprisoned in his 'Homer,' accuses me with some irony of having lightly attributed to a god who by no means deserved them. I do not know whether this explanation, which I could develop and support with some proofs, will find any favour with my censor, and I merely submit it to him with deference.

Another indication of the limitations which the too exclusive study of a single author may impose on the most clear-sighted mind may be found in a little attack which Mr. Gladstone makes on me about Ixion and his burning wheel. It is true that a passage of Homer which speaks of Zeus as having loved the wife of Ixion does not agree with the myth ordinarily received and related at length by Pindar ('Pyth.' ii.), according to which it was Ixion who pursued with his criminal addresses the spouse of Zeus. According to Pindar, Ixion's wheel was not 'burning' but 'winged.' This contradiction between Homer and Pindar, and the difference between Pindar and the later

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mythology, only prove that originally many diverging mythical notions connected themselves with the name of Ixion, 'the man on the wheel,' the 'revolving one,' but the narrative of Pindar, an excellent witness to the myths which were then sung before assembled Greece, proves that this was the consecrated form which at that time dominated over all others. Whether the wheel was 'burning' or simply 'winged' is of no consequence. This does not deprive the student of myths of the right of bringing together all the mythic wheels, which, from India to the Poitevins of France, have in so many countries been employed to represent the sun. The sun was not only or always conceived as a happy and benevolent being. Phœbus Apollo himself is distinguished by something else than goodness and constant happiness, and the notion of the sun as an enslaved being, condemned to a weary task, forced to roll on for ever, and therefore wretched, guilty and punished, may be easily found elsewhere as well as in the myth of Ixion.

May I now be allowed to express the surprise which I felt in reading in Mr. Gladstone's article that the Poseidon of Homer, the god in whom the Latins thought they recognised their Neptune, 'is not the god of the liquid element at all'? This statement appeared to me so contrary to evidence that I read it twice to assure myself that I was not mistaken. I willingly admit that the gods of Homer, at least the Olympian or superior gods, must no longer be confounded materially with the physical elements, of which they were originally the simple personifications. They are distinguished—not absolutely separated—from them. They are above all humanised. As the savage believes that the soul of a man may quit his body and walk abroad according to its caprices, so the Greek of the Homeric times distinguished the divine person from the physical elements that underlay it. He made of it a being superior to, but at the same time resembling, man; and he attributed to this being all the liberty of will, of movement, and of action that could be supposed to exist in a man of gigantic size, force, and intelligence. Side by side with these gods now emancipated from their material prison, the Greek mythology, with the easy syncretism which belongs to polytheistic systems, kept up the memory of other gods which were not in reality older, but which corresponded to older notions. Helios by the side of Apollo, Selene by the side of Artemis, Okeanos and Nereus by the side of Poseidon, &c. But to pretend that this latter is not essentially a sea-god, in Homer as everywhere else,—an ancient personification of the liquid element—he and his spouse Amphitrite, who surrounds the earth and beats it with her incessant waves—is to take up a position in direct contradiction to the beautiful description of the 'Iliad' (lib. xiii. 10 sq.), while through the 'Odyssey' the hero is compelled continually to suffer upon the sea the effects of the anger of the god of the seas. Does not Poseidon himself declare in the

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'Iliad' that in the division of the world between himself and his two brothers he received for his lot 'the foaming sea' (xv. 190)?

What does it signify that he has been in some places adored as the supreme God?—this is true of almost all the gods of polytheism; or that his worship may be found in the midst of a continent?—the fountains of water, the sources of the rivers, were there attributed to him; or that he loved to visit the Ethiopians?—this was a very usual taste among the Greek gods; Mr. Gladstone knows the reason as well as I do.

I shall not dilate upon the objections he advances on the subject of Hera, the august spouse of Zeus, who seems to me to have personified the sky in its inconstant aspect, mobile, easily disturbed, as if she represented the variable and lower element, while Zeus, her husband, is rather the unchanging sky, in the majestic serenity of its unalterable blue. When they are united and agreed, nothing can equal the smiling beauty of Nature. When they are divided and disputing, all goes wrong. Moreover, in the 'Iliad,' Hera shares, though in a lower measure, the powers of Zeus. She also scolds from the celestial heights, and can, in concert with Boreas, let loose the storms ('Il.' xi. 45, xv. 26). I know that the question of her physical origin is less simple than that of most of the Olympians. I myself hesitated long about whether she ought to be placed in the category of the earth goddesses like Gaia, Rhea, Cybele, Themis, Danae, Leto, Semele, and probably Dione of Dodona. Analogy appeared to lead to this conclusion. Nevertheless, on the whole, Hera seems to me to want the characteristics which usually distinguish the earth goddesses. She has neither their fixity—for 'la donna è mobile'—nor their attributes of divination. Her typical bird, the peacock, with its expanding tail, seems rather to suggest the starry sky than the earth. Her position as the recognised spouse of the god of the heavens, distinct from the earth goddesses, who originally held the first rank in a great number of local mythologies (which, it may be said in passing, contributed greatly to tarnish the conjugal reputation of Zeus), seems to me to be traceable to a time, already past in the Homeric age, when the division of the world into three distinct kingdoms, each with its supreme God, was generally recognised in the Greek world. From that period it must have appeared natural that the titular spouse of the supreme celestial god should have been herself celestial, and not a personification of the marine element or of the earth, which had in Hades its supreme god in Pluto, and its goddess in Demeter or Persephone, just as the sea-god Poseidon had as his 'parhedra' Amphitrite, the Nereid. But I repeat it, this question of Hera is one of the most obscure in Greek mythology; I do not pretend to discuss or to resolve it in my 'Prolegomena,' where I only alluded to it in passing, nor can I attempt to treat it fully in a mere controversial article. I only wish

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to show my eminent critic that it has not been with a superficial presumption that I allotted to Hera the mythological title of 'Queen of the shining heaven'—I am persuaded that she has a right to it.

In the next place, I must protest against the term 'solar theory,' which Mr. Gladstone applies to my general views about mythology. It is the 'naturalistic theory' that I have supported, that is the theory which explains the genesis of mythologies by the personification and the dramatisation of natural phenomena. Undoubtedly that theory when well understood supposes the action of the religious sentiment inherent in human nature. There is nothing in it materialist or irreligious. Undoubtedly, also, the sun and the phenomena connected with it, hold so prominent a place that it is natural to expect that solar myths will be the most conspicuous by their number, their attraction, and their variety. But the sun is still only a part of a whole which our languages and our modern minds designate by the word nature. Side by side with the solar myths, there are myths which are purely celestial, marine, and tellurian. It is neither accurate nor just, systematically to describe the whole by one of its parts. I am astonished that the sagacity of Mr. Gladstone has not long since led him to favour an explanation which has found a brilliant confirmation in the relations discovered between the Greek mythology and the mythologies of India and the other Aryan regions, and which Egypt, America, Oceania, Africa, even China, not to speak of the Semitic races, have, I will venture to say, raised to the position of demonstrated truth. But, to judge the force of this demonstration, a scholar must not confine himself to the Homeric poetry.

I shall now pass to the other part of Mr. Gladstone's attack, which relates to the errors I am supposed to have committed in denying that the Biblical account of the creation agrees with the results of modern natural science. This, if I mistake not, is the part which will have most interested the majority of his readers.

I have said in my 'Prolegomena,' while rendering full homage to the beauty and religious purity of the Biblical account of the Creation, that it contains assertions contradicted by modern science. Thus the firmament destined to separate the waters below from those above is represented as a solid vault; the stars have been created after the earth, the periods of creation or formation are single days. I have also, it appears, not recognised the wonderfully scientific order of the successive appearance of the creatures that inhabit the water, the air, and the earth, until at last man appears to crown and complete the work of creation. These are my principal heresies, in addition to which I am accused of having put forward some bad-sounding propositions about the moral state of the first couple, as it

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appears in the account of the fall in Eden, and about the meaning of the plural which the Creator employs in speaking of Himself.

I must allow myself to remind my readers that my object in treating these questions was neither to attack nor to defend the sacred writings. It was solely to show, by a succinct analysis of their chief contents, that the partisans of a primitive doctrinal revelation are mistaken in supposing that the Bible itself supports their view.

For the rest, even after the ingenious pleadings of Mr. Gladstone, I maintain my assertions.

Mr. Huxley has made it unnecessary for me to dwell upon the pretended conformity of the successive appearances of organised beings in Genesis with the results that have been established by contemporary geology. It is not true that the vegetable, aquatic, flying, quadruped, and reptile species succeeded each other in their totality in the order specified by the canonic writer. Mr. Gladstone seems to have lost sight of the fact that at verses 11 and 12 the whole vegetable world in all its departments, as the author of the narrative knew it, had made its complete appearance at the command of God. Consequently, the objection drawn from the absence of the solar light remains in all its force. For it is not a diffused light, concentrating itself gradually round the sun, that could have simultaneously permitted all the vegetable species to develope over the surface of the earth. I know well that a lax interpretation has transformed the days of Genesis into periods of immense length, in spite of the mention of 'evening' and 'morning' which closes each of the creative acts. Unfortunately, it is impossible to adopt this interpretation. For it is on the supposition that the days of the creation were similar to our own that the famous commandment of the Sabbath is based, and this is the motive assigned for it by the Hebrew legislator: 'Thou shalt work six days and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. Thou shalt do no work on that day. . . . *For in six days* the Lord made the heavens, the earth, and the sea, and all that is in them, and rested *the seventh day*.' Now, if the days of the creation should be understood as periods of thousands or millions of years, I beg Mr. Gladstone to explain how they can serve as an argument in support of the command to work for six days of our week and to rest on the seventh.

I also regret to tell him that the Hebrew word ordinarily translated in our versions by the word firmament, while it expresses the idea of an expansion, of something that is stretched out, expresses also that of something solid. This is why the firmament supports the waters that are above it, and separates them according to the Divine will from those which are below it (v. 6, 7). Otherwise the passage would be incomprehensible. This idea of a solid sky is general throughout antiquity, and the sacred text, when it proceeds to the

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account of the deluge, does not fail to tell us that the sluices or closing parts of the heavens were opened, which brought about the junction of the waters above the heavens with the waters below the earth, which rose from the springs of the great abyss, so that the earth was entirely covered and the second divine work of the creation was for the time annulled (comp. Gen. vii. 10–12, i. 6–8, and also in the same order of ideas Ps. cxlviii. 4, Apoc. iv. 6). All these ways of representing things suppose the solidity of the firmament, and the LXX in translating the Hebrew word by *στερέωμα* have perfectly given its sense. *Στερεός*, in fact, expresses the idea of firmness and solidity.

I am also afraid that Mr. Gladstone attaches a very undue and ill-founded importance to the metaphysical distinction which he establishes between the expressions 'to create' and 'to make,' which are used alternately in the account in Genesis of the successive works of the Creator. It is true that it is said God created the heavens and the earth (i. 1), God made the firmament (v. 7), God made the sun and the moon (v. 16), God created the great fishes (v. 21), God made the terrestrial animals (v. 25), and God created man (v. 27). But are we therefore authorised to think that the canonical writer intended to mark the enormous difference from a metaphysical point of view, which separates creating, that is calling being into existence by an incomprehensible act of Divine power, from the act of making? Hebraists are far from certain that the word *barah*, which we translate by 'to create,' had this exclusive and rigorous meaning. It signifies, according to the dictionaries, 'to form,' 'to fashion,' as well as 'to create.' The LXX had no idea of expressing the distinction between creating and making. They might certainly have employed alternately the words *κτίζειν* and *ποιεῖν*. They did not do so, probably because the distinction of meaning escaped their notice. Moreover, a clear proof that the distinction to which Mr. Gladstone appeals has not a great importance is that in v. 26 God says, 'Let us *make* man in our image,' and in v. 27 it is said, 'God *created* man in his image.' It is evident from this that in the mind of the author the words 'create' and 'make' might be used indistinguishably, and that we moderns are quite wrong in trying to force our metaphysical distinctions on old historians who never dreamed of them.

But what use is there, it will be said, in these subtle discussions? It remains not the less certain that the canonical writer wished to express the great monotheistic truth that God is the only and absolute author of the world and of all that exists, that He is the principle and source of being, and this is all that it is necessary from a religious point of view to maintain.—Be it so, but it is in a distinction, which is in my eyes an anachronism, that Mr. Gladstone hopes to find an answer to those who object to the pretended harmony between Genesis and modern science that the first represents the sun, moon, and stars, as created subsequently to the earth, and intended only to throw light upon it.

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I think in truth that this was the idea of the sacred writer, and that every one who reads him without a preconceived opinion would derive this impression from his words. But this is not the opinion of Mr. Gladstone. No, he says, God did not *create*, in the strict sense of the word *create*, the celestial bodies on the fourth day when the earth already existed, freed from waters and covered with plants; He *made* them, which is a very different thing; He assigned them their place in relation to the earth. They were, no doubt, already included in the creation of the heavens which is mentioned in the first verse. The fourth day only marks the moment of the final exclusive concentration of light in the sun, and of its reflection on the moon and on the planets. I must here stop; I do not wish to prolong this explanation to the point of giving it an appearance of irony. I would only submit this question to any impartial reader—when it is said that God determined that there should be light-giving bodies in the firmament to divide the seasons, and to shine upon the earth, that God *made* them, and that God *placed* them in the firmament, is it conceivable that such words were intended to convey that these light-bearing bodies already existed, and that the work of the Creator on that day consisted simply of assigning them a place, an orbit, and a power of radiation? Whether God *made* or *created* the stars on the fourth day, after the earth and its vegetation, the difficulty remains absolutely the same.

Having said this, I have now only to defend myself against two reproaches of a certain importance.

Mr. Gladstone blames me for having misinterpreted the passage 'Let *us* make man in our image,' in which orthodox Christianity wishes to see an allusion to the Trinity. I have suggested that this is either a *pluralis majestaticus*, or that this passage may imply the existence of celestial beings, the Bené Elohim, in whose presence the Creator was displaying His energies, and whom He invites to some kind of co-operation when he comes to the last and the most perfect of his works. I have not concealed my preference for the second explanation which appears to me supported by the analogy of other passages of the Old Testament, such as Gen. iii. 22; vi. 2; Job xxxviii. 7. I must decline absolutely the honour which Mr. Gladstone is good enough to do me in representing me as opposing proudly and presumptuously my solitary opinion to the tradition of the Christian Church. There are passages in the Bible, as, for example, Isaiah vii. 14, concerning which the unanimity of tradition does not prevent it from being very erroneous. But as for the passage we are now discussing, I am very far from being alone in my opinion, and I wait for some other refutation than an appeal to a tradition of which those who alone for so many centuries knew how to read or to interpret the original Hebrew were profoundly ignorant.

In the last place Mr. Gladstone is much surprised that, relying

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on the picture which the author of the second chapter of Genesis traces of the life of the first human couple in Eden, I say that he represents them as ignorant of the elementary notions of morality. He admits, indeed, that it is only possible to ascribe to them 'the morality of a little child, the undeveloped morality of obedience.' This is already some approach to an agreement. But in my turn I will venture to ask him if he has duly weighed the full significance of the declaration that they were without the knowledge of good and evil? that they only acquired this knowledge by a transgression the immoral character of which must necessarily have escaped them? I have not to justify or to criticise the canonical writer. I confine myself to registering his statement. There are but these two alternatives. Either Adam and Eve before eating the forbidden fruit knew that they were committing, not a false calculation, not an act of imprudence, but a fault in the moral sense of the word, and in that case it is inadmissible that they had no knowledge of good and evil until after they had eaten it; or else they had, as the canonical narrative affirms, up to this time no knowledge of good or evil, and in that case I am perfectly justified in saying that they were strangers to the most elementary notions of morality. And I see a confirmation of this opinion in the incident related by the sacred author with so much psychological truth, according to which the sentiment of shame which distinguishes so clearly man, the moral being, from the brute, only awoke in them after they had eaten the forbidden food.

No doubt much may be said about the meaning or the possible meanings of this mythical story. The great difficulty in penetrating to its true meaning comes not only from the fact that a later theology has based upon its poetry imposing dogmas of which the author had no idea, and that many succeeding generations have only looked on it through the factitious lights created by these traditional dogmas; it comes also from the fact that the author himself could not completely extricate himself from the apparent contradiction of the two principles to which he tries to do justice. On the one side man has advanced; he knows what he did not know; he has become a moral being; the serpent has not lied; his eyes have been opened. On the other side, the progress seems to have been accomplished against God and in spite of God. We find elsewhere this double sentiment of a timid piety, which, while recognising the progress of man as good in itself, finds it difficult to imagine that it does not constitute an insolent, impious, guilty revolt against the Sovereign God. Is not this the point of view of old Æschylus in the drama of 'Prometheus'? But it is not now our business to resolve the antinomies involved in the narratives we are trying to interpret. It is sufficient to interpret them exactly. How many of the most eminent minds find it difficult to read them without infusing into them ideas or points of view which distort their meaning! The same author in connecting

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with a divine malediction provoked by the first transgression certain collective evils which afflict the man, the woman, and the serpent, says that God pronounced that there should be henceforth enmity between the posterity of the serpent and the posterity of the woman, that the posterity of the woman should attack the serpent on the head (or bruise its head) and that the serpent or its posterity should attack on the heel the posterity of the woman. Others besides myself have thought that it has been a mistake in the Christian Church to see a prophecy of the Redemption in this curse which leaves the two adversaries in a relation of mortal, enduring hostility without giving any prospect of its cessation (compare Gen. iii. 15). But this displeases Mr. Gladstone. He thinks he finds an indication of the superiority and final victory of man in the fact that man attacks his enemy on the head, and that his enemy can only attack him on the heel, for the head is much more essential to life than the foot. Good heavens! If Mr. Gladstone were unfortunate enough to be bitten on the heel by a venomous serpent, would his lot be much more favourable than that of the serpent whose head he had crushed?

I shall not pause upon a little cavil which he raises against me about the somewhat strange text Genesis iv. 26, generally translated, 'Then they began to invoke the name of Jahveh.' The importance of this Jahvistic text comes especially from its contradiction with the Elohistic text Exodus vi. 2-3, from which it seems to follow that the name of Jahveh was unknown to the patriarchs. However this may be, and without entering into a discussion which would be necessarily too long, and even if the phrase ought to be put in the singular, with the Samaritan codex and the LXX, which the Hebrew text puts in the plural, I maintain that this text may be always justly adduced against those who pretend that the first man received a doctrinal revelation in the beginning. This is all that I attempted to maintain in my 'Prolegomena,' and I do not think that the arguments of my respected critic are of a nature to weaken the proof.

I am sincerely grateful to him for not having confounded me with those who despise or detest religion itself. Though much detached from the dogmatic traditions of the Church, I am in truth more and more convinced of the legitimacy of the religious principle in the human mind. I see in it a prophetic indication of the higher destiny of man; and I must add that it is my conviction that religion among civilised men is for ever destined to move in the same direction which the Gospel gave it eighteen hundred years ago. Either man will cease to be religious or he will find himself compelled to be in a certain measure Christian. I do not recognise myself, therefore, in the eloquent and moving picture which Mr. Gladstone has drawn at the end of his article of the iconoclasts who are exulting in the idea that they have destroyed one or other of the beliefs from which so many generations have drawn their best

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consolations and hopes. If I have been able like others to greet with enthusiasm the complete liberty of conscience and intelligence contained in principle in the Gospel, partially restored at the Reformation and completely won in our own day, I have also more than once known what it is to bid melancholy farewell to traditional doctrines which had charmed my childhood and my youth with their grandeur, their poetry, and their mystic beauty. The fruits of the tree of knowledge are sometimes bitter, and Mr. Gladstone is quite right in protesting against the brutality with which the venerable roots of the ancient faith are sometimes treated.

But allow me to tell him that there is one thing of far higher importance than the propriety and the decency which he demands from contemporary criticism. It is that it should be inspired by a genuine and disinterested love of truth. I can well imagine that the defenders of expiring Paganism or the sincere Roman Catholics who lived during the destructive revolution of Luther, shed many a tear over the kind of fury with which men were sapping the very foundations of systems which seemed to them the most sacred and the most consoling in the world. Yet the Christians of the fourth century, the Protestants of the sixteenth, were in *the truth*; they were on the path that leads upwards to truth. Let us keep clear of all passion, whether it be conservative or negative. Passion always blinds. But let us have the courage to seek for and to express the truth, as it appears to our minds, in all its simplicity and its purity. Do not let us be alarmed by the torrents swollen with the autumnal rains, nor yet with the frost that congeals the waters and the plants. In due time, the spring will come with its brightness and its flowers. The worst thing that could happen would be that humanity should cease to discuss those great problems which constitute at once its torment, its nobility, and its happiness. This danger is not now to be feared. On the contrary, we may hope that from the angry shock of opposing religious principles and ideas a great synthesis will arise which may satisfy the wants and aspirations of all. We shall probably not see it with the eyes of the flesh, but we may all contribute to its advent by seeking for truth in religion as in all other things, laboriously, faithfully, and courageously. Neither the rage of an irreligious fanaticism, nor the sentimentality of an emasculated romanticism, must guide us in this voyage towards the unknown or the little known. The love of truth is but one of the elements of the love of God, since truth is but one of the aspects of His supreme perfection. If Christ lived and spoke in the midst of us, unless He were untrue to Himself, He could speak no other language. Let us search, study, work, each in his sphere, for the good, the just, and the true, in nature, in society, in the soul. I know an illustrious statesman who in our days has been one of the great workers of God in the work

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of justice on the earth. Perhaps he has been less happy in his excursions into the field of religious science. It is still a great and salutary example which he has given to his contemporaries in turning to this side also his powerful and brilliant intellect. However this may be, just because we believe in God, let us never lose our faith in the final results of sincere search for truth everywhere and always, whether it be in the vast and obscure fields of physical nature or in the records which embalm the experiences and the beliefs of our race. This work, carried on by very different intellects, cannot be accomplished without discussions or without errors. But let us never lose courage. 'Magna est veritas et prævalebit.'

ALBERT RÉVILLE, D.D.

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POSTSCRIPT TO ARTICLE ON 'PROEM TO GENESIS.'

I learn with satisfaction that in America, where the stores of geological knowledge have been so greatly enlarged, the business of the Reconciler has been taken into the hands of scientists: Dr. Dana, Professor of Geology in Yale College, and Dr. Arnold Guyot, Professor of Geology and Physical Geography in New Jersey College. Both of these authorities, it appears, have adhered through a long career, and now adhere with increased confidence, to the idea of a substantial harmony between science and the Mosaic text. Professor Dana's latest Tract has recently appeared in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April 1885. He thinks the evidence doubtful as to the priority of birds over the low or marsupian mammals (p. 214); but strong for an abundant early plant life in the Azoic period (p. 213): and he holds, with Professor Guyot, that the first, or cosmogonical, portion of the Proem not only accords with, but teaches, the nebular hypothesis (p. 220).

It is a relief to find that the burden of this argument is shared with witnesses, who are competent and unsuspected on the scientific side; and who will not be liable to a repetition *mutatis mutandis* of an old objection: '*This people, which knoweth not the law, is accursed.*'[1]

Mr. Marsh, Professor of Palæontology in Yale College, holds (*Ornithodontes*, 1880, p. 137), on the grounds of the wide differences between the *archæopteryx* and the other types of early birds, that the common ancestor was remote, and probably Palæozoic. He also adheres to the order 1. Reptiles; 2. Birds; 3. Mammals. (It may be well to refer to Sir C. Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, vol. iii. p. 175, on the reasons why bird-remains are sometimes rare.)

In my passages referring to geological results, I would ask the reader to substitute *priority* for *succession*. The latter implies a continuity of series, which is not found in the scientific record, since it is broken by the absence of reference to the invertebrates of the palæozoic, and the reptiles of the mesozoic, rocks.

W. E. G.

[1] St. John, vii. 49.

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THE

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AN AMERICAN VIEW OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

I have been reading, with the respect due to everything which Sir Henry Maine produces, his last volume, and particularly that most interesting chapter of it on 'The Prospects of Popular Government.' I confess, however, to having laid it down, after a careful perusal, without getting a very clear idea of the lesson he undertakes to teach. He says in his preface :—

> In the essay on the Prospects of Popular Government I have shown that as a matter of fact Popular Government, since its reintroduction into the modern world, has proved itself to be extremely fragile. In the essay on the Nature of Democracy I have given reasons for thinking that, in the extreme form to which it tends, it is of all kinds of government by far the most difficult. In the Age of Progress I have argued that, in the perpetual change which, as understood in modern times, it appears to demand, it is not in harmony with the normal forces ruling human nature, and is apt, therefore, to lead to cruel disappointment or serious disaster.

Now the phrase 'reintroduction into the modern world' implies that Popular Government existed in the ancient world, and, if so, an account of its working in the ancient world would certainly be a very important aid in judging whether it is really as 'fragile' as Sir Henry Maine thinks it: for the longer the period in which we watch the working of an institution, the more we know about its durability. But he disposes of what he calls 'the short-lived Athenian Democracy under whose shelter Art, Science, and Philosophy shot so wonderfully upwards' by saying that 'it was only an aristocracy which rose on the ruins of still another.' In fact, he lays it down as a general proposition 'that the progress of mankind has hitherto been effected by the rise

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and fall of aristocracies, by the formation of one aristocracy within another,' and that 'there have been many so-called democracies which have rendered services beyond price to civilisation, but they were only peculiar forms of aristocracy.' It is fair, I think, to conclude from this that there was no such thing as Popular Government in the ancient world at all, and that its appearance in the modern world was its first appearance anywhere, and was therefore not 'a re-introduction.' Consequently all that Sir Henry Maine, or any one else, knows about its fragility, he knows from observation of its working in the modern world. Whether a thing is durable or not, we can only tell from seeing it exposed, over a long period, to destructive agencies. That this period should in the case of a government be very long indeed, it is hardly necessary to say. Nothing is more delusive in the work of political speculation than short periods of observation. The most durable government the modern world has seen was that of the Venetian Republic, but there were in its history several periods of ten, twenty, or even fifty, years in which its continuance must have seemed to contemporaries something hardly to be looked for.

Now what opportunities for observing the durability of Popular Government has Sir Henry Maine had, on his own showing? The ancient world has afforded him none: what has the modern world afforded him? In other words, when did Popular Government first reveal itself to the philosophic eye? There is no doubt, he says, that Popular Government is of purely English origin, and that it made its first appearance in the triumph of the doctrine that government is the servant of the community, over the doctrine that it is the master of the community. The former, he says, after 'tremendous struggles,' was in spirit, if not in words, 'affirmed in 1689.' But that triumph was not complete, for he adds: 'It was long before this doctrine was either fully carried out by the nation, or fully accepted by its rulers.' In fact, he gives us to understand that it has not yet reached its final stage—that is, the stage at which tests of durability can begin to be applied to it. 'What we are witnessing,' he says, 'in West European politics is not so much the establishment of a definite system, as the continuance, at various rates, of a process.'

I gather from all this that Popular Government, as now known to us in the modern world, is a process which began about two centuries ago in a change of opinion on the part of the community in England with regard to the relations of the rulers and the ruled; that it did not, however, really influence English politics until about the beginning of this century. Consequently, Popular Government is, for the purposes of the philosophic observer, about eighty years old, and no more, and anything we desire to know about its durability and its general prospects we must learn from its history during that period. But the history of these eighty years seems to furnish a very small basis for induction on a matter so serious as the nature and

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prospects of a form of government. Sir Henry Maine, however, makes the most of it. Curiously enough, England furnishes him, apparently, with no materials at all. His reasons for believing Popular Government to be fragile he finds in the experience of the French with it, since 1789; of the Spaniards since 1812, and of the South American Republics since 1820. Having given some account of the frequent violent political changes which have occurred in these countries respectively within the above periods, he says:—

> The true reason why the extremely accessible facts which I have noticed are so seldom observed and put together is that the enthusiasts for Popular Government, particularly when it reposes on a wide basis of suffrage, are actuated by much the same spirit as the zealots of Legitimism. They assumed their principle to have a sanction antecedent to fact. It is not thought to be in any way invalidated by practical violations of it, which merely constitute so many more sins against imprescriptible right (p. 20).

Now I am not an enthusiast for Popular Government, or for any other form of government. I believe politics to be an extremely practical kind of business, and that the communities which succeed best in it are those which bring least enthusiasm to the conduct of their affairs. Nevertheless, I think I may so far speak for the enthusiasts as to suggest that the reason why they do not give more attention to Sir Henry Maine's 'extremely accessible facts,' and are not more troubled by them, is that they soberly and sincerely believe that these facts are irrelevant: that is, that they throw no light whatever on the nature or prospects of Popular Government.

The facts are simply that in two or three countries which have within the present century set up, or attempted to set up, representative institutions, frequent changes in the executive power have been wrought by violence. To make this bear directly on the question of fragility we should have to be sure that the state of mind which Sir Henry makes the first condition of Popular Government—that is, the belief that the rulers are and ought to be the servants of the ruled—prevailed in the countries which he cites as examples; that, in short, the setting up and casting down of governments which constitute his 'extremely accessible facts' were the efforts of a community to carry out a political theory. We cannot judge of the working of any institution, whether monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, unless it has its roots in popular approval. How monarchy works can only be known by seeing it in a community which believes in kings. How aristocracy works can only be known by seeing it in a community which believes in noblemen. How Popular Government works can, in like manner, only be known by seeing it in a community in which the doctrine on which it is based is fully and intelligently held by the bulk of the people.

To make France and Spain and the Spanish-American Republics good examples of the instability of Popular Government, Sir Henry

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Maine has to assume that the state of popular opinion and feeling which produced and sustains this form of government in England or America really exists, or has existed during the last half-century, in the Latin countries; and he does assume it tacitly, but very tacitly indeed. He is almost out of sight in his argument before one perceives what a monstrous assumption it is. There is neither in Spain nor in Spanish America any dominating political theory held by the mass of the people; in fact, there is nothing which a political philosopher can call a people. There are great landed proprietors; there is a powerful clergy; there is a standing army; there is an ignorant peasantry. There arise naturally in this state of things frequent disputes over the possession of the sovereignty, but they are disputes like the War of the Roses, or the Seven Years' War, between those who have and those who have not. They illustrate human nature in certain conditions of culture, as do most of the disorders of history, but they do not illustrate any theory of government any more than a fight over a captive's ransom in the cave of Greek brigands. In France, too, it is only since 1870 that the view of relations of the government of the people on which Sir Henry Maine bases Popular Government can be said to have really existed among the mass of the people. There have been since 1789 disciples of Rousseau and believers in the social contract—both of them great bugbears to Sir Henry Maine—in Paris and the other great cities, but until the present Republic was set up the peasantry never thought of controlling the government, or of treating its members as their servants. No matter what its form was, whether Constitutional Monarchy, Empire, or Republic, it was, in the eyes of provincials, the master of France, whose edicts, if they came from the proper office, nobody thought of disputing.

Next let me say that in assuming that the instability of government in a given country has and can have only one cause—namely, the view which the ruled take of their relation to the rulers—Sir Henry Maine seems to give countenance to a fallacy which is one of the great difficulties of modern politics, and which Mr. Mill has lucidly exposed as the 'Chemical Method' of reasoning about political phenomena. Surely the following has an important bearing on the value of Sir Henry Maine's specific instances, or, as he calls them, 'extremely accessible facts:'—

> In social phenomena the Composition of Causes is the Universal Law. Now, the method of philosophising which may be termed chemical overlooks this fact, and proceeds as if the nature of man as an individual were not concerned at all, or concerned in a very inferior degree, in the operations of human beings in society. All reasoning in politics or social affairs, grounded on principles of human nature, is objected to by reasoners of this sort, under such names as 'abstract theory.' For the direction of their opinions and conduct, they profess to demand, in all cases without exception, specific experience. This mode of thinking is not only general with practitioners in politics, and with that very numerous class who (on a subject

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which no one, however ignorant, thinks himself incompetent to discuss) profess to guide themselves by common sense rather than by science; but is often countenanced by persons with greater pretensions to instruction; persons who, having sufficient acquaintance with books and with the current ideas to have heard that Bacon taught mankind to follow experience, and to ground their conclusions on facts instead of metaphysical dogmas, think that by treating political facts in as directly experimental a method as chemical facts, they are showing themselves true Baconians, and proving their adversaries to be mere syllogisers and schoolmen. As, however, the notion of the applicability of experimental methods to political philosophy cannot coexist with any just conception of these methods themselves, the kind of arguments from experience which the chemical theory brings forth as its fruits (and which form the staple, in this country especially, of Parliamentary and hustings oratory) are such as, at no time since Bacon, would have been admitted to be valid in chemistry itself, or in any other branch of experimental science. They are such as these: that the prohibition of foreign commodities must conduce to national wealth, because England has flourished under it, or because countries in general which have adopted it have flourished; that our laws, or our internal administration, or our constitution, are excellent for a similar reason: and the eternal arguments from historical examples, from Athens or Rome, from the fires in Smithfield or the French Revolution. I will not waste time in contending against modes of argumentation which no person, with the smallest practice in estimating evidence, could possibly be betrayed into; which draw conclusions of general appreciation from a single unanalysed instance, or arbitrarily refer an effect to some one among its antecedents, without any process of elimination or comparison of instances. *Logic*, p. 458–9.

I call this fallacy one of the greatest difficulties of modern politics because it is the readiest tool of demagogues, and to the popular eye the most attractive because the easiest solution of pending troubles. The most effective argument of the American protectionists is, that as the United States have prospered under protection, the tariff must be the one cause of the prosperity; that as Ireland and Turkey are poor under free trade, their condition shows the danger of throwing open home markets to foreign producers. So, also, we are now afflicted with tons of useless silver coin owing to the popular belief that the slowness of our recovery from the crisis of 1873 was simply and solely the demonetisation of silver in the same year. France and Spain and the Spanish-American Republics, says Sir Henry Maine, have popular governments—that is, parliaments elected by a widely extended suffrage. But they have also frequent rebellions; therefore Popular Government is both unstable, and the cause of its instability. It may be that Popular Government in a given country is fragile, but surely we are not justified in assuming that the character, the religion, the culture, the manners, the history, and the material surroundings of the people have nothing to do with the security of their political institutions; or that, in considering whether a new form of government will suit them, we are not called upon to ask how they got on under the old one; whether, for instance, the French were happy and content under absolute monarchy, and the Spanish-Americans peaceful and industrious under the Viceroys and the Bishops.

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So completely does Sir Henry Maine commit himself to the Chemical Method that he boldly declares that 'the inferences which might be drawn from the stability of the government of the United States are much weakened, if not destroyed, by the remarkable spectacle furnished by the numerous Republics set up from the Mexican border-line to the Straits of Magellan.' He notices, it is true, the objection to his theory drawn from the fact that the inhabitants of the Spanish-American Republics are to a great extent of Indian blood and have been trained in Roman Catholicism, but he gets over it by announcing that 'such arguments would be intelligible if they were used by persons who maintain that a highly special and exceptional political education is essential to the successful practice of Popular Government; but they proceed from those who believe that there is at least a strong presumption in favour of democratic institutions everywhere.'

But why must this argument be used only by persons who believe that a highly specialised and exceptional political education is necessary for the successful practice of Popular Government? Why is it not good in the mouths of those who believe simply that Indian blood and Roman Catholic training are serious obstacles to the practice of Popular Government? Why may it not be used by those who believe that the United States Government is largely indebted for its stability, not to the fact that the American people have had a highly special and exceptional political education, but to the fact that they are mainly of Anglo-Saxon blood, and have been trained in Protestantism? And why, in the name of Aristotle, is an argument made unintelligible by the fact that some of those who use it also use other arguments which are feeble? Surely, if I sometimes reason *à priori* about politics, that does not make my inductive reasoning worthless.

For my part, I think the example of the United States all important, even from Sir Henry Maine's point of view, for they are the one country in the world in which Popular Government, as he defines it, really exists. They are the one country, that is to say, governed by universal suffrage in which the great mass of the voters have a realising sense of the fact that the government is their servant and not their master, and that it exists simply to carry out the ideas of the 'plain people' who compose the bulk of the community, and not those of a small but more cultivated and more enlightened class; a government, in short, as Lincoln expressed it, 'of the people, by the people, for the people.' It may be that their example is sometimes cited by disputants whom consistency or some other obligation forbids to cite it. It may be, too, that inferences drawn from it would not be good against every assailant of Popular Government; but as against Sir Henry Maine they are, as it seems to me, good in anybody's hands. He is, in fact, estopped by his refusal

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to take into account anything but the instability of the government in France and Spain and the South American Republics, from taking into account anything but the stability of the government in the case of the United States. If the Chemical Method be good for one, it is good for the other.

Sir Henry Maine's manner of elucidating the effects of universal suffrage controlled by wirepullers on social and intellectual progress is even more remarkable than his manner of proving the fragility of Popular Government. He says:—

> Such a suffrage (a widely extended and universal suffrage) is commonly associated with Radicalism; no doubt amid its most certain effects would be the extensive destruction of the existing institutions; but the chances are that in the long run it would produce a mischievous form of Conservatism, and drug society with a potion compared with which Eldonine would be a salutary draught. For to what end, towards what ideal state, is the process of stamping upon law the average opinion of an entire community directed? The end arrived at is identical with that of the Roman Catholic Church, which attributes a similar sacredness to the average opinion of the Christian world. 'Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus' was the canon of Vincent of Lerins. 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum' were the words which rang in the ears of Newman, and produced such marvellous effects on him. But did any one in his senses ever suppose that these were maxims of progress? The principles of legislation at which they point would put an end to all social and political activities, and arrest everything which has ever been associated with Liberalism. A moment's reflection will satisfy any competently instructed person that this is not too broad a proposition. Let him turn over in his mind the great epochs of scientific invention and social change during the last two centuries, and consider what would have occurred if universal suffrage had been established at any one of them. Universal suffrage which to-day excludes free-trade from the United States would certainly have prohibited the spinning-jenny and the power-loom. It would certainly have forbidden the thrashing-machine. It would have forbidden the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar, and would have restored the Stuarts (p. 36).

A few sentences before this he has acknowledged that the world has had only a very brief experience of wide suffrage—that is, about fifty years in the United States and about twenty in France—but, brief as it is, it ought to have furnished him with specific instances in support of this very dark view of the future of West European society. He was able to infer from the example of France and Spain and the Spanish-American Republics that Popular Government would be fragile. It seems to me that he ought to have been able to infer from the same source that it would be hostile to civilisation. Strange to say, however, on this point he does not argue; he contents himself with prophesying, and it is one of the commonplaces of rhetoric that you cannot refute a prophet. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he guesses, using the word in its English rather than in its American sense. For what other name can we give to an assertion that 'the chances are' that, if a certain thing had happened long before it did happen, a certain other thing would have happened, which, as a matter of fact, has never happened at all?

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In no place has universal suffrage 'put an end to all social and political activities or arrested everything which has been associated with Liberalism.' In no place has it ever shown a tendency to do so. In no place has it ever done anything like prohibiting a spinning-jenny or the power-loom or the thrashing-machine, or preventing the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar. Nevertheless, Sir Henry Maine makes the extremely broad proposition that it would have done so had it had the opportunity. I have searched as carefully as I can for the basis of these very extraordinary deductions. As well as I can make out, it consists simply in his opinion that in a democratic community the embodiment of public opinion in legislation would result in giving the law the sanctity which in the Catholic Church is attributed to the consensus of the Christian world on points of doctrine. This is certainly the *à priori* method, with a vengeance. Admitting it to be true that the general opinion embodied in a statute would give the statute in democratic eyes the sacredness of a Catholic dogma, whence do we draw the conclusion that it would also have the permanence of a dogma?

> There is, in fact, just enough evidence to show (Sir Henry Maine says) that even now there is a marked antagonism between democratic opinion and scientific truth applied to human societies. The central seat in all political economy was from the first occupied by the Theory of Population. This theory has now been generalised by Mr. Darwin and his followers, and, stated as the principle of the survival of the fittest, it has become the central truth of all biological science. Yet it is evidently disliked by the multitude and thrust into the background by those whom the multitude permits to lead it. It has long been intensely unpopular in France and on the continent of Europe, and among ourselves proposals for recognising it through the relief of distress by emigration are visibly being supplanted by schemes founded on the assumption that, through legislative experiments on society, a given space of land may always be made to support in comfort the population which from historical causes has come to be settled on it (p. 37).

As 'just enough evidence' to show that there is even now 'a marked antagonism between democratic opinion and scientific truth as applied to human societies,' the above is very remarkable. I believe the doctrine of the survival of the fittest has, as a matter of fact, met with even fiercer opposition from the religious well-to-do middle class and from the clergy than from the unfortunate 'multitude.' But it is a doctrine which must needs be unpopular —if unpopular means disagreeable—with all but the very successful, that is, with the great majority of the human race. The survival of the fittest has ever been and must ever be an odious sight to the unfit or the less fit, who see that they cannot survive. Sir Henry Maine's reproach, that they do not accept it cheerfully, reminds one of Frederick the Great's savage reproof to his flying troops, 'Hunde, wollte ihr ewig leben?' In asking the multitude to take to it kindly, Sir Henry asks something which has always been beyond human powers. There is no doctrine with which the race is more familiar in practice than

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the doctrine that the strongest must have the best of it, which is really Darwin's doctrine expressed in terms of politics. The progress of civilisation under all forms of government has consisted simply in making such changes in the environment of the multitude as will increase the number of the fittest. That it has been well to strive for this end; that it has been well to try to make a country like England a place in which twenty-eight millions can dwell in comfort on soil which seventy years ago only supported ten millions in comparative misery, has been for ages the opinion of the wisest and best men under the old monarchies. Possibly they were wrong. Possibly it ought to have been the policy of rulers not only to see that the fittest survived, but that their number was kept down. But is it not asking too much of the multitude to ask them to take a totally new view of the conditions of man's struggle with nature? The great aim of the political art has hitherto been to protect man in some degree from the remorseless working of the laws of the physical universe, to save him from cold, from heat, from savage beasts, from the unwillingness of the earth to yield him her fruits and the sea its fish. All its successes have to some extent increased the number of the fittest. It has filled West Europe with a population which conservative observers like Sir Henry Maine two centuries ago would certainly have declared it incapable of maintaining. Can we possibly expect Democracy to give up the game as soon as it comes into power, and bid the weaklings of the race prepare for extinction? Emigration, which he treats as an acceptance of the Darwinian doctrine, is, of course, in reality simply a transfer of the struggle for survival to another arena. The law of population works everywhere, and with increasing severity, other things being equal, as the population increases. Sending the unfit to New Zealand or Dakota is not a whit more scientific than sending them to till English moors. There is no escape for them anywhere from the battle with the fittest; but any abandonment of the effort to protract their existence and make it more tolerable would mean the stoppage of civilisation itself. Democracy may make mistakes in this work, and may attempt more than it can accomplish, but energy in the work and devotion to it is after all what distinguishes a civilised community from a savage one. There is no more reason why the bulk of the race should fold its arms in the presence of the theory of population than in the presence of the great fact of mortality. How many people a given piece of land will maintain and comfort, whether only the number settled on it by 'historical causes' or a larger one, is something which can be only ascertained by intelligent experiment. All causes, too, which settle a man on a farm become 'historical' after a while; but whether it is well for him to remain there is something only to be learned by experience. The theory of population does not necessarily prescribe emigration when people

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begin to find it hard to get a living off the land on which they were born, or on which they have settled, but it does prescribe better modes of cultivation and smaller families.

I am not prepared to argue that democratic societies will always accept the conclusions of science with meekness and submission. One sees, I admit, in our own time a good deal to warrant the fear that democratic ignorance will fight unpleasant and inconvenient truths with the pertinacity with which monarchical and aristocratic ignorance has always fought them; and that they will have to owe their triumph in the future, as they have owed it in the past, not to any particular distribution of the political sovereignty, but to the intellectual impulse which has carried the race out of the woods and the caves, and given it its great discoverers and inventors.

But I am very curious to know why Sir Henry Maine should have overlooked the experience of the only really democratic community now existing, that of the Northern States of the American Union, on this point. As a matter of fact, there never has been any society in which new discoveries and inventions and new theories of the art of living have been received with so much readiness as in these States; and they are the countries in which the dominating opinion is most distinctly that of the multitude, in which legislation most distinctly embodies both the prejudices and weaknesses of the multitude, and in which there is least respect for authority. I think I might safely appeal to American men of science to say whether they do not suffer in reputation and influence with the people, for not making more and greater calls on their faith or credulity; or, in other words, for their slowness rather than for their haste in making and accepting discoveries. The fertility of Americans in inventions—that is, in the production of new machines and new processes—great as it is, is not so remarkable as the eagerness with which the people receive them and use them. The large number of medical quacks who infest the country, and their great success in the sale of their nostrums—the like of which I think can be seen nowhere else—is undoubtedly due to a sort of impatience with the caution and want of enterprise of the regular practitioners. The kind of fame which came to Edison after he had made some improvements in the electric light and invented the phonograph was a very good illustration of the respect of American people for the novel and the marvellous. For a good while he was hailed as a man to whom any problem in physics would be simple, and he was consulted on a variety of subjects to which he had given no attention, such as the means of diminishing the noise of the trains on the elevated railroads in the streets of this city. In fact, for a year or two, he held the position—doubtless to his own amusement—of a 'medicine man,' to whom any mystery was easy.

Are there, then, no signs in this American democracy of tendencies in the direction which Sir Henry Maine predicts or guesses at—that

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is, of the emancipation of the people from the control or influence of science, or scientific men, or of a disposition to go back to the rule of thumb in the art of living? As I am not posing here as a champion of Popular Government, or indeed as anything but a humble inquirer into the reasons why Sir Henry Maine wrote his book, I can have no difficulty in answering this question with candour and explicitness.

No observer of American politics can deny that, with regard to matters which can become the subject of legislation, the American voter listens with extreme impatience to anything which has the air of instruction; but the reason is to be found not in his dislike of instruction so much as his dislike in the political field of anything which savours of superiority. The passion for equality is one of the very strongest influences in American politics. This is so fully recognised now by politicians that self-depreciation, even in the matter of knowledge, has become one of the ways of commending one's self to the multitude, which even the foremost men of both parties do not disdain. In talking on such subjects as the currency, with a view of enlightening the people, skilful orators are very careful to repudiate all pretence of knowing anything more about the matter than their hearers. The speech is made to wear as far as possible the appearance of being simply a reproduction of things with which the audience is just as familiar as the speaker. Nothing is more fatal to a stump orator than an air of superior wisdom on any subject. He has, if he means to persuade, to keep carefully, in outward seeming at all events, on the same intellectual level as those whom he is addressing. Orators of a demagogic turn, of course, push this caution to its extreme, and often affect ignorance, and boast of the smallness of the educational opportunities enjoyed by them in their youth, and of the extreme difficulty they had in acquiring even the little they know. There is nothing, in fact, people are less willing to tolerate in a man who seeks office at their hands than any sign that he does not consider himself as belonging to the same class as the bulk of the voters—that either birth, or fortune, or education has taken him out of sympathy with them, or caused him, in any sense, to look down on them.

That this has a tendency to make political speaking in this country, especially of late years, remarkably uninstructive, uninteresting, and a poor educational agency, there is no denying. Anyone who judged of the capacity and intelligence of the American voters by the pabulum supplied to them on the stump would certainly be excusable in taking a dark view of the future of American democracy.

The truth seems to be that with regard to all matters within the field of politics the new democracy is extremely sensitive about any doubts of its competency. It will not suffer any question, or sign of question, of its full capacity to deal with any matter which calls for legislation. It is ready enough to base legislation on investigations

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and reports; but there must be investigations and reports made in its name and by its authority through what it calls 'practical men' as distinguished from scientific or professorial men. By practical men, it means men engaged in some industrial or money-making pursuit, like the bulk of the community, and making no pretence to book-learning or theoretical knowledge. What men of this class, who have succeeded in business, say on any subject calling for political action, counts for much more in the United States with the voters than what specialists or learned men say. There is, in fact, an inordinate respect for the opinions on all subjects of 'successful business men'—that is, men who from small beginnings have made fortunes by their own exertions. But this is not more wonderful in an industrial community than the reverence in a military community for a great soldier—than the prolonged belief in England, for instance, in the political wisdom of the Duke of Wellington for many years after Waterloo.

With matters of a quasi-scientific kind, like the tariff, for instance, or the currency, on which the opinions of theorists are extremely important and 'practical men' very likely to be utterly wrong, this habit of excluding science from all, say in the political arena, is undoubtedly very unfortunate. But it does not have the effect that Sir Henry Maine would expect from it. It sometimes leads to the embodiment in legislation of gross errors and delusions, but it never leads to the conversion of an error or delusion into a sacred dogma. It leads to costly and useless experimentation and to the trial of schemes which have failed a hundred times before in other places and ages. It is rare, indeed, that an economic or other fallacy connected with legislation, which has once taken hold of the popular mind in this country, can be overthrown by the attacks of authority or of historical experience. In fact, the intervention of the professors to expose it is very apt to hasten its conversion into law, if only for the purpose of showing the literary men that they must not meddle in politics.

But the experiment once tried, there is nothing anywhere like the readiness of the public here to acknowledge failure in the frankest way. The orators and editors go through the process of 'owning up,' with extraordinary, and some might say cynical, cheerfulness. Some of the most furious newspaper advocates of Bland's Silver Bill are now its most strenuous opponents. Everything which the theorists predicted of its working has come to pass, but it would never have done to allow theorists to suppose that their talk would turn the people from its purpose or influence law-making. In truth, that most marked characteristic of the American commercial character—its readiness to abandon things which do not pay, and its unwillingness to spend any time crying over spilt milk—shows itself just as prominently in politics as in business. There is not the smallest sign of the bigoted conservatism which Sir Henry Maine looks for. The legislative history of every State in the Union is full of illustrations of the people's

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openness to conviction, provided the conviction be wrought by processes which they can understand. Nothing is sacred in America, and nothing elicits so much ridicule as an attempt to put anything or any person into the category of the unchangeable or unapproachable.

But, outside of politics, authority occupies a very different place. The scientific or literary man who addresses the people without any design of directly influencing their political action, or making his opinions felt in legislation, nowhere receives a more attentive hearing. The success of instructive lectures in this country, though greater some years ago than now, is still greater than anywhere else in the world. Scientific men, working in their own fields, are nowhere so widely known and respected by the masses. I do not need to speak of the wide diffusion in the United States of the reading habit. A large proportion of it—by far too large a portion of it perhaps—is devoted to newspapers, which have their bad side, on which I will not dwell here. But they have one effect which makes any growth of ignorant conservatism, or any barbarous dislike of novelty, simply impossible. They fill every corner of the land with some knowledge of what is going on everywhere else. They tell the people something about every famous man in the world, and about the things which have made him famous. They familiarise them with every new idea or discovery. They, in short, prevent mental stagnation. By keeping people curious about the world outside their village, they keep them in a state of mental receptivity.

I might illustrate these things at considerable length, if I had not taken up so much space. But I shall, in closing, point out that one of Sir Henry Maine's examples of popular bigotry—the hostility of the United States to free trade—shows a singular ignorance of the exact nature of the tariff controversy in this country. The tariff is not a purely fiscal question here, and for that reason the difficulty of getting Americans to take a scientific view of it is greatly increased.

In the first place, the possession of a continent containing nearly every variety of soil, climate and product greatly diminishes the force with which the free-trade doctrine, that trade consists in the interchange of the results of special natural advantages, strikes the American mind. No other country can say that it finds within its own borders the means, as far as soil and climate are concerned, of producing nearly everything it buys from foreigners. In the next place, the prohibition of Customs duties between the States has given a larger area to free trade here than exists anywhere else, and has thus in a remarkable degree lessened the pinch of protection. Lastly, the enormous immigration—nearly a million a year—of consumers and producers, in the very prime of life, is constantly making new markets, which for many years postponed the glut which is now putting the high tariff in so much peril. The effect of this, in impeding the free-trade agitation, has been very like the effect of opening a small foreign State every year to American goods. In short, anybody who

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imagines that the free-trade argument presents itself to the American voter in the neat compact shape in which Cobden and Bright were able to offer it to the British public in 1846, or in which Fawcett was able to offer it in 1880, is greatly mistaken. The American voter, though much deluded about the tariff, is not deluded to the same degree or in the same way as the British fair-trader. He has never had the notion that, as people say here, he could lift himself by his own boot-straps, or make money by swapping jack-knives. His vast reserve of waste lands has always been in his mind, something for a tariff to work on which no other nation possessed.

E. L. GODKIN.

NEW YORK: *January* 1886.

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master of Mr. Gladstone's meaning in these pages, I have often been overcome by a feeling analogous to that of Socrates, but not quite the same. That which I do understand, in fact, has appeared to me so very much the reverse of good, that I have sometimes permitted myself to doubt the value of that which I do not understand.

In this part of Mr. Gladstone's reply, in fact, I find nothing of which the bearing upon my arguments is clear to me, except that which relates to the question whether reptiles, so far as they are represented by tortoises and the great majority of lizards and snakes, which are land animals, are creeping things in the sense of the Pentateuchal writer or not.

I have every respect for the singer of the Song of the Three Children (whoever he may have been); I desire to cast no shadow of doubt upon, but, on the contrary, marvel at, the exactness of Mr. Gladstone's information as to the considerations which 'affected the method of the Mosaic writer'; nor do I venture to doubt that the inconvenient intrusion of these contemptible reptiles—'a family fallen from greatness' (p. 14), a miserable decayed aristocracy reduced to mere 'skulkers about the earth' (*ibid.*)—in consequence apparently of difficulties about the occupation of land arising out of the earth-hunger of their former serfs, the mammals—into an apologetic argument, which otherwise would run quite smoothly, is in every way to be deprecated. Still, the wretched creatures stand there, importunately demanding notice; and, however different may be the practice in that contentious atmosphere with which Mr. Gladstone expresses and laments his familiarity, in the atmosphere of science it really is of no avail whatever to shut one's eyes to facts, or to try to bury them out of sight under a tumulus of rhetoric. That is my experience of 'the Elysian regions of Science,' wherein it is a pleasure to me to think that a man of Mr. Gladstone's intimate knowledge of English life during the last quarter of a century believes my philosophic existence to have been rounded off in unbroken equanimity.

However reprehensible, and indeed contemptible, terrestrial reptiles may be, the only question which appears to me to be relevant to my argument is whether these creatures are or are not comprised under the denomination of 'everything that creepeth upon the ground.'

Mr. Gladstone speaks of the author of the first chapter of Genesis as 'the Mosaic writer'; I suppose, therefore, that he will admit that it is equally proper to speak of the author of Leviticus as the 'Mosaic writer.' Whether such a phrase would be used by any one who had an adequate conception of the assured results of modern Biblical criticism is another matter; but, at any rate, it cannot be denied that Leviticus has as much claim to Mosaic authorship as Genesis. Therefore, if one wants to know the sense of a phrase used in Genesis, it will be well to see what Leviticus has to say on the matter.

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Hence, I commend the following extract from the eleventh chapter of Leviticus to Mr. Gladstone's serious attention :—

> And these are they which are unclean unto you among the creeping things that creep upon the earth: the weasel, and the mouse, and the great lizard after its kind, and the gecko, and the land-crocodile, and the sand-lizard, and the chameleon. These are they which are unclean to you among all that creep (v. 29-31).

The merest Sunday-school exegesis therefore suffices to prove that when the 'Mosaic writer' in Genesis i. 24 speaks of 'creeping things' he means to include lizards among them.

This being so, it is agreed on all hands that terrestrial lizards, and other reptiles allied to lizards, occur in the Permian strata. It is further agreed that the Triassic strata were deposited after these. Moreover, it is well known that, even if certain footprints are to be taken as unquestionable evidence of the existence of birds, they are not known to occur in rocks earlier than the Trias, while indubitable remains of birds are to be met with only much later. Hence it follows that natural science does not 'affirm' the statement that birds were made on the fifth day, and 'everything that creepeth on the ground' on the sixth, on which Mr. Gladstone rests his order; for, as is shown by Leviticus, the 'Mosaic writer' includes lizards among his 'creeping things.'

Perhaps I have given myself superfluous trouble in the preceding argument, for I find that Mr. Gladstone is willing to assume (he does not say to admit) that the statement in the text of Genesis as to reptiles cannot 'in all points be sustained' (p. 16). But my position is that it cannot be sustained in any point, so that, after all, it has perhaps been as well to go over the evidence again. And then Mr. Gladstone proceeds, as if nothing had happened, to tell us that—

> There remain great unshaken facts to be weighed. First, the fact that such a record should have been made at all.

As most peoples have their cosmogonies, this 'fact' does not strike me as having much value.

> Secondly, the fact that, instead of dwelling in generalities, it has placed itself under the severe conditions of a chronological order reaching from the first *nisus* of chaotic matter to the consummated production of a fair and goodly, a furnished and a peopled world.

This 'fact' can be regarded as of value only by ignoring the fact demonstrated in my previous paper, that natural science does not confirm the order asserted so far as living things are concerned; and by upsetting a fact to be brought to light presently, to wit, that, in regard to the rest of the Pentateuchal cosmogony, prudent science has very little to say one way or the other.

> Thirdly, the fact that its cosmogony seems, in the light of the nineteenth century, to draw more and more of countenance from the best natural philosophy.

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I have already questioned the accuracy of this statement, and I do not observe that mere repetition adds to its value.

And, fourthly, that it has described the successive origins of the five great categories of present life with which human experience was and is conversant, in that order which geological authority confirms.

By comparison with a sentence on page 14, in which a fivefold order is substituted for the 'fourfold order,' on which the 'plea for Revelation' was originally founded, it appears that these five categories are 'plants, fishes, birds, mammals, and man,' which, Mr. Gladstone affirms, 'are given to us in Genesis in the order of succession in which they are also given by the latest geological authorities.'

I must venture to demur to this statement. I showed, in my previous paper, that there is no reason to doubt that the term 'great sea monster' (used in Genesis i. 21) includes the most conspicuous of great sea animals—namely, whales, dolphins, porpoises, manatees, and dugongs;[1] and as these are indubitable mammals, it is impossible to affirm that mammals come after birds, which are said to have been created on the same day. Moreover, I pointed out that as these Cetacea and Sirenia are certainly modified land animals, their existence implies the antecedent existence of land mammals.

Furthermore, I have to remark that the term 'fishes,' as used technically in zoology, by no means covers all the moving creatures that have life, which are bidden to 'fill the waters in the seas' (Genesis i. 20-22). Marine mollusks and crustacea, echinoderms, corals, and foraminifera are not technically fishes. But they are abundant in the palæozoic rocks, ages upon ages older than those in which the first evidences of true fishes appear.. And if, in a geological book, Mr. Gladstone finds the quite true statement that plants appeared before fishes, it is only by a complete misunderstanding that he can be led to imagine it serves his purpose. As a matter of fact, at the present moment, it is a question whether, on the bare evidence afforded by fossils, the marine creeping thing or the marine plant has the seniority. No cautious palæontologist would express a decided opinion on the matter. But, if we are to read the Pentateuchal statement as a scientific document (and, in spite of all protests to the contrary, those who bring it into comparison with science do seek to make a scientific document of it), then, as it is quite clear that only terrestrial plants of high organisation are spoken of in verses 11 and 12, no palæontologist would hesitate to say that, at present, the records of sea animal life are vastly older than those of any land plant describable as 'grass, herb yielding seed, or fruit-tree.'

Thus, although, in Mr. Gladstone's 'Defence,' the 'old order

[1] Both dolphins and dugongs occur in the Red Sea, porpoises and dolphins in the Mediterranean; so that the 'Mosaic writer' may well have been acquainted with them.

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passeth into new,' his case is not improved. The fivefold order is no more 'affirmed in our time by natural science' to be 'a demonstrated conclusion and established fact' than the fourfold order was. Natural science appears to me to decline to have anything to do with either; they are as wrong in detail as they are mistaken in principle.

There is another change of position, the value of which is not so apparent to me as it may well seem to be to those who are unfamiliar with the subject under discussion. Mr. Gladstone discards his three groups of 'water population,' 'air population,' and 'land population,' and substitutes for them (1) fishes, (2) birds, (3) mammals, (4) man. Moreover, it is assumed in a note that 'the higher or ordinary mammals' alone were known to the 'Mosaic writer' (p. 6). No doubt it looks, at first, as if something were gained by this alteration; for, as I have just pointed out, the word 'fishes' can be used in two senses, one of which has a deceptive appearance of adjustability to the 'Mosaic' account. Then the inconvenient reptiles are banished out of sight; and, finally, the question of the exact meaning of 'higher' and 'ordinary' in the case of mammals opens up the prospect of a hopeful logomachy. But what is the good of it all in the face of Leviticus on the one hand and of palæontology on the other?

As, in my apprehension, there is not a shadow of justification for the suggestion that when the Pentateuchal writer says 'fowl' he excludes bats (which, as we shall see directly, are expressly included under 'fowl' in Leviticus), and as I have already shown that he demonstrably includes reptiles, as well as mammals, among the creeping things of the land, I may be permitted to spare my readers further discussion of the 'fivefold order.' On the whole, it is seen to be rather more inconsistent with Genesis than its fourfold predecessor.

But I have yet a fresh order to face. Mr. Gladstone (p. 11) understands 'the main statements of Genesis, in successive order of time, but without any measurement of its divisions, to be as follows:

1. A period of land, anterior to all life (v. 9 and 10).
2. A period of vegetable life, anterior to animal life (v. 11 and 12).
3. A period of animal life, in the order of fishes (v. 20).
4. Another stage of animal life, in the order of birds.
5. Another, in the order of beasts (v. 24 and 25).
6. Last of all, man (v. 26 and 27).'

Mr. Gladstone then tries to find the proof of the occurrence of a similar succession in sundry excellent works on geology.

I am really grieved to be obliged to say that this third (or is it fourth?) modification of the foundation of the 'plea for Revelation' originally set forth, satisfies me as little as any of its predecessors.

For, in the first place, I cannot accept the assertion that this order is to be found in Genesis. With respect to No. 3, for example, I hold,

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as I have already said, that 'great sea monsters' includes the Cetacea, in which case mammals (which is what, I suppose, Mr. Gladstone means by 'beasts') come in under head No. 3, and not under No. 5. Again, 'fowl' are said in Genesis to be created on the same day as fishes; therefore I cannot accept an order which makes birds succeed fishes. Once more, as it is quite certain that the term 'fowl' includes the bats—for in Leviticus xi. 13–19 we read, 'And these shall ye have in abomination among the fowls . . . the heron after its kind, and the hoopoe, and the bat'—it is obvious that bats are also said to have been created at stage No. 3. And as bats are mammals, and their existence obviously presupposes that of terrestrial 'beasts,' it is quite clear that the latter could not have first appeared as No. 5. I need not repeat my reasons for doubting whether man came 'last of all.'

As the latter half of Mr. Gladstone's sixfold order thus shows itself to be wholly unauthorised by, and inconsistent with, the plain language of the Pentateuch, I might decline to discuss the admissibility of its former half.

But I will add one or two remarks on this point also. Does Mr. Gladstone mean to say that in any of the works he has cited, or indeed anywhere else, he can find scientific warranty for the assertion that there was a period of land—by which I suppose he means dry land (for submerged land must needs be as old as the separate existence of the sea)—'anterior to all life'?

It may be so, or it may not be so; but where is the evidence which would justify anyone in making a positive assertion on the subject? What competent palæontologist will affirm, at this present moment, that he knows anything about the period at which life originated, or will assert more than the extreme probability that such origin was a long way antecedent to any traces of life at present known? What physical geologist will affirm that he knows when dry land began to exist, or will say more than that it was probably very much earlier than any extant direct evidence of terrestrial conditions indicates?

I think I know pretty well the answers which the authorities quoted by Mr. Gladstone would give to these questions; but I leave it to them to give them if they think fit.

If I ventured to speculate on the matter at all, I should say it is by no means certain that sea is older than dry land, inasmuch as a solid terrestrial surface may very well have existed before the earth was cool enough to allow of the existence of fluid water. And in this case dry land may have existed before the sea. As to the first appearance of life, the whole argument of analogy, whatever it may be worth in such a case, is in favour of the absence of living beings until long after the hot water seas had constituted themselves; and of the subsequent appearance of aquatic before terres-

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trial forms of life. But whether these 'protoplasts' would, if we could examine them, be reckoned among the lowest microscopic algæ, or fungi, or among those doubtful organisms which lie in the debatable land between animals and plants, is, in my judgment, a question on which a prudent biologist will reserve his opinion.

I think that I have now disposed of those parts of Mr. Gladstone's defence in which I seem to discover a design to rescue his solemn 'plea for Revelation.' But a great deal of the 'Proem to Genesis' remains which I would gladly pass over in silence, were such a course consistent with the respect due to so distinguished a champion of the 'reconcilers.'

I hope that my clients—the people of average opinions—have by this time some confidence in me; for when I tell them that, after all, Mr. Gladstone is of opinion that the 'Mosaic record' was meant to give moral and not scientific instruction to those for whom it was written, they may be disposed to think that I must be misleading them. But let them listen further to what Mr. Gladstone says in a compendious but not exactly correct statement respecting my opinions:—

> He holds the writer responsible for scientific precision: I look for nothing of the kind, but assign to him a statement general, which admits exceptions; popular, which aims mainly at producing moral impression; summary, which cannot but be open to more or less of criticism of detail. He thinks it is a lecture. I think it is a sermon (p. 5).

I note, incidentally, that Mr. Gladstone appears to consider that the *differentia* between a lecture and a sermon is, that the former, so far as it deals with matters of fact, may be taken seriously, as meaning exactly what it says, while a sermon may not. I have quite enough on my hands without taking up the cudgels for the clergy, who will probably find Mr. Gladstone's definition unflattering.

But I am diverging from my proper business, which is to say that I have given no ground for the ascription of these opinions, and that, as a matter of fact, I do not hold them and never have held them. It is Mr. Gladstone, and not I, who will have it that the Pentateuchal cosmogony is to be taken as science.

My belief, on the contrary, is, and long has been, that the Pentateuchal story of the creation is simply a myth. I suppose it to be an hypothesis respecting the origin of the universe which some ancient thinker found himself able to reconcile with his knowledge, or what he thought was knowledge, of the nature of things, and therefore assumed to be true. As such, I hold it to be not merely an interesting but a venerable monument of a stage in the mental progress of mankind, and I find it difficult to suppose that any one who is acquainted with the cosmogonies of other nations—and especially with those of the Egyptians and the Babylonians, with whom

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the Israelites were in such frequent and intimate communication—should consider it to possess either more or less scientific importance than may be allotted to these.

Mr. Gladstone's definition of a sermon permits me to suspect that he may not see much difference between that form of discourse and what I call a myth; and I hope it may be something more than the slowness of apprehension, to which I have confessed, which leads me to imagine that a statement which is 'general' but 'admits exceptions,' which is 'popular and 'aims mainly at producing moral impression,' 'summary' and therefore open to 'criticism of detail,' amounts to a myth, or perhaps less than a myth. Put algebraically, it comes to this, $x=a+b+c$; always remembering that there is nothing to show the exact value of either a, or b, or c. It is true that a is commonly supposed to equal 10, but there are exceptions, and these may reduce it to 8, or 3, or 0; b also popularly means 10, but being chiefly used by the algebraist as a 'moral' value, you cannot do much with it in the addition or subtraction of mathematical values; c also is quite 'summary,' and if you go into the details of which it is made up, many of them may be wrong, and their sum total equal to 0, or even to a minus quantity.

Mr. Gladstone appears to wish that I should (1) enter upon a sort of essay competition with the author of the Pentateuchal cosmogony; (2) that I should make a further statement about some elementary facts in the history of Indian and Greek philosophy; and (3) that I should show cause for my hesitation in accepting the assertion that Genesis is supported, at any rate to the extent of the first two verses, by the nebular hypothesis.

A certain sense of humour prevents me from accepting the first invitation. I would as soon attempt to put Hamlet's soliloquy into a more scientific shape. But if I supposed the 'Mosaic writer' to be inspired, as Mr. Gladstone does, it would not be consistent with my notions of respect for the Supreme Being to imagine Him unable to frame a form of words which should accurately, or at least not inaccurately, express His own meaning. It is sometimes said that, had the statements contained in the first chapter of Genesis been scientifically true, they would have been unintelligible to ignorant people; but how is the matter mended if, being scientifically untrue, they must needs be rejected by instructed people?

With respect to the second suggestion, it would be presumptuous in me to pretend to instruct Mr. Gladstone in matters which lie as much within the province of Literature and History, as in that of Science; but if any one desirous of further knowledge will be so good as to turn to that most excellent and by no means recondite source of information, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he will find, under the letter E, the word 'Evolution,' and a long article on that subject. Now, I do not recommend him to read the first half of the article;

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but the second half, by my friend Mr. Sully, is really very good. He will there find it said that in some of the philosophies of ancient India, the idea of evolution is clearly expressed: 'Brahma is conceived as the eternal self-existent being, which, on its material side, unfolds itself to the world by gradually condensing itself to material objects through the gradations of ether, fire, water, earth, and other elements.' And again: 'In the later system of emanation of Sankhya there is a more marked approach to a materialistic doctrine of evolution.' What little knowledge I have of the matter—chiefly derived from that very instructive book *Die Religion des Buddha*, by C. F. Koeppen, supplemented by Hardy's interesting works—leads me to think that Mr. Sully might have spoken much more strongly as to the evolutionary character of Indian philosophy, and especially of that of the Buddhists. But the question is too large to be dealt with incidentally.

And with respect to early Greek philosophy[2] the seeker after additional enlightenment need go no further than the same excellent storehouse of information:—

> The early Ionian physicists, including Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, seek to explain the world as generated out of a primordial matter which is at the same time the universal support of things. This substance is endowed with a generative or transmutative force by virtue of which it passes into a succession of forms. They thus resemble modern evolutionists, since they regard the world, with its infinite variety of forms, as issuing from a simple mode of matter.

Further on, Mr. Sully remarks that 'Heraclitus deserves a prominent place in the history of the idea of evolution,' and he states, with perfect justice, that Heraclitus has foreshadowed some of the special peculiarities of Mr. Darwin's views. It is indeed a very strange circumstance that the philosophy of the great Ephesian more than adumbrates the two doctrines which have played leading parts, the one in the development of Christian dogma, the other in that of natural science. The former is the conception of the Word (λόγος) which took its Jewish shape in Alexandria, and its Christian form[3] in that Gospel which is usually referred to an Ephesian source of some five centuries later date; and the latter is that of the struggle for existence. The saying that 'strife is father and king of all' (πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς), ascribed to Heraclitus, would be a not inappropriate motto for the 'Origin of Species.'

I have referred only to Mr. Sully's article, because his authority is quite sufficient for my purpose. But the consultation of any of the more elaborate histories of Greek philosophy, such as the great work of Zeller, for example, will only bring out the same fact into

[2] I said nothing about 'the greater number of schools of Greek philosophy,' as Mr. Gladstone implies that I did, but expressly spoke of the 'founders of Greek philosophy.'

[3] See Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos*, p. 9, *et seq.*

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still more striking prominence. I have professed no 'minute acquaintance' with either Indian or Greek philosophy, but I have taken a great deal of pains to secure that such knowledge as I do possess shall be accurate and trustworthy.

In the third place, Mr. Gladstone appears to wish that I should discuss with him the question whether the nebular hypothesis is or is not confirmatory of the Pentateuchal account of the origin of things. Mr. Gladstone appears to be prepared to enter upon this campaign with a light heart. I confess I am not, and my reason for this backwardness will doubtless surprise Mr. Gladstone. It is that, rather more than a quarter of a century ago (namely, in February 1859) when it was my duty, as President of the Geological Society, to deliver the Anniversary Address,[4] I chose a topic which involved a very careful study of the remarkable cosmogonical speculation originally promulgated by Immanuel Kant, and subsequently by Laplace, which is now known as the nebular hypothesis. With the help of such little acquaintance with the principles of physics and astronomy as I had gained, I endeavoured to obtain a clear understanding of this speculation in all its bearings. I am not sure that I succeeded; but of this I am certain, that the problems involved are very difficult, even for those who possess the intellectual discipline requisite for dealing with them. And it was this conviction that led me to express my desire to leave the discussion of the question of the asserted harmony between Genesis and the nebular hypothesis to experts in the appropriate branches of knowledge. And I think my course was a wise one; but as Mr. Gladstone evidently does not understand how there can be any hesitation on my part, unless it arises from a conviction that he is in the right, I may go so far as to set out my difficulties.

They are of two kinds—exegetical and scientific. It appears to me that it is vain to discuss a supposed coincidence between Genesis and science, unless we have first settled, on the one hand, what Genesis says, and, on the other hand, what science says.

In the first place, I cannot find any consensus among Biblical scholars as to the meaning of the words 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.' Some say that the Hebrew word *bara*, which is translated 'create,' means 'made out of nothing.' I venture to object to that rendering, not on the ground of scholarship, but of common sense. Omnipotence itself can surely no more make something 'out of' nothing than it can make a triangular circle. What is intended by 'made out of nothing' appears to be 'caused to come into existence,' with the implication that nothing of the same kind previously existed. It is further usually assumed that 'the heaven and the earth' means the material substance of the universe. Hence the 'Mosaic writer' is taken to imply that where nothing of a material

[4] Reprinted in *Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews*, 1870.

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nature previously existed, this substance appeared. That is perfectly conceivable, and therefore no one can deny that it may have happened. But there are other very authoritative critics who say that the ancient Israelite[5] who wrote the passage was not likely to have been capable of such abstract thinking, and that, as a matter of philology, *bara* is commonly used to signify the 'fashioning,' or 'forming,' of that which already exists. Now it appears to me that the scientific investigator is wholly incompetent to say anything at all about the first origin of the material universe. The whole power of his organon vanishes when he has to step beyond the chain of natural causes and effects. No form of the nebular hypothesis that I know of is necessarily connected with any view of the origination of the nebular substance. Kant's form of it expressly supposes that the nebular material from which one stellar system starts may be nothing but the disintegrated substance of a stellar and planetary system which has just come to an end. Therefore, so far as I can see, one who believes that matter has existed from all eternity has just as much right to hold the nebular hypothesis as one who believes that matter came into existence at a specified epoch. In other words, the nebular hypothesis and the creation hypothesis, up to this point, neither confirm nor oppose one another.

Next, we read in the revisers' version, in which I suppose the ultimate results of critical scholarship to be embodied: 'And the earth was waste [without form, in the authorised version] and void.' Most people seem to think that this phraseology intends to imply that the matter out of which the world was to be formed was a veritable 'chaos' devoid of law and order. If this interpretation is correct, the nebular hypothesis can have nothing to say to it. The scientific thinker cannot admit the absence of law and order, anywhere or any when, in nature. Sometimes law and order are patent and visible to our limited vision; sometimes they are hidden. But every particle of the matter of the most fantastic-looking nebula in the heavens is a realm of law and order in itself, and that it is so is the essential condition of the possibility of solar and planetary evolution from the apparent chaos.[6]

'Waste' is too vague a term to be worth consideration. 'Without form,' intelligible enough as a metaphor, if taken literally, is absurd; for a material thing existing in space must have a superficies, and if it has a superficies it has a form. The wildest streaks of marestail clouds in the sky, or the most irregular heavenly nebulæ, have surely just as much form as a geometrical tetrahedron; and as for 'void,'

[5] 'Ancient,' doubtless, but his antiquity must not be exaggerated. For example, there is no proof that the 'Mosaic' cosmogony was known to the Israelites of Solomon's time.

[6] When Jeremiah (iv. 23) says, 'I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was waste and void,' he certainly does not mean to imply that the form of the earth was less definite, or its substance less solid, than before.

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how can that be void which is full of matter? As poetry, these lines are vivid and admirable; as a scientific statement, which they must be taken to be if any one is justified in comparing them with another scientific statement, they fail to convey any intelligible conception to my mind.

The account proceeds: 'And darkness was upon the face of the deep.' So be it; but where, then, is the likeness to the celestial nebulæ, of the existence of which we should know nothing unless they shone with a light of their own? 'And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' I have met with no form of the nebular hypothesis which involves anything analogous to this process.

I have said enough to explain some of the difficulties which arise in my mind, when I try to ascertain whether there is any foundation for the contention that the statements contained in the first two verses of Genesis are supported by the nebular hypothesis. The result does not appear to me to be exactly favourable to that contention. The nebular hypothesis assumes the existence of matter having definite properties as its foundation. Whether such matter was created a few thousand years ago, or whether it has existed through an eternal series of metamorphoses of which our present universe is only the last stage, are alternatives, neither of which is scientifically untenable, and neither scientifically demonstrable. But science knows nothing of any stage in which the universe could be said, in other than a metaphorical and popular sense, to be formless or empty, or in any respect less the seat of law and order than it is now. One might as well talk of a fresh-laid hen's egg being 'without form and void,' because the chick therein is potential and not actual, as apply such terms to the nebulous mass which contains a potential solar system.

Until some further enlightenment comes to me, then, I confess myself wholly unable to understand the way in which the nebular hypothesis is to be converted into an ally of the 'Mosaic writer.'[7]

But Mr. Gladstone informs us that Professor Dana and Professor Guyot are prepared to prove that the 'first or cosmogonical portion of the Proem not only accords with, but teaches, the nebular hypothesis.' There is no one to whose authority on geological questions I am more

[7] In looking through the delightful volume recently published by the Astronomer Royal for Ireland, a day or two ago, I find the following remarks on the nebular hypothesis, which I should have been glad to quote in my text if I had known them sooner:—

'Nor can it be ever more than a speculation; it cannot be established by observation, nor can it be proved by calculation. It is merely a conjecture, more or less plausible, but perhaps, in some degree, necessarily true, if our present laws of heat, as we understand them, admit of the extreme application here required, and if the present order of things has reigned for sufficient time without the intervention of any influence at present known to us.'—*The Story of the Heavens*, p. 506.

Would any prudent advocate base a plea, either for or against Revelation, upon the coincidence, or want of coincidence, of the declarations of the latter with the requirements of an hypothesis thus guardedly dealt with by an astronomical expert?

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readily disposed to bow, than that of my eminent friend Professor Dana. But I am familiar with what he has previously said on this topic in his well-known and standard work, into which, strangely enough, it does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Gladstone to look before he set out upon his present undertaking; and unless Professor Dana's latest contribution (which I have not yet met with) takes up altogether new ground, I am afraid I shall not be able to extricate myself, by its help, from my present difficulties.

It is a very long time since I began to think about the relations between modern scientifically ascertained truths and the cosmogonical speculations of the writer of Genesis; and, as I think that Mr. Gladstone might have been able to put his case with a good deal more force if he had thought it worth while to consult the last chapter of Professor Dana's admirable *Manual of Geology*, so I think he might have been made aware that he was undertaking an enterprise of which he had not counted the cost, if he had chanced upon a discussion of the subject which I published in 1877.[8]

Finally, I should like to draw the attention of those who take interest in these topics to the weighty words of one of the most learned and moderate of Biblical critics:—

A propos de cette première page de la Bible, on a coutume de nos jours de disserter, à perte de vue, sur l'accord du récit mosaïque avec les sciences naturelles; et comme celles-ci, tout éloignées qu'elles sont encore de la perfection absolue, ont rendu populaires et en quelque sorte irréfragables un certain nombre de faits généraux ou de thèses fondamentales de la cosmologie et de la géologie, c'est le texte sacré qu'on s'évertue à torturer pour le faire concorder avec ces données.[9]

In my paper on the 'Interpreters of Nature and the Interpreters of Genesis,' while freely availing myself of the rights of a scientific critic, I endeavoured to keep the expression of my views well within those bounds of courtesy which are set by self-respect and consideration for others. I am therefore glad to be favoured with Mr. Gladstone's acknowledgment of the success of my efforts. I only wish that I could accept all the products of Mr. Gladstone's gracious appreciation, but there is one about which, as a matter of honesty, I hesitate. In fact, if I had expressed my meaning better than I seem to have done, I doubt if this particular proffer of Mr. Gladstone's thanks would have been made.

To my mind, whatever doctrine professes to be the result of the application of the accepted rules of inductive and deductive logic to its subject-matter, and accepts, within the limits which it sets to itself, the supremacy of reason, is Science. Whether the subject-matter consists of realities or unrealities, truths or falsehoods, is quite another question. I conceive that ordinary geometry is science, by reason of its method, and I also believe that its axioms, definitions, and conclusions are all true. However,

[8] Lectures on Evolution delivered in New York. (American Addresses.)

[9] Reuss, *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, i. 275.

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there is a geometry of four dimensions, which I also believe to be science, because its method professes to be strictly scientific. It is true that I cannot conceive four dimensions in space, and therefore, for me, the whole affair is unreal. But I have known men of great intellectual powers who seemed to have no difficulty either in conceiving them, or at any rate in imagining how they could conceive them, and therefore four-dimensioned geometry comes under my notion of science. So I think astrology is a science, in so far as it professes to reason logically from principles established by just inductive methods. To prevent misunderstanding, perhaps I had better add that I do not believe one whit in astrology; but no more do I believe in Ptolemaic astronomy, or in the catastrophic geology of my youth, although these, in their day, claimed—and, to my mind, rightly claimed—the name of science. If nothing is to be called science but that which is exactly true from beginning to end, I am afraid there is very little science in the world outside mathematics. Among the physical sciences I do not know that any could claim more than that each is true within certain limits, so narrow that, for the present at any rate, they may be neglected. If such is the case, I do not see where the line is to be drawn between exactly true, partially true, and mainly untrue forms of science. And what I have said about the current theology at the end of my paper leaves, I think, no doubt as to the category in which I rank it. For all that, I think it would be not only unjust, but almost impertinent, to refuse the name of science to the *Summa* of St. Thomas or to the *Institutes* of Calvin.

In conclusion, I confess that my supposed 'unjaded appetite' for the sort of controversy in which it needed not Mr. Gladstone's express declaration to tell us he is far better practised than I am (though probably, without another express declaration, no one would have suspected that his controversial fires are burning low) is already satiated.

In 'Elysium' we conduct scientific discussions in a different medium, and we are liable to threatenings of asphyxia in that 'atmosphere of contention' in which Mr. Gladstone has been able to live, alert and vigorous beyond the common race of men, as if it were purest mountain air. I trust that he may long continue to seek truth, under the difficult conditions he has chosen for the search, with unabated energy—I had almost said fire:

> May age not wither him, nor custom stale
> His infinite variety.

But Elysium suits my less robust constitution better, and I beg leave to retire thither, not sorry for my experience of the other region—no one should regret experience—but determined not to repeat it, at any rate in reference to the 'plea for Revelation.'

T. H. HUXLEY.

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II.

Science, Religion, Philology, and History have now unsheathed their most richly chased blades in this famous tournament. So goodly a fight has not been seen for many a day; and whether one regards the dignity of the combatants, or the gravity and delicacy of the cause, it is not possible to await the issue without the keenest interest. Meanwhile, a voice may be permitted on behalf of a group among the spectators who have not yet been heard in this controversy, but whose modest reluctance to interfere seems only equalled by their right. In arenas more obscure, but not less worthy, they too have fought this fight; and as a humble camp-follower, and from conviction that the thing must now be done, rather than as one possessing the right to do it, I would venture to state the case on their account.

Mr. Huxley interposes in this question because he is moved by the violence being done in high places to natural science. This third party is constrained to speak because of a similar violence done to theological science. Were the reconcilers of Geology and Genesis equal in insight to their last and most distinguished champion, and did Mr. Gladstone himself realise the full meaning of his own concessions, little further contribution to this controversy might perhaps be called for. And were the opponents of this ancient fraternity as calm in spirit, as respectful to beliefs, and as discriminating as to the real question at issue as Mr. Huxley, no other word need be spoken. But with a phalanx of reconcilers on the one hand, who will continue to shelter untenable positions under the carefully qualified argument of Mr. Gladstone; and with quasi-scientific men on the other, who will exaggerate and mis-interpret the triumph of Mr. Huxley, a further clearing of the ground is necessary. The breadth of view, the sagacity, and inimitable charity of Mr. Gladstone's second article certainly go far with many minds to remove the forebodings with which they received the first. Nevertheless, so powerful a championship of a position which many earnest students of modern religious questions have seen reason wholly to abandon cannot but excite misgivings of a serious kind. And though these are now in part removed by the large concessions and ampler statement of the second paper, Mr. Gladstone still deliberately involves himself with

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the fortunes of the reconcilers. So far, however, is he in advance of most of them that much that may be reluctantly said here against the standpoint from which they work in no sense applies to him. This much fairness not less than courtesy makes it a pleasure to premise.

It will be recognised by everyone that the true parties in this case are, as the title of Mr. Huxley's article suggests, The Interpreters of Genesis and the Interpreters of Nature. Now, who are the interpreters of Genesis? We answer by asking, who are the interpreters of Nature?

We respectfully point out to Mr. Huxley that his paper contains no single reference to the interpreters of Genesis in the sense in which he uses the term 'the interpreters' in the case of science. Who are 'the interpreters' of Nature? Mr. Huxley answers, and rightly, himself. And who are 'the interpreters' of Genesis? Certainly Mr. Gladstone would be the last to claim this for himself. Does not the legitimate question lie between *modern theology* and modern science? And in perfect fairness should not the title of Mr. Huxley's paper have read '*Some* interpreters of Genesis, and the scientific interpreters of Nature?' This may be a verbal matter, and we do not press it. But in view of the fact that many will see in Mr. Huxley's article, and in spite of all protestation, a direct and damaging assault upon the Biblical records, would it not have been right to have pointed out the real terms of the antithesis? It may be replied, and justly, that Mr. Huxley is not responsible for the inferences of the uneducated. And in ordinary circumstances it would be gratuitous to define so carefully the real limitations of the question at issue. But the circumstances here are quite exceptional. For although the widely general knowledge of science makes the aberrations of individual theorists in that department harmless, it is not so in the case of theology. Theology, in this relation, has long suffered under quite unusual treatment. Any visionary is taken, and that notoriously by men of science, as the representative of the system. And it is time for theology to be relieved of the irresponsible favours of a hundred sciolists, whose guerilla warfare has so long alienated thinking men in all departments of knowledge. That there is a 'science of theology' Mr. Huxley himself admits. It has exponents in Britain and Germany as well-equipped in learning, in sobriety, in balance of mind, and in the possession of the scientific spirit, as the best of the interpreters of Nature. When these men speak of science, it is with respectful reliance upon the best and most recent authorities. They complain that when science speaks of them it accepts positions and statements from any quarter, from books which have been for years or centuries outgrown; or from popular teachers whom scientific theology unweariedly repudiates. To theological science the whole underlying theory of the reconcilers is as exploded as Bathybius. And

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Mr. Huxley's interference, however much they welcome it in the interest of popular theology, is to them the amusing performance of a layman, the value of which to scientific theology is about the same as would be a refutation of the Ptolemaic astronomy to modern physics.[1]

This, however, to some minds may have to be made plain, and we may briefly devote ourselves to a statement of the case.

The progress of opinion on this whole subject is marked by three phases: First, until the present century the first chapter of Genesis was accepted as a veritable cosmogony. This, in the circumstances, was inevitable. The hypothesis of Laplace was not yet in the field; palæontology, Fracastoro notwithstanding, had produced nothing except what everyone knew was the remains of the Noachian Deluge; and geology, even with Buffon behind it, had so little to say for itself that a hint from the Sorbonne was sufficient to quench what feeble light it had. The genesis of the world, therefore, was left to Moses, and the most mechanical theory of creation—a purely anthropomorphic thing and not really in the sacred page at all—was everywhere accepted.

Presently, as the sciences gathered volume and focussed their rays on the past, a new version of creation was spelled out from earth and sea and stars. Accepted at first tentatively, even by men of science, it is not to be wondered at that theologians were for a time unwilling to give up the reading which had held the ground so long. They therefore adopted the policy which is always followed in similar circumstances—compromise and adjustment. Thus intervened the interregnum of the reconcilers, De Luc, Kurtz, Pye-Smith, Hugh Miller, Chalmers, and a hundred others whom we need not name. The man who speaks of the labours of these workers without respect

[1] Of course, in commentaries written by experts for popular uses, the condemnatory evidence from natural science is sometimes formally cited in stating the case against the reconcilers generally. From one of the most recent, as well as most able, of these we quote the following passage, in which Mr. Huxley is anticipated in so many words. It is here seen, not only that theology 'knew all this before,' but how completely it has abandoned the position against which Mr. Huxley's counter-statements are directed: 'This narrative is not careful to follow the actual order in which life appeared on the globe: it affirms, *e.g.*, that fruit-trees existed before the sun was made; science can tell us of no such vegetation. It tells us that the birds were created in the fifth day, the reptiles in the sixth; Nature herself tells a different tale, and assures us that creeping things appeared before the flying fowl. But the most convincing proof of the regardlessness of scientific accuracy shown by this writer is found in the fact that in the second chapter he gives a different account from that which he has given in the first, and an account irreconcilable with physical facts. . . . He represents the creation of man as preceding the creation of the lower animals—an order which both the first chapter and physical science assure us was not the actual order observed. . . . It seems to me, therefore, a mistaken and dangerous attempt which is often made to reconcile the account of physical facts given here with that given in Nature herself. These accounts disagree in the date or distance from the present time to which the work of creation is assigned, in the length of time which the preparation of the world for man is said to have occupied, and in the order in which life is introduced into the world.'—*Genesis*, by Marcus Dods, D.D. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1882.

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has no acquaintance with the methods by which truth, or error, is ascertained. It was necessary that that mine should be worked, and worked out. Whatever fundamental error underlay it, it was done with reverence, with courage, often with learning and with eloquence. A whole literature sprang up around the reconstruction, and one good end was at least secured—science was ardently studied by the Church. But the failure of the new method was a foregone conclusion, and those who sailed on this shallow sea one by one ran aground. This was a moment of peril—one of those moments which always come when truth is in the making, and which, honestly accepted, lead to new departures in the direction where the true light is ultimately found. The wise among the harmonists accepted the situation, though some of them did not know where next to turn. But deliverance swiftly came, and from an unlooked-for quarter.

For meantime in Germany and England, in a wholly different department of theology, another science was at work. Apart from any questions of doctrinal detail, the young science of Biblical Criticism was beginning to inquire into the composition, meaning, method, and aims of the sacred books. It dealt with these books, in the first instance, simply as literature. Questions of age, authorship, and literary form were for the first time investigated by qualified experts. And the result of these labours—labours in the truest sense scientific—is that these sacred writings are now regarded by theology from a wholly changed standpoint. Now from this standpoint the problem of the reconciliation of Genesis with geology simply disappears. The probable scientific solution, the possibility or impossibility of a harmony—the very statement becomes an absurdity. The question, in fact, is as irrelevant as that of the senior wrangler who asked what Milton's *Paradise Lost* was meant to prove. This is of course the true method of dealing with old theories. Beaten in argument, they will surely rise again; outgrown, they are for ever dead. And this is the hall-mark of all true science, that it destroys by fulfilling.

However it may have escaped recognition, it is certain that theology has been at work for some time now with methods of inquiry similar to those employed by natural science. And it has already partially succeeded in working out a reconstruction of some important departments from the standpoint of development. If the student of science will now apply to theology for its Bible, two very different books will be laid before him.

The one is the Bible as it was accepted by our forefathers; the other is the Bible of modern theology. The books, the chapters, the verses, and the words are the same in each, yet in the meaning, the interpretation, and the way in which they are looked at, they are two entirely distinct Bibles. The distinction between them is one which science will appreciate the moment it is stated. In point of fact,

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the one is constructed like the world according to the old cosmogonies; the other is an evolution. The one represents revelation as having been produced on the creative hypothesis, the Divine-fiat hypothesis, the ready-made hypothesis; the other on the slow-growth or evolution theory. This last—the Bible of development—is the Bible of modern scientific theology. It is not less authoritative than the first, but it is differently authoritative; not less inspired, it is yet differently inspired.

From its standpoint the Bible has not been made in a day, any more than the earth; nor have its parts been introduced mechanically into the minds of certain men, any more than the cells of their brain. In uttering it they have not spoken as mere automata—the men, though inspired, were *authors*. This Bible has not been given independently of time, of place, or of circumstance. It is not to be read without the philosophic sense which distinguishes the provisional from the eternal; the historic sense, which separates the local from the universal; or the literary sense, which recognises prose from poetry, imagery from science. The modern Bible is a book whose parts, though not of unequal value, are seen to be of different kinds of value; where the casual is distinguished from the essential, the subordinate from the primal end. This Bible is not an oracle which has been erected; it has grown. Hence it is no longer a mere word-book, nor a compendium of doctrines, but a nursery of growing truths. It is not an even plane of proof-texts without proportion or emphasis, or light and shade, but a revelation varied as Nature, with the divine in its hidden parts, in its spirit, its tendencies, its obscurities, and its omissions. Like Nature, it has successive strata, and valley and hill-top, and mist and atmosphere, and rivers which are flowing still, and hidden ores, and here and there a place which is desert, and fossils too, whose crude forms are the stepping-stones to higher things. In a word this Bible is like the world in which it is found, natural, human, intelligible in form; mysterious, inscrutable, divine in origin and essence.

With so living a book, theology has again become living. A whole cloud of problems, perplexities, anomalies, and doubts fall before it. No formal indictment is drawn against older views; difficulties are not examined and answered in detail. Before the new standpoint they disappear of themselves. Men who are in revolt against many creeds breathe again in this larger atmosphere and believe afresh, satisfying their reason and keeping their self-respect. For scientific theology no more pledges itself to-day to the interpretations of the Bible of a thousand years ago than does science to the interpretations of Nature in the time of Pythagoras. Nature is the same to-day as in the time of Pythagoras, and the Bible is the same to-day as a thousand years ago. But the Pythagorean interpretation of Nature is not more impossible to the modern mind than are many

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ancient interpretations—those of Genesis among others—to the scientific theologian.

This is no forced attempt, observe, to evade a scientific difficulty by concessions so vital as to make the loss or gain of the position of no importance. This change is not the product of any destructive criticism, nor is this transformed book in any sense a mutilated Bible. It is the natural result of the application of ordinary critical methods to documents which sooner or later must have submitted to the process and from which they have never claimed exemption.

But to return to Genesis. Those modern critics, believing or unbelieving, who have studied the Biblical books as literature—studied them, for instance, as Professor Dowden has studied Shakespeare—concur in pronouncing the Bible absolutely free from natural science. They find there history, poetry, moral philosophy, theology, lives and letters, mystical, devotional, and didactic pieces; but science there is none. Natural objects are, of course, repeatedly referred to, and with unsurpassed sympathy and accuracy of observation; but neither in the intention of any of the innumerable authors nor in the execution of their work is there any direct trace of scientific teaching. Could anyone with any historic imagination for a moment expect that there would have been? There was no science then. Scientific questions were not even asked then. To have given men science would not only have been an anachronism, but a source of mystification and confusion all along the line. The almost painful silence—indeed, the absolute sterility—of the Bible with regard to science is so marked as to have led men to question the very beneficence of God. Why was not the use of the stars explained to navigators, or chloroform to surgeons? Why is a man left to die on the hillside when the medicinal plant which could save him, did he but know it, lies at his feet? What is it to early man to know how the moon was made? What he wants to know is how bread is made. How fish are to be caught, fowls snared, beasts trapped and their skins tanned—these are his problems. Doubtless there are valid reasons why the Bible does not contain a technological dictionary and a pharmacopœia, or anticipate the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. But that it does not inform us on these practical matters is surely a valid argument why we should not expect it to instruct the world in geology. Mr. Huxley is particular to point out to us that the bat and the pterodactyle must be classified under the 'winged fowl' of Genesis, while at a stretch he believes the cockroach might also be included. But we should not wonder if the narrator did not think of this.

Scientific men, apparently, need this warning, not less than those whom they punish for neglecting it. How ignorantly, often, the genius of the Bible is comprehended by those who are loudest in their denunciations of its positions otherwise, is typically illustrated

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in the following passage from Haeckel. Having in an earlier paragraph shown a general harmony between the Mosaic cosmogony and his own theory of creation, he proceeds to extract out of Genesis nothing less than the evolution theory, and that in its last and highest developments:—

> Two great and fundamental ideas, common also to the non-miraculous theory of development, meet us in this Mosaic hypothesis of creation with surprising clearness and simplicity—the idea of separation or differentiation, and the idea of progressive development or perfecting. Although Moses looks upon the results of the great laws of organic development . . . as the direct actions of a constructing Creator, yet in his theory there lies hidden the ruling idea of a progressive development and a differentiation of the originally simple matter.[2]

With the next breath this interpreter of Genesis exposes 'two great fundamental errors' in the same chapter of the book in which he has just discovered the most scientific phases of the evolution hypothesis, and which lead him to express for Moses 'just wonder and admiration.' What can be the matter with this singular book? Why is it science to Haeckel one minute and error the next? Why are Haeckel and Mr. Huxley not agreed, if it is science? Why are Haeckel and Mr. Gladstone agreed, if it is religion? If Mr. Huxley does not agree with Haeckel why does he not agree with Mr. Gladstone?

George Macdonald has an exquisite little poem called 'Baby's Catechism.' It occurs among his children's pieces.

> Where did you come from, baby dear?
> Out of the everywhere into here.
>
> Where did you get your eyes so blue?
> Out of the sky as I came through.
>
> Where did you get that little tear?
> I found it waiting when I got here.
>
> Where did you get that pearly ear?
> God spoke, and it came out to hear.
>
> How did they all just come to be you?
> God thought about me and so I grew.

For its purpose what could be a finer, or even a more true, account of the matter than this? Without a word of literal truth in it, it would convey to the child's mind exactly the right impression. Now conceive of the head nurse banishing it from the nursery as calculated to mislead the children as to the origin of blue eyes. Or imagine the nursery governess who has passed the South Kensington examination in Mr. Huxley's 'Physiology,' informing her pupils that ears never 'came out' at all, and that hearing was really done inside, by the fibres of Corti and the epithelial arrangements of

[2] Haeckel, *History of Creation*, vol. i. p. 38.

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the maculæ acusticæ. Is it conceivable, on the other hand, that the parish clergyman could defend the record on the ground that 'the everywhere' was a philosophical presentation of the Almighty, or that 'God thought about me' contained the Hegelian Idea? And yet this is precisely what interpreters of Genesis and interpreters of science do with the Bible. (Genesis is a presentation of one or two great elementary truths to the childhood of the world. It can only be read aright in the spirit in which it was written, with its original purpose in view, and its original audience.) What did it mean to them? What would they understand by it? What did they need to know and not to know?

To expand the constructive answers to these questions in detail does not fall within our province here. What we have to note is that a scientific theory of the universe formed no part of the original writer's intention. Dating from the childhood of the world, written for children, and for that child-spirit in man which remains unchanged by time, it takes colour and shape accordingly. Its object is purely religious, the point being, not how certain things were made, but that God made them. It is not dedicated to science, but to the soul. It is a sublime theology, given in view of ignorance or idolatry or polytheism, telling the worshipful youth of the world that the heavens and the earth and every creeping and flying thing were made by God. What world-spirit teaches men to finger its fluid numbers like a science catalogue, and discuss its days in terms of geological formations? What blindness pursues them, that they mark the things He made only with their museum-labels, and think they have exhausted its contribution when they have never even been within sight of it? This is not even atheism. It is simple illiterateness.

The first principle which must rule our reading of this book is the elementary canon of all literary criticism, which decides that any interpretation of a part of a book or of a literature must be controlled by the dominant purpose or *motif* of the whole. And when one investigates that dominant purpose in the case of the Bible, he finds it reducing itself to one thing—religion. No matter what view is taken of the composition or authorship of the several books, this feature secures immediate and universal recognition.

Mais s'il en est ainsi (says Lenormant), me demandera-t-on peut-être, Où donc voyez-vous l'inspiration divine des écrivains qui ont fait cette archéologie, le secours surnaturel dont, comme chrétien, vous devez les croire guidés? Où? Dans l'esprit absolument nouveau qui anime leur narration, bien que la forme en soit restée presque de tout point la même que chez les peuples voisins.[3]

A second principle is expressed with such appositeness to the present purpose, by an English commentator, that his words may be given at length:—

There is a principle frequently insisted on, scarcely denied by any, yet recognised with sufficient clearness by few of the advocates of revelation, which, if fully

[3] *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, Préf., xviii.

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and practically recognised, would have saved themselves much perplexity and vexation, and the cause they have at heart the disgrace with which it has been covered by the futile attempts that have been made, through provisional and shifting interpretations, to reconcile the Mosaic Genesis with the rapidly advancing strides of physical science. The principle referred to is this: matters which are discoverable by human reason, and the means of investigation which God has put within the reach of man's faculties, are not the proper subjects of Divine revelation; and matters which do not concern morals, or bear on man's spiritual relations towards God, are not within the province of revealed religion.[4]

Here lies the whole matter. It is involved in the mere meaning of revelation, and proved by its whole expression, that its subject-matter is that which men could not find out for themselves. Men could find out the order in which the world was made. What they could not find out was, that God made it. To this day they have not found that out. Even some of the wisest of our contemporaries, after trying to find that out for half a lifetime, have been forced to give it up. Hence the true function of revelation. Nature in Genesis has no link with geology, seeks none and needs none: man has no link with biology, and misses none. What he really needs and really misses —for he can get it nowhere else—Genesis gives him; it links nature and man with their Maker. And this is the one high sense in which Genesis can be said to be scientific. The scientific man must go there to complete his science, or it remains for ever incomplete. Let him no longer resort thither to attack what is not really there. What is really there he cannot attack, for he cannot do without it. Nor let religion plant positions there which can only keep science out. Then only can the interpreters of Nature and the interpreters of Genesis understand each other.

HENRY DRUMMOND.

[4] Quarry, *Genesis*, pp. 12, 13.

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'SHALL WE DESERT THE LOYALISTS?'

'So that with fatal and painful precision the steps of crime dogged the footsteps of the Land League.'—MR. GLADSTONE.

'The Government were absolutely convinced that the leaders of the Land League and the organisation were directly connected with a system which led to intimidation and violence.'—LORD HARTINGTON.

'The police of the Land League spare neither age nor sex.'—SIR W. HARCOURT.

'This country would indeed deserve to be looked upon with reproach and contempt if the Government were to ask the active leaders of the Home Rule party to be responsible for the peace of Ireland.'—MR. GOSCHEN.

IT is evident that the question of Home Rule or no Home Rule is shortly to be decided. It appears to be assumed, with what warrant I do not know, that Mr. Gladstone is in favour of a wide scheme, which is to include the establishment of an Irish Parliament. Already a multitude of statements have been made by the responsible persons to whom at the general election we committed the fortunes of the Empire. The only instances in which there is any departure from the general happy-go-lucky air of indifference and ignorance is in the case of those Englishmen who know something practically of Ireland and Mr. Parnell. The prevailing tendency is to admit freely that a given course will and must produce disastrous results, yet at the same time to contend that such a course should be adopted on the odd ground that 'something must be done.' Hitherto few appear to have based their calculations on a higher ground than that adopted by Mr. Morley. It would be impossible to place them on a lower. To say that the Irish members in the House of Commons are a nuisance, and that *therefore* we should adopt a course full of tremendous dangers, is scarcely ideal statesmanship. To propose such a course without any pretence that it will afford permanent relief or that it will do justice to any single class in the community seems scarcely to deserve the credit due to clever political opportunism. It may remove misconception if I say that I am so far in agreement with the new policy that I believe that under certain clearly defined conditions Home Rule would be the best thing for Ireland; and I quite admit that it is only the proper fulfilment of Liberal principles to permit the majority of the inhabitants of a country to govern themselves. Thus far I am in agreement with what appears to be

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the public sentiment with regard to this matter. But at this point I confess my reasoning ceases to follow the accepted course. Everyone appears to admit that any concession in the direction of granting self-government to Ireland must be accompanied by adequate precautions for the protection of honest and loyal men in that country. To this admission is generally added a qualification to the effect that it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to provide such protection, and there the matter usually rests.

Now I prefer to invert this order and to say that absolute and adequate protection must be the condition precedent to the grant of Home Rule. If the former be impossible, then the latter must go by the board. That seems to me a plain and straightforward position, quite capable of forming a working basis. As a Liberal, and a believer in self-government, I would give Home Rule, but as an Englishman and a member of a great nation, I would make the grant of this administrative reform entirely subordinate to the higher and far more important duties which we owe to ourselves and to all those who have relied upon us. It is one of the most painful results of the loose talk and hazy philanthropy which have become so popular during the last few years, that many people have entirely lost the power of discriminating between political error on the one side and downright wickedness on the other. What has been going on in Ireland for the past four or five years has been a succession of acts of flagrant immorality and unpardonable cruelty. It is easy to talk, as many of our spirited moralists do, of high rents, harsh landlords, and so on. But the fact remains, that whatever substratum of fact there may have been to justify their strictures, it is still true that the general movement conducted by Mr. Parnell has been, to use Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's words, 'a shameful, audacious, and gigantic act of robbery.' Throughout this country there are to be found large numbers of persons who combine with an utter ignorance of details a vast amount of ready credulity, and who no doubt really do believe that all the murderings, plunderings, and cruelties of the last few years have been spontaneous acts of revenge, perpetrated by an exasperated peasantry upon their oppressors. But this belief is not shared by any person who by inclination or by duty has been led to study these crimes as they actually occurred. Such persons are without exception in agreement with Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington in ascribing them to the direct operation of a society organised and directed by men of education for their own purposes. It is well now and then to recall these truths.

If the things that have been done in Ireland during the past five years, or which are about to be done according to the Land League programme during the next five, had occurred in any other country, we should long since have declared war upon the Government which was responsible for such outrages upon British subjects. It is not

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unreasonable perhaps to demand that a nominal subjection to British authority should not in itself suffice to deprive a man of the chief privileges of a British subject. For these reasons therefore, if for no other, I am of opinion that the question of guarantees ought to be the primary and essential one.

But there are other special reasons which appear to me not less weighty. At the present moment we stand face to face with the fact that a certain number of our countrymen have been robbed, in the literal sense of the term, of a very large portion of their property. On the pretence of securing them in the undisturbed possession of what they were able to save, a further large fine has been extracted from them by law.[1]

Now, among that class, and it appears to be a large one, which is perpetually moaning over the iniquity of our forefathers, and which is burning with a perpetual desire to atone for it by the cheap sacrifice of somebody else's property, it is constantly maintained that these acts of spoliation are a natural and proper incident of our national progress. But there is another point of view which seems to me worthy of attention. Rightly or wrongly we have guaranteed the loyalists of Ireland by every act and omission that could bind a responsible Government or an assenting people. I will not dwell upon the fact that for centuries we have governed and administered Ireland, and have during the whole of that time extended to all who submitted themselves to our rule the fullest protection which the law could give. But I will pass on to the solemn and definite pledges which, time after time, the Parliament of England has deliberately thrust upon those whom for national purposes it was thought desirable to establish in Ireland. The Encumbered Estates Act was a necessary and a useful measure. Under its provisions large quantities of land were sold to willing purchasers, and to every purchaser was given a Parliamentary title to the land which he bought. By the Land Act a large section of the rent of Ireland was confiscated, and the Government which confiscated it went out of its way to state that no compensation would be given to the losers on the express ground that the certainty of payment which would be a consequence of the measure would in itself be ample compensation for the nominal loss.

Turning from questions connected with the land to those arising in connection with the employment of civil officials, it appears to be forgotten that the Irishmen who, in one capacity or another, have done such faithful service in times of exceptional trial, are members, not of the Irish Civil Service, but of the Civil Service of the Crown, entitled to precisely the same consideration in the event of dismissal

[1] Already up to 1884 the direct reduction of rents by the land courts amounted to half a million sterling. This takes no account of other arrangements, whether concluded under pressure or otherwise.

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as their colleagues in London or Edinburgh. Nearly the whole of the constabulary are entitled by statute to pensions, and, more than that, they are entitled by every claim of justice to a continuance of employment under that Government to whose service they have devoted their lives. And lastly, I come to that great body of men and women who still desire to be under the rule of England, and who, under the faith of English protection, have invested their property and undertaken their life's work in Ireland. For all these classes I demand absolute and effective guarantees. They are entitled to demand pecuniary compensation, based not upon any wretched compromise, in which they shall appear as suppliants demanding to be allowed to carry away some portion of their valuables from a conquered city, but calculated upon the very highest and most generous terms. No money payment can really recoup them for what they lose, but as far as money goes they should be paid to the uttermost farthing.

There is something, however, more valuable than money, and that is life. It is sickening at the eleventh hour to have once more to remind the English people that they are dealing in this matter with dreadful realities, and not with a set of political puzzles devised for the benefit of a debating society. Nothing has seemed of worse augury to me during this troubled period than the panic haste with which the House of Commons, backed by public opinion, passed the Crimes Act on the morrow of the Phœnix Park murders. I need not spend time in expressing my horror and grief at that abominable crime—for many reasons it came home to me with special vividness; but I always have held and still hold that the sentiment which could regard with indifference some scores of brutal and heartless murders, when the victims were poor and unknown peasants, and could flame out into indignant action directly the assassin's hand struck down an Englishman in high position, is not one that does credit to us as a people.

But after all there was more of ignorance than want of real sympathy, and it is this same ignorance I am afraid of now. If I could only help the public to realise, as I and all who have seen the thing face to face have realised, the sordid details of these Land League crimes; if I could take them step by step through the whole process of intimidation, robbery, and murder; if I could show them who have been the victims and who the organisers and perpetrators; if I could take them to the lonely cottages where men and women sick with fear, and knowing they were deserted, have waited till they heard the Land League's messengers on the threshold, then I think I should not have to plead as I do for the protection of honest men in Ireland. If for one hour this base conspiracy could be stripped of the glamour of sham respectability with which the falsehoods of its promoters and the ready gullibility of some Englishmen have invested it, I should cease to fear the triumph of the Land League.

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For the present I fear there is no chance of this being done, and what I want the public to understand is that in fact at this very day there is existing within twenty-four hours' journey from London a state of lawless and barbarous terrorism, brought about, if the late Prime Minister of England and five-sixths of his colleagues are to be believed, by the operation of the very men to whom it is proposed to hand over the government of Ireland.

Such are some of the dangers to be guarded against, such are the persons on whose behalf guarantees are demanded. The question at once arises, Are such guarantees likely to be insisted upon by those who take charge of the proposed settlement, and is it possible to rely upon them if obtained?

With regard to the first point, I must say plainly that if the cause of the loyalists in Ireland is to depend upon what Mr. Gladstone is likely to do for them, it is a lost cause. Some doubtless will see something laudable in the fact that for five long years, during which he held Ireland in the hollow of his hand, Mr. Gladstone gave no single word of encouragement or hope to the sorely tried loyalists in Ireland. For my part I cannot forget that during that period he was Prime Minister of England, and I think that the omission was in every way a most lamentable one. I do not, of course, credit Mr. Gladstone with the whole of the mad scheme which has been put forward in his name; nevertheless, at the present moment, by the ambiguity of his utterances and the uncertainty of his intentions which he allows to exist, he is breaking up the whole fabric of Irish society and taking away whatever fragment of security remained. It is not to Mr. Gladstone that we must look for guarantees.

But, it is said, once give Mr. Parnell what he wants and all these persecutions will cease. It is conceivable; I for my part do not think it is even reasonably probable. The Land League has demoralised the peasantry till lawlessness and crime have become a second nature, and it must be remembered that a large number of persons in Ireland live, and have lived for some time past, upon the proceeds of this agitation. I do not in the least blame the Parnellite members for receiving their stipends; but the fact remains that, from Mr. Parnell with his 40,000*l.* downwards to the lowest members of the organisation, incomes have been made which would probably not have been made in the ordinary course of trade. It may be patriotic not to pay rent, but it is undoubtedly profitable too. Add to all this the written and spoken declarations of the members of the Parnellite party to the effect that their objects were and are the spoliation of the landholders, the ejectment of all existing officials, the punishment of all offenders against Land League law, and the final separation of Ireland from England, and I think the probabilities are not in favour of the theory that with the triumph of the Parnellites the reign of peace will begin.

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If, then, as appears certain, some guarantees will be required, the question arises, What shall they be, and are they obtainable? As to the money question—the compensation of those whom we have ruined, or are about to ruin—it appears to me clear that the persons for whose benefit the operation is to be undertaken should pay for the indulgence. It will be said at once that, with a Government in the hands of the Parnellites, it will be impossible to collect any revenue against the will of Mr. Parnell, who has often declared that we in England are to pay for the privilege of installing him and his friends.

I am by no means clear about this difficulty, but much light has already been thrown upon it by the recent letter to the *Times* signed 'Economist.' The scheme there suggested, whatever its actual value, is one of great interest and great ingenuity. It can hardly be doubted that the principle which underlies it will, in some form or another, be relied upon in any solution of the question. The plan itself is exceedingly simple. It involves (1) 'the buying out of every landlord in Ireland, giving him Consols at par equal in nominal amount to twenty years' purchase of the present judicial rents; (2) giving the land free to the present occupier, subject only to a rent-charge of one-half or two-thirds of the present judicial rent, *payable to the new local authorities in Ireland*; (3) relieving the Imperial Exchequer of all payments now made out of it in connection with the local government of Ireland.' It is declared by the writer that the relief to the Imperial Exchequer will amount to four millions two hundred thousand per annum, now contributed out of the Consolidated Fund to the expense of Irish administration. This is only 800,000*l.* short of the sum which would be required to pay interest upon the new debt. Of course the whole virtue of the scheme, financially considered, depends upon the accuracy with which this balance has been struck.

Its political value depends upon very different considerations. It is obvious, for instance, that its adoption could only be successful in the event of the establishment of a complete system of Home Rule on the one hand, or a ready acquiescence in the authority of the Imperial Government under the changed conditions which must follow so large a transaction as that proposed, on the other. It is no use shutting our eyes to the teachings of experience; and, to put the matter quite frankly, it is probable that if the present tenants saw no worse consequences likely to follow a refusal to pay their just debts than a stoppage of the present machinery of government, the disappearance of the judges, the disbanding of the police, and the collapse of the Excise departments, they would have very little hesitation in keeping their money in their pockets.

Assuming, however, that, either by reason of a change in the *personnel* of the Administration or in the temper of the people, 'Economist's' plan were to come into successful operation, it is

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impossible to exaggerate the advantages it offers. In the first place, it is perfectly true, as Lord Cowper says, that for one man who cares about Home Rule or Separation there are ninety-nine who care only about the land. A change which transferred the freehold of Irish farms to the occupiers, subject only to a rent-charge payable to an Irish Government, would stop five-sixths of Mr. Parnell's trade at once. Moreover, the transfer would put an end to, or at any rate would altogether vary the direction of, the Land League outrages. These crimes have all been sternly practical, despite the sentimental character which their authors have tried to attribute to them. They have been in most cases committed for cash, and in all cases with the hope of realising or of avoiding the payment of money. To murder a servant who has been faithful to his master, to mutilate a recalcitrant tenant, to terrify a woman or to burn down a haystack, are exercises which have a double value when the upshot of them is that the perpetrators keep five pounds in their pockets which ought to go into somebody else's. But the moment the landlord becomes no longer dependent upon the forbearance of the local League and the apathy of the local scoundrels for the safety of his person and property, a change must inevitably come over the spirit of the dream. A holder of 20,000*l.* worth of Consols would be a very different personage from a landlord with a nominal rent-roll of 1,000*l.*, payable at the will of the League. The former it will pay to keep; the latter, as the Irish tenants have found out, it pays to rob. On these grounds, therefore, there is every reason why we should give to 'Economist's' proposal a most careful and favourable consideration.

It will be observed, however, that the figures quoted above assume a deficit in the account of 800,000*l.* per annum. It has been proposed that this sum should be paid as a sort of free-will offering by England, to be rid of her troubles, but this seems to me neither a statesmanlike nor a reasonable proposal. The existence of the deficit, however, at once suggests a method by which it might be made good, or by which, in default of the remaining 4,200,000*l.* being raised in the way above suggested, a very large sum of money might be raised annually from purely Irish sources. I allude to the Irish Customs duties, especially to those upon intoxicating liquors, which might be augmented to a very great extent in order to provide any sums required. The collection of the Customs duties would at all times be easy, and could be carried on without any possibility of interference from the Parnellites. The existing Customs ports in Ireland are twenty-two in number, of which nine are so insignificant that they might easily be closed. The duties collected are nearly 2,000,000*l.* a year. Import duties are notoriously paid by the consumer, and, despite a good deal of talk about protecting Irish industries and encouraging Irish products, Ireland must import largely to live. Moreover, it must be remembered that the

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Customs duties paid in Ireland are not levied on goods from England, and that a large reserve of taxation exists in this direction.

The present crisis is not one in which precedents are of much value; we ought not to be afraid to make our own, but in this matter of the collection of revenue the regulations of the American Constitution are of some interest. The levying of Customs duties in the United States is a prerogative of the Federal Government, and is exercised by them. No state may collect such duties without the consent of Congress, or may, under any circumstances, apply them to other than Federal purposes. The Customs establishments are under the control of the United States, and are administered from Washington. In the same way a control of the Irish Customs ports might be secured absolutely to the Imperial Government, independent of any interference on the part of whatever local Government may be constituted on the spot.

Whether, in addition to the Customs duties, a further security might not be obtained by sequestration of the Inland Revenue duty upon spirits is more doubtful. In 1883 the total of the Excise duties raised in Ireland was 4,500,000*l.*; 5,300,000 gallons paying duty at 10*s.* a gallon would enter for consumption in Ireland. An extra duty of 1*s.* per gallon would give 265,000*l.* per annum. It would not be a very unfortunate solution of the problem if Ireland were allowed to drink herself out of her liabilities. It is conceivable that the tenant farmers would give their toasts with added enthusiasm if they could reflect that every glass of whisky they consumed was bringing them nearer to the happy consummation which they profess so much to desire. Of course the certainty of collecting Excise duties would be nothing like that offered in the case of the Customs, but it is worth considering nevertheless.

As for the protection of life and property, that is a more serious matter. Of course there is no weight in the argument that has been put forward, that because all parties seem agreed that local government must be given to Ireland, and because the control of the police is a common incident of local governments, we are therefore bound to hand over the control of the constabulary to the County Boards. The existence of the metropolitan police is an immediate answer to this careless proposition. I am not, however, a great believer in our power to maintain order through the police when we have lost all control over the country. In the first place the police are human, and have already borne trials and disappointments enough. In the second place, any such body performing their duties under the direction of a majority of the House of Commons is condemned to impotence. I do not doubt that many other and more effectual guarantees may be found and will in time be suggested. The only real one to my mind must be in the form of an intimation to the Parnellites that they are allowed to assume the government of Ireland subject to the

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ordinary responsibilities and penalties attaching to the office of civilised rulers: in short, that if they continue to act in the future as they have done in the past, there will be an end of them at once, that we shall do in their case as we should do in the case of any other uncivilised power—namely, march an army into the country and rule it as we rule India. It is no question of politics, but simply one of our duty as a self-respecting nation. As far as I am aware no single man during the whole of the Land League agitation has knowingly or intentionally risked a hair of his head or a shilling of his property. The fact is worth remembering.

One entirely new feature of the situation is shortly about to be revealed. I look most anxiously for the result. Hitherto, despite all the misery of which Ireland has been the scene, the people of England have, with very few exceptions, been not a penny the worse for the whole Parnellite agitation. In reputation and national honour I think indeed we have lost much, but I am simply stating a fact when I say that from John o' Groat's House to the Land's End the population of England and Scotland have suffered neither in person nor pocket, nor has the even tenor of their lives been interrupted for a moment. Home Rule will not have existed for a twelvemonth before this state of things will be altered.

When once the English working man is face to face with the fact that an Irish Government is imposing duties on English goods, or is raising soldiers and police to an extent which involves an increase in our standing army; or if he learns, as, despite some rather elaborate disclaimers, I believe he will learn, that people are suffering across the Irish Channel for their Protestantism, then it appears to me that an entirely new feature will have been introduced into the problem, one with which Mr. Parnell will do well to reckon.

In conclusion, I wish to say one or two words upon questions which should intimately affect our mental attitude in deciding for or against Home Rule. We are perpetually engaged in penitential exercises with regard to Ireland. I admire the spirit in which these exercises are conducted, although I have no sympathy whatever with the application which is usually given to them, and which consists in condoning every form of cruelty and dishonesty on the plea that we are bound to give the successors of the oppressed Celts their fling, as a sort of compensation for the iniquities of our own ancestors. It is the fashion, I know, to lay all the peculiarities of the Land League Committees to the account of the penal laws and the Act of Union; and in support of this theory it is usually contended that, leaving so-called agrarian crime out of the question, Ireland is a singularly orderly and peaceable country. This is an old story, and it is as false as it is old. The fact is that the Land League crimes were simply additions to the ordinary crime of the country, and that that crime was in all the more serious offences

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greatly ahead of that committed in the rest of the United Kingdom.

But this is not all. The fact that four men take counsel round a committee table, that they issue decrees, that those who disobey those decrees get killed, and that, finally, one man destroys the records of the committee, another gets indicted for wilful murder, and a third runs away, may be owing entirely to British misgovernment. But it is odd that, whatever the cause, a somewhat similar phenomenon is observable in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. I am not dealing with theories, but with facts. I have in my possession the whole story of the Molly Maguire conspiracy in Pennsylvania, and of the success of the American Government in detecting and hanging the criminals. It is a pity the English public is not familiar with the history of that gigantic conspiracy, which raised into a short but dangerous predominance a gang of ruffians whose machinations were stopped in a single day by the enterprise and skill of an American detective. For many months the administrative arrangements were in the hands of the conspirators—the conspirators were Irish. In San Francisco a cruel and cowardly plot, primarily directed against the leading citizens, and ultimately against the Chinese, has been laid bare—again the plotters are Irish. The history of misgovernment in New York is the history of the Tammany Ring, and the Tammany Ring was but the epitome of Irish influence in New York. According to Mr. Goldwin Smith, the control of the police in the city of Boston is to be taken away from the existing authorities; once more it is to checkmate Irish conspiracy that the step is necessary. In a word, Irish crime is not merely the result and consequence of our rule. It is invariable where we do not rule, wherever there is an Irish population, and the sooner we cease to pay any attention to the claptrap cry which finds a justification for the villanies of Sackville Street in the mistakes of Downing Street the better.

There is one other fact which we may profitably learn from a study of events in America. We may learn to get rid of the Irish-American bogy. There never was a time since the United States became a nation when the Irish element was relatively less important than it is at the present moment. Nor is this all. Every day that passes is a day gained by the United States, by ourselves, and by civilisation. Within the last few years the statistics of emigration have undergone an astounding change. Whereas ten years ago two Irishmen entered the States for one Englishman or Scotchman, the proportion is now reversed; and the balance will dip more deeply every year. And this is not all. The disloyal element in America is recruited from the disloyal portion of Ireland exclusively—in other words, from the surplus of a population of 3,000,000. On the other hand, every year pours into the United States the surplus of an Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, and Scandinavian population of nearly one hundred millions; all anxious for peace, intensely antipathetic to the Celtic nature, and

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for the most part Protestant by religion. These are pregnant facts, and well worthy our consideration.

Let me conclude this paper by one word of caution to the British public. Let them pay no attention whatever to the fine words and soft utterances of the Parnellites until they have read, as I have, what the same persons have said and written in Ireland, and until they are familiar with the language they have addressed to Irish and American audiences. The Parnellite leaders have gauged with extraordinary success the readiness with which the English public may be 'come round' by a little soft speaking. Let us read Mr. T. P. O'Connor in the *Times* by all means, but let us read Mr. T. P. O'Connor in Dublin and Galway likewise. Let us pay proper attention to what Mr. Parnell says to Mr. Gladstone, but let us also ask what he said to his confidants, Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Boyton. I have spoken about these matters with freedom and confidence, and have ventured to do so because I am really familiar with their details. I have spoken of them because I do feel keenly and deeply the shame which must be ours if through ignorance or apathy we consent to deliver up our countrymen, bound hand and foot, to such men as the leaders of the Executive Committee of the Irish Land League.

There is much vague talk about the guarantees which have already been suggested. As I write a letter reaches me from an Irishman who knows his country well and loves it dearly, and this is what he says:—

> Nothing apparently is to be left but (1) 'the Golden Link of the Crown,' *i.e.* the Queen. But is not this she whom they refused to have as patron of their Exhibition—whose standard, when it floated out of a Dublin or Cork window, was the signal for breaking that window? (2) Mr. Parnell's guarantee for preserving the rights of the loyal classes. If Parnell's word alone stood between us and ruin, he would soon be a dead man.

These are words of sober truth. The only way of effectually protecting our fellow-countrymen is through our own courage and steadfastness. Once show a firm face to this miserable conspiracy and it will melt away. Let us continue to face Mr. Parnell as beaten foes, treating for what terms we can get, instead of confronting him like a self-respecting nation, ready to concede only what is proved to be just, and we shall find ourselves far sooner than we expect face to face with the inconvenience of another reconquest of Ireland.

H. O. Arnold-Forster.

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RURAL ITALY AND PEASANT PROPERTIES.

ITALY is constantly spoken of as the garden of Europe, where 'fine cooked macaroni rains from heaven and the clusters of grapes are hung with sausages,' as a German ballad says; whereas it is forgotten that 'Italy is a country of mountains, that the Alps in the north and Apennines down the centre occupy two-thirds of her extent, while the remaining third contains much poor land and barren pastures used only in summer by nomadic herds.'

A crisis has lately taken place in Italian agriculture, the condition of which has become so serious that a Government Commission was sent out, which lasted seven years. It divided the country into twelve districts, each of which was examined by a deputy or a senator, and their admirable reports were published. A final survey of the whole by the President, Count Jacini, completing the evidence, appeared in 1885. It is extremely interesting, though a little long-winded and with many repetitions. Italy has hardly yet begun to feel herself one country, and the 'twenty-two cadastral surveys' of the little states seem sometimes to obscure the general picture—'one cannot see the wood for the trees.' The form of it—a large quarto, broader than it is long—makes it most uncomfortable reading, and the index is wretched. Her statesmen have certainly not yet attained the ideal of a convenient blue-book. Neither is the synthetic power hers of putting together facts, characteristic of the French mind, which can assimilate and condense an immense German work into a quarter of the size, to the great advantage of mankind.

The reports of the little states might have been considered separately, and the results added up, or the conditions peculiar to each might have been collected under a common head. Neither of these methods has been carried out, and the fatigue of jumping continually from one subject and one district to another is excessive. But, as Dr. Johnson said of the haggis, 'there is a great deal of fine confused feeding in it.' There are passages, too, full of a wider philosophy, and a more general study of cause and effect, than is often to be found in blue-books, which remind one of the possibility that in the comity of

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'nations, the federation of the world,' when the Tennysonian prophecy comes true, the share of Italy in the division of labour, which may take place in thought, as it is already doing in things material, will be once again to furnish the world with that philosophy which in the Middle Ages gave her so proud a position.

Meantime we may derive many hints for the consideration of our own perplexities in its pages.

The agricultural crisis in Italy, which is becoming very serious (says the *Journal des Economistes*), has attracted little attention. The political question has entirely absorbed the interest of Europe. . . . Affairs there, however, are in such a condition that it will soon be asked not whether the climate of Naples is better than that of the Riviera, but whether a new Nihilism or a modified Fenianism is not rising fully armed out of the difficulties with which Italy is beset. . . . Strikes are increasing: in general they are isolated, but a great movement in 1882, with its head-quarters at Cremona, spread all over Lombardy just when the crops were ripe; the proprietors were at the mercy of the harvestmen, and wages of course had to be raised; farms were burned and various agrarian crimes were committed. Discontent is everywhere prevalent, and there is a general fermentation, which it will require energetic measures to combat.

The immense variety of the problem increases its difficulty. 'Agricultural Italy,' says Count Jacini, 'is no economic unity.' Its produce ranges from those of the climates of Edinburgh and Stockholm to those of Cadiz and Smyrna[1]—from the most primitive agriculture to that of the most refined objects of cultivation, such as silk, wine, oranges, and dried fruits. The yield varies from 5 francs to 2,000 francs the hectare, while all sorts of tenures of land—peasant properties, leases for life, the métayer system, &c.—are to be found there. 'The country is still suffering from political instability, from changes of all kinds incident to the union of so many little states; but beyond all these difficulties is the condition of the rural population. Poor, miserable, they lead a wretched existence, to which emigration alone offers a resource: nearly 150,000 Italians quit their country every year.'[2]

'Taken as a whole, Italy is one of the countries in Europe where property is most subdivided: out of more than 5,000,000 a great preponderance is of small and middle-sized ownerships.' If, therefore, peasant properties could have prevented the agricultural crisis which is now alarming the country, the remedy was in full operation. With an admirable climate and a tolerably fertile soil, Italy, which ought to be a garden, is now in the saddest situation of any in Europe. The only parts which have proved able to weather the storm are the rich regions near Milan, the zone of gardens round Naples, and the 'Conca d'Oro' (the Conchshell), whose concentrated lines on the hills above Palermo meet at the sea and produce oranges, lemons, pomegranates, &c., worth above 30*l.* an acre per year. Many

[1] The doctor of Prince Eugene once said of Milan: 'We have ninety days almost as cold as Edinburgh, and ninety days as hot as Cairo.'

[2] The different returns are: in 1884, 159,000; 1883, 169,100.

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causes are given for the distress. The fall of prices is not peculiar to Italy, but has been felt there more intensely. A few years ago Europe was still furnished with rice from the fields along the valley of the Po. Now rice from India and the extreme East (Burmah) disputes the markets. Sicily and the kingdom of Naples have no longer a monopoly of dried figs, apricots, and the like; Spain, Turkey, and Egypt are exporting them. Chinese and Japanese silk, which for thousands of years never got beyond their local markets, now undersells Italian silk in London and Lyons. Corn from Russia and the United States has lowered the price in Italy, though she imports but little.

Various diseases have attacked the crops. One destroys the silkworms, the phylloxera and a sort of mildew infest the grapes, and insects have injured the fruit, of which there is an exportation of a milliard and a half. The adulteration of Italian olive oil, which has been mixed with inferior oils, has diminished the demand.

The war taxes continue to be enormous. After twenty years of peace, the Italians are still paying three-tenths; some parts of Sardinia pay even more. Great confusion and inequality result from following the surveys of the different Italian States; 2,909,000 owners pay less than 20 lire (the lira is about the same as a franc, twenty-five to the pound sterling); those who pay less than 2 lire a year are excused entirely. One great cause mentioned of the low state of the country districts happily does not exist with us. The very large majority of middle-class Italians, indeed of owners small and great, insist upon living in the towns—*l'urbomanie*, it is called—and this has become one of the most dangerous customs in the social future of the country. The proprietors do not care to improve their land, but only to draw rents from it. 'They know nothing of their labourers, and care nothing for their wants or their sorrows, and an antagonism of classes is the consequence. The dweller in towns looks down upon the peasant as an inferior being.'

One is perpetually reminded of Mr. Browning's picture of 'Up in the villa, down in the city:' the longing for

> . . . . . A house in the City Square—
> Ah, such a life, such a life as one leads at the window there!
> Something to see, by Bacchus, something to hear at least.
> There, the whole day long, one's life is a perfect feast;
> While up at a villa one lives, I maintain it, no more than a beast.

The description of the miserable condition of the labourers is repeated for every State, and it is almost always added: 'The condition of the small proprietors is as bad, in some cases worse. In parts of the Campagna of Rome it can hardly be said that the peasants have a dwelling at all.' Perhaps this may be the least evil; for, if they have one, they lie on the ground in unhealthy places, ill fed and deprived of all comfort. 'In the *chef-lieu* of the Basilicata

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two different families were often found in one room, where many individuals of both sexes and all ages found a miserable refuge.' Again, in Sardinia 'the unhealthiness and smallness of the dwellings are such that persons of all ages and both sexes lie stretched on the same floor, often on straw for want of beds, in company with the pig.'

The most difficult problem indeed to solve, in Italy, is that of the housing of the people. To construct new cottages, or even to restore and bring about decently healthy conditions, is so costly an undertaking, giving, indeed, the smallest immediate return for any expenditure, that in most cases it would be quite impossible to impose it upon the proprietors. The worst hovels are those which belong to the very small owners. The next in badness are those on mortgaged properties. The expense required for rebuilding would often amount to the entire value of the tenement, which generally constitutes the owner's whole source of income; the majority of these would rather give them up to the State than attempt to comply with sanitary requirements. If the sad condition of the small and middle-sized properties is considered, and the utter disproportion between the money value of a tenement and the money sunk in building or repairing it, even for large unmortgaged properties, it is impossible to conceive that the reform of cottages in Italy, three-quarters of which are neither decent nor healthy, can be undertaken by individuals.

As the only possible alternative, the report proposes that the State should either exempt the improvers of rural dwellings from taxation, to an amount equal to the interest on money spent, or should lend money at very low interest, the principal being repaid at long terms. This account is very important, as showing difficulties analogous to those with which we are troubled.

The problem is perplexing all countries alike. In France, 'the last thing a peasant proprietor spends money upon is his house.' 'Hovels consisting of one room, in which the *cohabitation du cochon*, or of the donkey, is common,' 'miserable hovels such as peasant owners build for themselves,' are phrases continually recurring in French reports. Mr. Chadwick declares that 'in France the bad and unsanitary condition of the dwellings is such that, with a much better climate than in England, the mortality is far greater than with us.' In England it is notorious that the worst and most unsanitary cottages belong to men who have erected hovels on 'the waste'—*i.e.* the sides of the wide space used by vehicles before hard roads were made (and now unnecessary), taken, of course, without payment—and also to small owners, often little tradesmen in neighbouring towns, who build at the cheapest rate and charge at the highest.

The 'Radical Programme,' lately published, settles the question very summarily for England. 'Land is to be acquired compulsorily where necessary, on which houses are to be built, the expense to be borne by a rate on the owners of property in the district.' Then comes the fate of the large landowner, who we have shortly before been told is mortgaged up to the hilt. He has already had to part with land 'if necessary' by force, and to pay the rate. 'It would

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be quite safe and just to demand that two cottages be built to every hundred acres of pasture land, and three to every hundred acres of mixed arable and pasture, each cottage to cost 200*l.*, to pay 3½ per cent.,' so that the rent would be 7*l.* a year. Take an estate of 5,000 acres, mixed arable and pasture, as indeed all such must be; 150 cottages at 200*l.* each demand 30,000*l.* As the landowner has rarely anything to live on except his rents, he must borrow for this; and as no one would lend it on a mortgaged estate, he must get it from the Lands Improvement Company, who charge 6½ per cent., including the repayment of the principal. The rent is compulsorily fixed, and (as it is quite truly said), 7*l.* being 'quite beyond the power of the labourer to pay,' the landowner is to be 'compelled to attach not less than half an acre of land, for which the man is to pay threepence a week,' and 'he is to have it at his door!'[3] The landlord will thus have to furnish 75 acres of land, 'all close' to his 150 cottages, and as land does not come down from the moon, it must be taken from the farmers around by compulsion. As all of it is to lie close to the houses, it is accommodation land, for which large rents are generally given, which would of course cease, as will the rents for cottages pulled down.

No scheme is given for compelling great mill-owners, iron-masters, dockyard owners, and other large employers of labour possessing house property, to provide thus for their men, who equally require homes, while the artisan lodgings are notoriously bad, nor are shareholders in the funds, in railroads, &c., called on to contribute; the exaction is only from landowners. It is difficult to conceive such airy disposal of other people's property being solemnly written down, except that, besides the ignorance of town writers and town readers on such matters, it is true in England as in Italy that

> the superstition exists (says the report) which regards landowners as privileged beings, rich as Vanderbilt, not obliged to spend anything, and therefore to be subjected to all the expense required by agricultural competition, and to the caprices of extravagant communal administrations, while they are considered morally obliged to fulfil all the duties of an ambulating charitable establishment. . . . . In the Italy of to-day property is immensely subdivided and changes hands continually, while large proprietors are exceptions; yet the press, when treating of agrarian questions, speaks of landlords as if they were few, all large, and a caste such as existed in the time of Louis XV.; the truth being that the real lords of riches and influence are no longer the landlords, but the bankers.

'Large properties, are sometimes supposed to be a cause of evil in Italy; the reports are of a different opinion,' says the *Journal des Economistes*. 'Apulia is said to resemble England in the size of the holdings, the prosperity of the large farmers, and the good crops raised.' 'In Umbria and the Marches the peasants are comparatively prosperous and moral, peasant properties are few. Here irrigation, &c., is not unknown.' In another place 'the wretched small farmers

[3] 'Good loam I choose, nigh to my house and handy;
(Let Smith's be sandy.)'

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of Liguria, Piedmont, and even the rich valley of the Po, where property is subdivided more minutely even than in France,' are spoken of. In the Roman provinces, the Marquis Vitelleschi says, 'the land is cut up into minute divisions, fettered by collective ownerships, and burdened by privileges. In the first division alone there are 122,633 peasant properties averaging under two and a half acres, *i.e.* a hectare. There are hardly any means of communication; seventy communes are without highways. The peasants know nothing and care for nothing; they are without morality or education. A bit of land is their only ambition, which passes into other hands if they falter for a moment in the desperate struggle for existence.'

'Peasant properties are twenty-five per cent. of the whole, and the amount of poverty and ignorance seems to be proportionate to the small or large number of them in the different districts.'

An extremely interesting point is to trace the 'survivals' still common in Italy of the gradual passage of the ownership of land from the unenclosed state, where it belonged to the tribe, the township, or the mark, which Mr. Freeman says is equivalent to the village. This early stage evidently existed in Sardinia up to 1839, 'and rendered cultivation almost impossible.' Feudal privileges were then abolished by Charles Albert, and property became free; but it was soon seen that, until a country was enclosed, agriculture could not exist—a maxim entirely contrary to the new doctrine of the wickedness of enclosing wastes and commons.

The first step was to withdraw portions from the common pasturage by hedges and stone walls. This reform was carried out with great difficulty; public opinion was opposed to it, the enclosure of a field was considered as a theft on all, and a spoliation which it was only just to oppose with violence. In some districts the walls raised during the day were destroyed at night. It would have been a blessing, however, if the legal sanction obtained at that time could have been used even by force, but in the general poverty there were no means of resistance. After this first step, however, the law of 1851 asserted the liberty of the unenclosed ground, and restored to the proprietors the whole of their rights. The law was an excellent reaction against wandering pasturage, and Sardinia has gained in security and the progress of agriculture. A law has been passed to suppress free pasturage on the communal land, but it is not yet carried out for fear of outbreaks. The consequence of the past order of things has been that Sardinia is still in a wild state, requiring to be cleared. Only a twelfth part of the whole is under culture; the agriculture is most behindhand, and roads hardly to be found. . . . True property in land, indeed, only dates in Sardinia from 1853, before which time owners were obliged to leave those parts of the land which were not sown for general pasture, on which the shepherds fed their flocks gratuitously. Cases were not rare of men with 200 sheep not possessing an inch of ground, and a tax was obliged to be made limiting the number which could be fed in this way. . . . As to the system of communal pasturage (says the report), this preadamite form of existence is incompatible with agricultural progress, and must disappear. In Umbria, in consequence of the existence of such property, devastated mountains are common. Tracts of land in the Apennines are completely abandoned, and in the hands of a few peasants, who quarrel over the use of the little that is left. These promiscuous rights and usages must be limited as much as possible. . . . . In Sardinia no farms, whether great or

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small, could subsist if the shepherds possessed any number of sheep; those who have even only four or five have a range assigned to them. These communal pasturages are destitute of everything—water, wells, shelter, &c.—the result of which is a great loss of cattle. In Switzerland the communal property has been diminished by half, without any damage to the breeding of animals. Agriculture is greatly damaged by the wandering shepherds, who, however few sheep they may possess, damage the rest of the communal land as well as that of private persons, in consequence of the absence of fences.

It is advised that communal pastures and mountains be sold. An exception is made, however, in favour of the Alpine pastures in central Italy, which are useful for summer feed.

A quarter of the soil in South Italy belongs to the communes, to charitable institutions, and the State; other great properties have indeed entirely disappeared. The whole of this is wretchedly administered and almost valueless. 177,000 hectares belonging to the communes in Aquila are worth 3 francs the hectare. 54,000 hectares of the same kind in Bari bring a maximum of 34 francs; the land is occupied by wretched pastures, and by forests in a bad condition, almost worthless.

As long as property is in the condition of belonging thus to anybody and nobody, no man is sufficiently interested about the land to spend money in improving it, and it is not till property has become personal that any real agriculture appears possible.

As to the forests with which in old days the uplands were covered, these were not only valuable for timber, but fed the rivers, prevented floods, and provided against the defect of rainfall. The avidity and want of foresight of past generations have destroyed the greater portion of the trees. Storms have carried off the thin coating of earth, no longer kept up by the roots, so that the forests cannot grow again, and still less any crops. The hillsides are burnt up and present a monotonous aspect of sterility and desolation, while we are annually buying timber to the amount of 32,000,000 francs. The garden of nature has become an ironical word. The torrents, which are no longer restrained, increase the marshes in the valleys and plains, and malaria has rendered districts uninhabitable which were described as proverbially fertile in ancient history. . . .

The deplorable condition of the Tuscan mountains, thus carelessly denuded of forests, sounds indeed dismal to our ears, remembering the picture in *Paradise Lost*—

> Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
> In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
> High over-arched imbower.

The difficulties connected with the disforesting of the mountain sides have become so serious that Government is called upon to interfere. Private property there is so excessively subdivided that it is quite impossible for the little owners to undertake replanting. Woods are indispensable for preserving the moisture and bridling the flow of the waters; great spaces require to be covered with vegetation. This can only be done by Government, but it is proposed to relieve from taxation for fifty years and more any who will replant the forests, the State to receive a certain sum at the end of the time. The sale of woods is to be discouraged by Government, as too often they are only bought to cut down and sell, after which the bare earth is left in a deplorable state of neglect.

On whatever side we turn, we hear nothing but complaints; agricultural Italy feels her present poverty, and dreads a future which threatens to be worse. The landowners can no longer cultivate to advantage; the working classes are unhappy and complain; the Government feels that a new social problem has arisen of

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imminent danger. The populations in the country are more wretched than in the past—not that their condition is worse, but that thirty or forty years ago they had no aspirations for change, whereas now they expect a rise similar to that which has taken place in the political order of things.

Besides which a madness (*smania*) of change and of rising in the world has taken possession of the people.

In the southern districts brigandage 'profits by the administrative disorder, and is excited by the misery of the benighted populations which people the country.'

The whole history of the peasants is melancholy in the extreme—slaves under the old Roman dominion; next, serfs attached to the soil; then free, but subjected to all sorts of vexations on the part of the little tyrants of the country almost to the present day.

But the little proprietors are no better off, most of them, particularly in the mountains, lodging with their whole family in one smoky room, with their pigs, their goats, and their chickens. They would die of hunger if they did not go down into the plains for three or four months in the year to work either in the town or the country. The small proprietors are gradually disappearing in certain parts of Italy from three causes—bad years, and the difficulties of hiring and letting land, increasing mortgages, and enormous taxation. In Mantua, where, in 1871, they were 39,838, they were only 35,535 in 1879. In eight years 4,513 had disappeared. A great number had been sold up for arrears of taxation, but a diminution of this could not remedy such a situation; much more is wanted.

The misery is aggravated by the conscription. 140,000 men are drawn every year, many of them at the most inconvenient time. Military service is compulsory up to the age of 32.

Italy as an agricultural country is one of the least favoured by the spontaneous gifts of nature. Primitive agriculture, without machines, is sure to succumb, while the labourers in it lead a miserable life, although in the country they are extremely industrious. The agrarian problem, however, is far more vast than any technical questions of agriculture. The chief difficulties arise from an extreme deficiency of capital to carry out the improvements necessary in agriculture, the general indebtedness, and the small production obtained from the soil, contrasted with the overpowering number of cultivators and owners to be found in the country.

Here, again, experience is against the new order of land reformers, who are always insisting upon increasing the number of labourers, 'restoring the land to the people,' &c.

The effect of this system in France (says M. Lafargue[1]) has been that, in order to obtain a produce from the land of less than half, there have been a quadruple number of hands used. It has been up to 25,000,000, and there are still from eighteen to twenty millions as against from five to six in England; and this though our climate and geographical position are much superior to those of England, and we can produce wine, oil, and fruit, which they cannot. A scientific and intelligent division of labour, the best possible employment of land, cattle, time, capital, and machines, are quite impossible in great subdivision of property.

'In our system of *morcèlement*, the peasant tries above all to

[1] *Relèvement de l'Agriculture.*

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get everything out of his land, and to have no money to spend.' Indeed there can be no worse customers for the manufactures of a country than a population of peasant proprietors. Whether the land is fit for it or not, say the Italian and French reports over and over again, they will grow vines, olives, maize, and corn to sell, and hemp, barley for chickens, potatoes for pigs, oats for horses, and vegetables for use.

'Promiscuous culture, which tries to grow a little of everything, results in producing nothing well.' 'Facility of communication has destroyed the advantages of being self-sufficing, and enables the producers to grow only what the land is most fitted for and to buy the rest. Specialisation is the great feature of modern agricultural progress, and the same ground will often, under such a change, increase four or five times in value.' The métayer system of dividing the profits is a great obstacle to such improvements; the expense of substituting vines for flax would cost 3,000 or 4,000 lire the hectare. Only an absolute proprietor, cultivating for himself, could undertake such an expense. The métayer always cultivates all sorts of things at once, in order that, if one fails, he may fall back on another. The produce of corn in Italy, which makes us blush, amounts only to 11 hectolitres the hectare, while in England it is 32, in the German Empire 23, in Holland 22, in Belgium 20, and only 15 in France. 'Our piecemeal agriculture without machines must fail, and machines are perfectly impossible with extremely small properties. Not only would the cost be as much as the value of the land, but no machine could act in such extremely small limits, where now even a wooden plough tied to the horns of a couple of half-wild oxen has difficulty in turning.' The time and trouble wasted by these short furrows is said by experienced agriculturists to make the difference between a small profit and none at all in the extremely narrow margin only possible at present.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the miserable condition of the agricultural population in Italy as described here, the wretched dwellings, the unwholesome food, the amount of disease, the low wages, the want of morality and of education. The diseases induced by unsanitary conditions are fearful. In the pellagra, which is akin to leprosy, the body dries up and wastes away, the skin grows yellow and black and is covered with scales; it loses all feeling, so that a prick or cut is scarcely perceived; finally, the patient, inert, apathetic, motionless, half dead, with sunken eyes, becomes a mere mummy, unconsciously awaiting the opening of his grave. It is sometimes said to arise from excessive poverty and starvation, but,' says the report, 'why are there so many villages where the country people are almost dying of hunger without a single case, while it is found in others not worse lodged and fed?' The probable cause is the use of putrid and mouldy maize, often exchanged by the millers for better corn, but also brought in from abroad; the bread is made

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into enormous loaves, baked thus to save firing, the inside of which grows putrid before the week's end which they are intended to last.

'Other diseases, though less heard of, are quite as numerous—scrofula, chest complaints, and, in some valleys, cretinism.' It sounds strange in our ears to talk of consumption as one of the scourges which desolate Italy, of which we have considered the North to have a sad monopoly. Malaria and fevers of different kinds are extremely common in Latium, Lombardy, and other parts. Tertian fevers are as dangerous as the pellagra in the Roman Campagna and the irrigated country in Lombardy. 'Where marshes exist man cannot live. If he does not destroy the marsh, the marsh destroys him.'

The excessively divided property in parts of Italy is such as to reduce it to a mere proletariate of owners, abominably lodged and ill nourished, who could not possibly carry out any sanitary improvements, even if decreed by the law. Health and morality are inseparably bound up together; for instance, about Rome there is a zone of small properties amounting to about 20,000 acres. Here the want of water, of proper houses, and of cultivation, and the total absence of roads at the very gates of the Eternal City, greatly diminishes the value of the soil.

The result is curious as told by a Catholic observer. 'The few times when the peasants earn money they drink to excess, so as to be seen rolling on the ground; they have no morality, and live in abominable vice. Education is almost *nil*. In place of religion there is the grossest superstition; children are taught to go to church as horses and dogs are drilled; the men gabble Latin prayers and have no notion of duty. By a few observances bad women and brigands contrive to consider themselves very religious.' Wages are from 10*d*. to 1*s*. a day, but there are nearly a hundred festival days. Farm servants, who are clothed and fed, have from 4*s*. to 6*s*., the women from 1*s*. to 3*s*. a month.

The condition of the small proprietor is even inferior to that of the labourers. Half the children die under seven years old in the Marches. The families live together, sometimes to the number of forty. The food is wretched, bread bad, without salt, made of maize, beans, and sometimes even acorns, with but little wheat.

The account of the island of Sardinia is even worse. Wages are from 8*d*. to 10*d*. Men may be seen wandering in the fields picking up herbs to eat. The little proprietors are quite as wretched. Animals which die of disease are eaten under the notion that fire purifies the flesh; healthy beasts are kept for the market. Neither the peasant proprietors nor the labourers, most of whom leave their homes to work in gangs during some months of the year in order to live, ever bring back their money; they eat and drink it, and give way to all sorts of excesses, so that the families do not benefit at all.

The excessive hard work which the small properties entail upon the women appears at every turn. The wife's position is such in the central provinces that it is said 'women are bargained for like cattle

and toil like Indian squaws.' No one indeed who has seen that dreadful human being an Italian peasant old woman—wrinkled, decrepit, squalid, with three hairs on the top of her bare skull as her only head-gear—can doubt the severe life of toil and privation to which she has been condemned.

One result of the excessive poverty is that rural thefts are increasing, and are committed by fathers in the presence of their children. 'It is the parents who teach the children the path to crime,' said the judge of Ravanusa. In the centre and south of Italy thefts are so common as to be a serious obstacle to cultivation.[5] In Latium, the Marches, the Neapolitan territory, fruit, grapes, olives, corn, vegetables, and even cattle are stolen, and flocks are led to pasture upon other people's lands. To steal wood is not considered dishonourable in the Marches. The stolen wood is sold publicly at prices which do not pay for the cutting down and the transport. Public opinion is in favour of the thief when taken by the law. The grapes for the vintage must be picked before they are ripe, greatly to the detriment of their value, or there would not be a bunch left in many provinces.

One very original mode of theft is mentioned. When the grain is threshed, the peasant girls walk round the heap praying for the blessing of Heaven upon the corn, and picking up a handful surreptitiously as they pass; the prayers are ended when the aprons are full.

'In Sicily it is almost a proverb that in ever peasant you see a man capable of theft. The miserable condition of their dwellings is one cause of this.' And, again, it is said 'the health and the morality of a nation depend on each other.'

The difficulty of entrusting power to local boards, a course which we seem about to adopt to a great extent, is much insisted on.

It is impossible to abandon regulations concerning drainage, sanitary questions, roads, &c., to the caprices of communal administration, while the State could perhaps not make rules wisely applicable to such different conditions as those in different parts of Italy. Probably the most feasible unit would be the province, which should consult the communes as to what is required, but which must receive the sanction of Government before these can become law.

Another perplexing point is the enormous amount of mortgages upon all properties both great and small. 'The small cultivators are ruined by the usurers; complaints are unanimous.' 'The interest in Sicily and Sardinia is usurious, sometimes 25 per cent. It is 12 per cent. in the Veronese districts.' 'Small loans to farmers are habitually lent at 60 per cent. in the Roman provinces.' 'In Apulia short

[5] To praise one's country is not considered effective, but must be allowed a little bit of village glorification. H. was riding past some of his cottages where a splendid crop of apples, just ripe, hung on the half garden, half orchard. 'I think, John, I would fasten a dog to one of the trees till the apples are picked,' said he. 'What, Sir H——, you a magistrate,' answered John, laughing, but a little proud, 'and not know that nobody ever steals an apple in the three C——ns!'

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loans are charged at 120 per cent. interest.' A kind of public loan institution was begun by Cavour in 1853, but it seems to do as much harm as good; the interest is called 5 per cent., but, as the principal is repaid in a fixed time, it amounts to 7. About Mantua it is said that the 'institutions for agricultural credit will finish by ruining themselves after having ruined agriculture.'

Then comes the question, How can these penniless owners pay for labour?

If individuals cannot guarantee work to the labourers, is it supposed to be possible that the State could do so? If the farmers and owners can only employ labour at a loss in the present state of things, who is to compel them to this loss? Can any one desire to repeat the experiment of national workshops instituted by the Paris Republic in 1848, and which ended in blood?

These are important considerations incidentally introduced. Again:—

The abstract question whether large, medium, or small properties are preferable is an entirely idle discussion in a country of free trade. That extent is best which enables the greatest amount of produce to be got out of the soil—large ownerships where the agricultural conditions make the use of machinery profitable, smaller ones where the amount of labour required for the crop, as with vines, silk, olives, and market gardens, constitutes the chief value of the land.

Of late, nevertheless, the diseases both of the vines and the silk-worms and the low prices of agricultural produce have reduced the peasant proprietors to the greatest straits in France and Italy.

The prospects for the future, however, given in the report, are more hopeful than might have been expected from the state of things described in the body of the work:—

Still a commercial and industrial revival is now certain for Italy. It is greatly a question of geography. Italy is a mighty promontory, thrown into the middle of the Mediterranean Sea, and from the earliest times her fortunes in the development of civilisation have followed its fate. The discoveries of Columbus and Vasco di Gama displaced the current of modern commerce, and the Turkish conquests reduced the Mediterranean almost to the conditions of a canal. After the fall of the Italian republics of the middle ages and the disappearance of Arabian civilisation its shores became desert, inhospitable, squalid, and infested by the Barbary pirates. Commerce and manufacture ceased, agriculture was limited to home consumption, and to a few productions of luxury, such as silk and fruit. The opening, however, of the Suez Canal has brought back commerce to its ancient course, fourfold indeed in quantity, so that the Mediterranean will once again become the centre of the economical activity of the globe, when Italy must of course benefit enormously.

Such a result would be welcome to all who remember how much the world has owed to Italy, to her art in pictures, sculpture, and architecture, her music, her poetry, her science and philosophy. We cannot afford that so potent a factor in our common civilisation should lie dormant; Italy has of late been overweighted by her material cares and necessities, but if a good time is indeed coming for her, Europe would very truly have reason to rejoice.

F. P. VERNEY.

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WILLIAM COBBETT.

THE lover of contrasts will find food for speculation in the year 1762. In the circumstances of their birth and education, in the economy of their lives, in the complexion of their thoughts, in their marriages, in the cares and troubles of every-day existence, and in their influence over their contemporaries, it would be difficult to discover two men more dissimilar than were William Cobbett and the Prince of Wales. In one condition only they shared, the abuse that was so freely lavished upon both of them. Cobbett was born on the 9th of March; his royal contemporary on the 12th of August. The first published a life of the second (his worst piece of literary work), and of both the fullest details have reached us. A train of courtiers and satirists has handed down to us, in verse and in prose, the vices and follies of the Prince; while Cobbett, that he might not be unwept and unsung, never lost an opportunity of telling us every experience and every sensation of his life. He was his own Lockhart and Boswell. Whatever he writes about he illustrates by his own example. Compared to him, Lord Erskine and Montaigne are hardly worthy to be called egotists.

Egotism in conversation is difficult to escape from, and therefore distasteful, but in literature it is impossible to have too much of it. History has to be written to pander to our tastes in this respect. The movements of troops and the sieges of towns have little interest for us. What men paid for their breakfasts, what furniture they had in their houses, the relations between one class and another, these are the topics we wish now to have presented to us and enlarged upon. Fonblanque laughed in the *Examiner* at the growing disposition of the English for gossip, and at the way in which the minutest movements of the Duke of Wellington were chronicled; but the habit has grown upon us with a steadily increasing force, and society consists of an aggregation of children taking notes with a view to the publication of future biographies. It is not the fault of Cobbett if we do not know how he was dressed, what he liked for dinner, what authors he despised, what pleasures he enjoyed. There are two classes of men of whom it is easy to speak with confidence: men who, like Savage or Gray, have left very little behind them, and whose work can be

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read in a few hours, and men who have turned out as many volumes as a carpenter might make chairs and tables during his life, and who have no chance of being read through in these post-diluvian days.

If, however, you can construct an animal from a fossil bone, twenty or thirty volumes should be sufficient to give some insight into an author's character, and enable us to judge of his literary powers, the breadth and usefulness of his aims, and the justice of his reputation. A critic would be bold indeed who asserted that such and such views were not to be found in Cobbett's writings. Exclusive of his newspaper, he wrote what he justly called a library, and he played the part of his own reviewer. 'When I am asked what books a young man or a young woman should read, I always answer, Let him or her read all the books I have written.' This does, it will doubtless be said, smell of the shop. No matter. If young men and young women followed his advice, their leisure was likely to be fully employed. Cobbett wrote enough to make a barricade with. Though he is remembered mainly as a politician, he was a very Proteus of trades and callings, and whether he speaks to us in the character of farmer or soldier, grammarian, gardener, forester, or moralist, he speaks with authority, and deserves our attention. Nowhere have we such exquisite pictures of rural manners and of lowly life, drawn by a man who made part of that life himself. All the instincts of the typical Englishman—the love of home, of early associations, combined with the most intense appreciation of natural objects and of scenery—are given to us in his pages with a charm that belongs to Cobbett alone. In after years he took his son to the little homestead that had been his home at Farnham, to show him the hop-gardens where he received his education. 'The most interesting thing,' writes Cobbett in his *Rural Rides*, 'was a sandhill where I and two brothers used to disport ourselves.' 'I and two brothers' is a characteristic touch worthy of the 'Ego et rex meus' of the great Cardinal.

> Our diversion was this: we used to go to the top of the hill, which was steeper than the roof of a house. One used to draw his arms out of the sleeves of his smock frock and lay himself down with his arms by his sides; and then the others, one at head and the other at feet, sent him rolling down the hill like a barrel or a log of wood. By the time he got to the bottom his hair, eyes, ears, and nose and mouth were all full of this loose sand; then the others took their turn, and at every roll there was a monstrous spell of laughter. I had often told my sons of this while they were very little, and I now took one of them to see the spot. This was the spot where I was receiving my education, and this was the sort of education; and I am perfectly satisfied that if I had not received such an education or something very like it, that if I had been brought up a milksop with a nursery maid everlastingly at my heels, I should have been at this day as great a fool, as inefficient a mortal, as any of those frivolous idiots that are turned out from Winchester or Westminster School, or from any of those dens of dunces called Colleges or Universities. It is impossible to say how much I owe to that sandhill; and I went to return it my thanks for the ability which it probably gave me to become one of the greatest terrors to one of the greatest and most powerful body of knaves and fools that ever were permitted to afflict this or any other country.

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Education Acts were not yet! the boy lived in the open air, following the hounds on foot whenever they were within reach, returning home in the dark to go supperless to bed, and lucky if he escaped a flogging; or making a garden on the hillside by carrying handfuls of soil up the steep ascent, in his blue smock-frock like some Italian peasant, but observing and treasuring up all the time the details of rural life. This life in the last century before the war was a simple one and without many advantages which now would be thought necessities, but the large towns were not increasing at the expense of the agricultural villages. The clodhoppers and jolterheads, as Cobbett called them, formed part of the farmer's family, and there was a constant supply of labour to do the work which cannot be done efficiently at all to-day. Small tenants were far oftener to be met with, eking out their livelihood by the sale of honey and poultry, and enjoying rights of common and pasturage which by the increase of the population have been gradually lost to them. Many a landlord who has inherited these farms, now consolidated into one large holding, bitterly regrets the short-sighted policy that has made him dependent on the success of one man for his rent, instead of the industry of many. There was far less display of wealth. The yeoman with 800*l.* a year lived in a style far below the tenant farmer of to-day, sat down to dinner perhaps with his servants and lived in the kitchen in common with them; and woe betide the maid who dared to lay her hand to the sacred parlour floor, the province of her mistress. The farmer of 1886 would object to such a description of his condition as this:—

> The farmer's cares are pleasing cares. His misfortunes can seldom be more than lessons; his produce consists of things wanted by all mankind; his market is a ready-money one. No day books, bills, and ledgers haunt his mind. Envy, that accursed passion, can in a natural state of things find no place in his breast; for the seasons and the weather are the same to all; and the demand for his produce has no other measure than the extent of his crops. This way of life gives the best security for health and strength of body. It does not teach, it necessarily produces, early rising, constant forethought, constant attention, and constant care of dumb animals. Rural affairs leave not a day, not an hour unoccupied and without its cares, its promises, and its fruitions.

The details of Cobbett's early life are too well known for me to dwell upon them—his running away from home, his apprenticeship to an attorney, his enlistment, his service in the army, his marriage, his return to America, his contest with the Americans, and finally his return to England and his support of the Government. We do not think of Cobbett as a Tory, attached to King and State, any more than we think of Burke and Pitt as Whigs, of Mr. Disraeli and the late Lord Derby as Radicals, or of Mr. Gladstone as a Conservative. Consistency, however, has never been expected or praised as a political virtue, and English public opinion allows every man at least one change in his political career. It would not be wise to investigate too closely the causes that have in some cases led to these changes. No doubt, deep

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convictions of the necessity of this or of the folly of that measure have acted irresistibly on statesmen and have caused them to break away from those with whom their previous career has been associated. But social grievances have also been the motive power in many conversions, and in our own time exclusion from a club has not been without its effect.

Cobbett was a hero for a short time after his return, but Mr. Pitt took no notice of him, and refused to allow him to be presented to him. Whatever may have been the real cause, we have no reason to regret Cobbett's change of politics. He would have been ill at ease as a supporter of the Government: his place was in opposition, and henceforth his pen was to prove the most merciless scourge of abuses, and a terror to public men for thirty years. We grumble at the slow process of our pet measures, and we are apt to forget in our impatience how long a period elapsed of vain and impotent complaints, and of futile agitation against laws, any single one of which exceeded in injustice the whole sum of all the inequalities that exist at the present day. It requires little courage now to be the exponent of unpopular opinions. A minority is only a minority for a short time, and will be the majority of to-morrow. There is no religious, no philosophical heresy which requires toleration, no lunacy indeed that attracts much attention, as long as it does not interfere with the comfort or the convenience of others. Martyrs are regarded as nuisances, and the world, as the result of long and painful experience, has arrived at the conclusion that persecution only aggravates the nuisance. This attitude has its influence upon the language of polemics, and it has been discovered that, partly owing to the fastidiousness of the public, partly owing to its incuriousness, hard words are of very little use. They break as few reputations as they do bones, and their recipients are inclined to value them as a species of advertisement. When Swift suggested as a panacea for Irish distress the use of boiled babies as food, some of the public regarded his proposal as serious, and expressed its disapproval of the remedy. Were such a proposition to issue now, criticism would merely exhaust itself in considering what chances of competition there were to be feared on the part of the United States, and would not think it necessary to expatiate upon its immorality. Were the fabled Academy of Lagado situated in the West Riding, the opinions of the professors would obtain, especially at election times, a patient hearing, and the building of houses from the top downwards, and the method of ploughing by burying acorns and chestnuts eight inches deep, and then turning 600 hogs into the field, would be deemed open questions, and not to be scornfully dismissed as being of an unpractical tendency, and as not being within measurable distance of solution. The Englishman, like the Corinthians, suffers fools gladly, gives his neighbour a hearing because he wishes for a hearing himself, and recognises no finality in his desire for improvement. He has been

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subjected to so many changes, political, moral, and social, that he believes in a constant ebb and flow, out of which, nevertheless, he hopes to emerge, and to pass into some haven perfected and purified and to be at rest.

Cobbett began by attacking the fountain-head of abuses. It was against the borough-mongers that his newspaper thundered every week. All hopes of effecting a reform, of redressing abuses, were vain as long as the franchise remained unextended, and the greatest enemies of its extension were naturally those who owned pocket-boroughs. A family seat was like a family living, and, though its purchase cost more than the latter, the perquisites were higher. The borough of Haslemere in Surrey was sold for 24,000*l.* to the Lowthers, by an apothecary and lawyer in the neighbourhood, who cleared 6,000*l.* by the speculation. At Shaftesbury, an alderman appeared in the character of Punch, and conveyed twenty guineas through a hole in the door to such of the electors as would take a bribe. There seems to have been no fixed price for a seat, and a fortunate man might sometimes buy one in a cheap market. If, however, we strike an average, 5,000*l.* appears to have been the fair price. In 1807, prices were ranging very high, as the king was buying up all that were saleable out of his privy purse. Tierney offered 10,000*l.* for the two seats at Westbury, 'a nasty, odious, rotten, borough, a really rotten place,' as Cobbett calls it in his *Rural Rides*, but they were to be made the most of by trustees for Lord Abingdon's creditors, and his offer was refused. Ultimately, in this case a majority of the burgage-holds were offered for sale, by public auction, before a Master in Chancery. Westbury is an interesting borough, for it is mentioned by Mr. Hallam as affording the earliest precedent on record for the punishment of bribery at elections. The seat was sold by the mayor and corporation for the sum of 4*l.*, to a Mr. Thomas Long, and the mayor was ordered to repay the money, though Mr. Long was not expelled the House.

The wonder is, considering the habit of trafficking, that a single virtuous borough should have existed. Sheridan was given 4,000*l.* by the Prince Regent that he might find himself a seat, but of course the money was diverted to other purposes. When Sir Samuel Romilly was without a seat in 1808, his friends made arrangements that he should represent Wareham, and we have the first intimation of a general fund being raised by the Opposition (one already existed managed by the Treasury, to which law officers paid 500*l.* to secure re-election) to defray election expenses—a proceeding which has received great development during recent times. Mr. Calcraft was to be paid 2,000*l.* by Sir Samuel, and 1,000*l.* out of a fund started by the heads of the Whig party to answer extraordinary occasions. What appears objectionable to our ancestors becomes our common practice, and *vice versâ*. Romilly was quite willing to pay the 2,000*l.*, but he

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would not take anything from his party. So the matter was arranged by his paying the whole 3,000*l.* to Calcraft. Romilly adds, in his diary, 'I was elected. Though Mr. Calcraft has the entire command of the borough, he wished me to go down, which I accordingly did.' At Knaresborough, however, the members never appeared, but some old pauper was chaired by proxy. Lord Lonsdale in one day caused 1,400 colliers to be made freemen of Carlisle. At Wendover we find mention for the first time of a gentleman who has been notorious enough at Yorkshire elections. The electors determined to revolt against the dictation of Lord Verney, the patron, and in their noble independence settled that two candidates should be chosen for the sum of 6,000*l.* According to this arrangement a gentleman was met by appointment by the electors a mile from the town. The electors asked the stranger where he came from? He replied, 'From the moon.' They then asked what news from the moon? He answered he had brought 6,000*l.* from the moon to be distributed among them. The electors expressed their satisfaction at the news from the moon, and elected the candidates. The sinecures held in Hastings and Queensborough to secure the influence of the Government cost the country 3,800*l.* a year. Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Percival were accused by Mr. Maddocks of having sold a seat for 3,000*l.* to Mr. Quentin Dick, and then having obliged him to resign when he ceased to support them. In these days an attempt on the part of a constituency to dictate to a member the views he should adopt and the votes he should give, often rouses excitement and anger. It not unfrequently happens that a member votes contrary to the opinions of his constituents, keeps his seat, and does not trouble his head about the matter. He must not, however, look back with longing to bygone days, for it must be remembered that in them if a man voted in opposition to his patron, he felt it his duty to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds as a consequence of his independent action.

Corruption was universal: 5,000*l.* was offered for a peerage and refused; 10,000*l.* was accepted. The price which the Duke of York's mistress received for a majority was 900*l.*; for a captaincy 700*l.*; for a lieutenancy 400*l.*, and for an ensigncy 200*l.* Another lady of the same profession advertised that she was ready to dispose of places in every department of Church and State. It was very little use to punish offenders; the habit was ingrained through high and low, and Hercules himself would have failed in an attempt to cleanse such an Augean stable.

The expenditure was enormous. When Mr. Beaumont stood for Stafford (in 1826), his supporters went about the street with a card inscribed 'Vote for Beaumont,' and a ten-pound note by its side, stuck into their hats. A man might well pause before he embarked in a contest of this character. The great county of Yorkshire, I cannot help thinking, must have been singularly deficient in solicitors

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during the interval between 1741 and 1807, during which time the representation was uncontested. When, however, the contest did come, the electors made up for the laches of their predecessors.

> When Stafford's heir and Baron Harewood's son
> Their length of patriotism and purses run,
> And each to win his country's favours told
> A hundred thousand virtues set in gold.

Great fights, such as this, or the memorable contest in Northumberland, crippled the candidates for years, and many a mortgage dates its origin from election rivalries. When Mr. Marshall came forward for Yorkshire in 1826, the preparations for a contest which did not take place cost him no less than 17,000*l*. There is one interesting feature in the election literature of the beginning of the century which we miss to-day, viz., the evident value set upon the possession of scholarly attainments and classical knowledge. In the little biographies drawn up in some of the parliamentary guides, some five or ten elegiacs are given, as an indication of the cultivated taste and acquirements of the member alluded to.

The House of Commons was then a better club than it is now. No one spoke who had not something to say. Lord Lowther and Lord Apthorpe paired for the hunting season on one occasion, and no lists were issued of the numbers of divisions in which members had taken part. Great men, or the greater barbarians as the *Spectator* pleasantly called them, were greater than they are now. Curates are obsequious in the presence of a patron of twenty livings, and candidates for Parliament must have looked with awe upon the possessor of eight or eleven seats. The country belonged to the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Lonsdale, as Sydney Smith said. One hundred and eighty men nominated 370 votes in the House of Commons in 1821—267 men returned 471 members; the Treasury 16, making 487 out of 658. 300 members were returned by places with less than 5,000 inhabitants. The head of the Lowthers or the Manners or the Grenvilles could introduce his friends at any time into public life, and the safety of a ministry might depend upon one man's support. The nominee kept his patron constantly informed of every political wind that blew in the capital, of every intrigue in the Cabinet. The patron was anxious to secure his dukedom or to be sent out to finish the Burmese war, and he expected his follower, whatever his duties of office might be, to devote all his energies to compass this end.

Men possessed of high rank and large fortunes have, and no doubt always will have, deference paid to them, but the deference of those days was not that of to-day. Sir Walter Scott was the first man of letters in 1819, a personal friend of the Prince Regent, caressed by all the wit and fashion and beauty of England and Scotland, yet

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we find him writing to Lord Montagu on the death of the Duke of Buccleuch, 'I never thought it possible that a man could have loved another so much where the distance of rank was so very great.' Crabbe drew a painful picture of the courtier's position, the bitterness of which he felt himself: 'Upon thy Lord with decent care attend.'

The great nobles desired to retain their influence, and did so by living in the country; they imposed upon the public by their state, and by lavish and magnificent hospitality such as that shown by Lord Egremont at Petworth, Lord Buckingham at Stowe, the Duke of Beaufort at Badminton, Mr. Coke at Holkham, and Lord Fitzwilliam at Wentworth; they furnished the provinces with a court which might well compare in display with the royal one, and far exceeded it in decency. The law was inclined and was strained to respect the prerogatives of peers. A suggestion that Lord Lonsdale's face might fitly be taken to represent that of the devil, was made the subject of a criminal prosecution. This same Lord Lonsdale, on being stopped when driving in Mount Street by the officer of the Guards on duty, exclaimed, 'You rascal, do you know I am a peer of the realm?' Captain Cuthbert replied, 'I don't know you are a peer, but I know you are a scoundrel.' A duel followed, but unattended by fatal results. In one of Miss Edgeworth's stories the Duke of Greenwich is represented as estranged from Lord Aldborough because his correspondent had not sealed a letter to him, and I have no doubt that the trait is drawn from real life, because in a correspondence with Lord Buckingham Lord Sydney alludes to offence having been taken on account of his addressing Lord Buckingham in the same strain as that in which Lord Buckingham had addressed him—probably without his title.

No preacher would in these days speak in his funeral sermon of a woman who was lately 'a great and good duchess on earth, and is now a great and good duchess in heaven.' Civility, decent civility, in a peer, seems to entitle him, in the eyes of his admirers, to special eulogy. 'I have known Lord Sandwich apologise to a lieutenant in the navy for not being able to be exact to his appointment,' writes a friend of his lordship. Bishop Warburton is spoken of as beyond measure condescending and courteous, having even graciously handed some biscuits and wine on a salver to a curate who was to read prayers. The position of a peer is no doubt less imposing now, but it is probably more comfortable; state is avoided because it brings no corresponding advantage. Lord Abercorn, travelling in 1813 between Carlisle and Longtown, was preceded by the ladies of his family and his household in five carriages, while he brought up the rear mounted on a small pony, and decorated over his riding-dress with the ribbon and star of the Garter. In this guise he would now be taken for the advance guard of a travelling menagerie. Whitaker speaks of the Earl of Cumberland travelling in 1525, with thirty-

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three servants and horses, and says that now, viz. 1805, a nobleman of the same rank going alone from Skipton to London would be content with six horses, two postilions, and two outriders. 'Modern habits,' he adds, 'have certainly gained in elegance what they have lost in cumbrous parade.' The change between 1805 and 1885 has been even greater than that between 1525 and 1805, and it is difficult to conceive how travelling could be rendered more simple and free from parade. From the days of Haroun Alraschid, the wearers of rank have found it among their chief pleasures to lay it aside, and to observe the manners of their time unnoticed themselves. The facilities for this enjoyment now are far greater. The age, too, is in a hurry; one horse goes quicker than four; life is short, and the actors want to get as much as possible out of it. They want to enjoy the advantages of wealth, of leisure, and of educated taste, as much as ever, but they have less veneration for form. We give the title of esquire to a costermonger or a chimney-sweep, and should much prefer giving the latter the title of marquis, if he desired it, sooner than have our chimneys unswept. A peer in these days may be defined as a country gentleman with an embarrassed income, incapable of taking a part personally in contested elections, and who, *cæteris paribus*, has the first refusal of an heiress and of a Court appointment. It is very seldom that he possesses even the moiety of a borough, and if he does, it is only owing to legitimate means, and in no way the result of his peerage.

With the Reform Bill the power of the House of Lords fell, and it is in the possession of other advantages that its members have now to solace themselves. Any oligarchy enjoys a coveted pre-eminence. The Upper House may increase its numbers, but it cannot increase them in direct ratio with the increase of the population. The eagerness to belong to it does not appear to diminish, and all resigning ministers could tell of a goodly list of applicants for admission to the honour. It is the same with the House of Commons. Its character has changed, its ranks are filled from all classes and trades, men criticise it unfavourably, point to its loss of oratorical power, of decent feeling, of self-respect and good breeding, but there is never any lack of candidates to supply a vacancy. 'O drug,' said Robinson Crusoe, on finding some gold in the hold of the wreck, 'what art thou good for? I have no manner of use for thee. Ever remain where thou art and go to the bottom as a creature whose life is not worth saving.' He adds, 'However, upon second thoughts I took it away.' Criticisms have very little influence on the subsequent conduct of those who make them.

Never was there such wealth of invective at the command of man as was owned by Cobbett. Out of the innermost recesses of the English language he drew epithets and utterances that had slept for centuries. We have forgotten these words, if indeed we know their meanings.

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We are mealy-mouthed and cast about for a periphrasis. When, indeed, we wish to use strong language we are reduced to plagiarisms.

Lord Tennyson, in one of his last poems, speaks of one of his characters as being 'that outdacious at home not thaw you went fur to raäke out hell with a small-tooth comb!' a sentiment which you will find applied by a Bristol mechanic during the election of 1812 to his political opponents. The simple Saxon words of reproach used by our ancestors, by Fielding, by Sterne, by Smollett, by Johnson, have fallen into disuse; and, though the moralist has to condemn precisely the same frailties or foibles, he has to do so in different language. But in the beginning of the century plain-speaking held its own, and Cobbett could find in the language of those who were socially his superiors justification for the nervous terseness of his vituperative pen.

No one swore harder than ex-Chancellor Lord Thurlow, or spoke out his thoughts with more clearness; no one, to put it plainly, used more hideous language. (He died cursing his servants.) 'Sir, your father,' he said to George the Fourth, 'will continue to be a popular king as long as he continues to go to church every Sunday, and to be faithful to that ugly woman your mother; but you, sir, will never be popular.' We have one delightful story at a later period about the King's language. He was very angry with Lord Mansfield on account of a speech he had made on the Catholic question. 'He lied,' said the King; 'had I been an individual, I would have told him so and fought him. As it was, I put the Archbishop of Canterbury in a fright by sending him as my second to Mansfield to tell him he lied. The Archbishop came down bustling here to know what he was to do. Go, said I, "Go and do my bidding—tell him he lies, and kick his behind in my name!"' History does not record whether the Archbishop carried out his royal master's orders or not. Cobbett understood the value of repetition as well as that of abuse; he hammered at the borough-monger whatever his subject might be—'that monster to be moved by nothing but his own pecuniary sufferings.' His *English Grammar*, which deserves a permanent place among the best class-books, is made the vehicle of open and covert satire. 'Sometimes the hyphen is used to connect many words together, as 'the never-to-be-forgotten cruelty of the borough tyrants.' 'Nouns of number such as mob, parliament, rabble, House of Commons, regiment, Court of King's Bench, den of thieves,' is a sentence which defies a criminal information and yet conveys Cobbett's meaning as well as a detailed denunciation.

When a company, consisting of men who have been enabled, by the favour of the late William Pitt, to plunder and insult the people, meet under the name of a Pitt Club to celebrate the birthday of that corrupt and cruel minister, those who publish accounts of their festivities always tell us that such and such toasts were drank, instead of drunk.

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More than 100,000 copies of this Grammar were sold, and it should be treated as its author treated Lowth's grammar. It was by practising what he preached that Cobbett made his own style so excellent and so simple. You will find no sentences in which you have to search for the nominative, no intricate constructions, no fine and half-intelligible words. Mr. Dickens was so charmed with the style of one of his literary staff that he asked him one day how he had acquired so admirable a manner. 'The fact is, Mr. Dickens,' the contributor replied, 'there are a great many words I don't understand, and a great many I can't spell, so that I am forced to use a simple set of words.'

Cobbett's hand was against every man. He hated the Prince Regent and the Ministers, but the Whigs he hated still more. The Edinburgh Reviewers were a tribe of coxcombs, a set of the meanest politicians that ever touched pen and paper. He fell foul of one Liberal leader after another. He attacked Romilly and Brougham as he did Castlereagh and Liverpool, Sidmouth and Canning. He had no sympathy with the modern school of political economy, and was as keen against forestalling and regrating as Lord Kenyon. His motto was Cobbett's reform by or through Cobbett only: 'Follow me, read my books, and you will be happy and successful through life.' He had many of the qualities of a great prophet, and when the forces that were arrayed against him are considered, his courage and pertinacity will appear of no mean order.

In wading through the political life of the first quarter of this century, tired of the plots and counterplots, the jealousies and animosities, of which the Prince was the centre, it is exhilarating to look at them from an outside standpoint connected with neither of the political factions. The Tories were in power from 1783 to 1830, with the exception of a few months. The Whigs wanted their places, wanted the patronage, but they had no desire to lose their political influence in the country by the loss of the seats they owned. Had they come into office in 1812 no real change in the representation would have occurred. They had no object in common. Lord Grey had declared that reform ought only to be undertaken when it was seriously and affectionately demanded by the people. The Radicals made no difference between Whigs and Tories. In Bentham's eyes they acted under the same corrupt influence and possessed the same separate and sinister interest. Whigs and Tories alike were indebted to proprietorship and terrorism for their seats. Against Lord Grey and a Whig aristocracy, against Henry Brougham and the *Edinburgh Review*, Major Cartwright inveighed as bitterly as against the Tories. The *Edinburgh Review* retorted and attacked 'the worst enemies of all reform, who will listen to no dictates of moderation, a class of impostors who showed a disregard of truth and contempt of decency.' The country was to be saved by Whig royalists and a

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large open aristocracy, who were to exercise great caution in dealing with the rotten boroughs.

> And loud and upright, till their price be known,
> They thwart the King's supplies to raise their own;
> But bees on flowers alighting cease their hum,
> So settling upon places Whigs grow dumb.

They were devoid of all patriotism. They sat and sulked when the news came of an English victory: they refused to believe in the possibility of the success of our arms, and the members of Brooks's would have been delighted to hear that Wellington had been taken prisoner. Wordsworth wrote that he exulted in the triumph of his soul when Englishmen by thousands were overthrown, left without glory on the field or driven to shameful flight. Napoleon had Byron's best wishes to manure the fields of France with an invading army, and Byron stigmatised the allied armies as the thieves in Paris. They took the Princess of Wales up when they thought that she could be of use to them, and they threw her over when it suited them. They pandered to the wishes of the Regent, and they were flung over by him directly he saw that he could do without them. Any arrangement which would have resulted in the accession to power of Wellesley and Canning, of Lord Moira or Lords Grey and Grenville, was little likely to content Cobbett and his readers. Whatever was dependent on the Prince of Wales's favour, or that had relations with the Court, they must have distrusted. The lapse of time fortunately conceals many ugly things, but it has never concealed an uglier thing than George the Fourth. Satire could not wish for a better theme than the Prince Regent marrying for the payment of his debts, drunk in the grate on his wedding night, taking his wife's bracelets to deck his mistress's arms. With more favourites than Solomon, he imitated that monarch's extravagances in building without possessing his architectural knowledge. The furniture for Carlton House during two years and three-quarters cost 160,000*l.*, and vast sums were thrown away over the Pavilion at Brighton and the cottage at Virginia Water. His debts were being continually paid by the country, and on each occasion he concealed some, presenting an incomplete schedule. His debts were his politics, and his own gratification his sole object. Here is a political scene from Carlton House in 1812. When Lord Grey and Lord Grenville had refused to have anything to do with the Government after the Prince's celebrated letter to the Duke of York, the Prince abused them in such terms at dinner that his daughter burst into tears, owing to her distress at her father's language.

> The next day, Sunday, upon Lord Moira's calling at Carlton House by the Prince's order, the Prince sent out his page-in-waiting to him, to tell him that he had been so drunk the preceding night he was not well enough to see him, but ordered the page to tell him that he, the Prince, had settled the Catholic question, which was not any longer to form a Government question.

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As a son, a husband, a lover, a friend, a debtor, the Prince showed much the same qualities. In spite of what he was pleased to call 'his irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father,' he behaved to him in a way, to use Mr. Grenville's words, 'to make one's blood run cold.' He cheated, and was cheated in turn. George Hanger was one of his friends, and has left behind him some memoirs in which he gives an account of his own debts and troubles and tailors' bills. One winter's dress clothes alone cost him 900*l.* A morning suit for a birthday cost 80*l.*, while that for the evening cost about 180*l.*, being the first satin coat that appeared in this country. The Prince was a master in the art of dress, and on one occasion, according to Moore, began to cry when Brummell told him he did not like the cut of his coat. Tears were at his command as though he were a child. He cried when Lord Moira left him, and he cried for Mr. Fitzherbert. I have mentioned Colonel Hanger's name, however, that I may introduce the bet of the comparative swiftness of the turkey and the goose, by which the Prince was victimised. George Hanger, having settled the question to his own satisfaction, first introduced the subject at dinner, and gave his opinion in favour of the turkey. Others backed the goose, and a match of twenty turkeys against twenty geese was made for a distance of ten miles. The Prince backed the turkeys heavily at two to one, and commissioned Hanger to choose twenty of the finest birds he could find. On the day appointed, the Prince and his party of turkeys and Mr. Berkeley and his party of geese set off to decide the match. For the first three hours everything seemed to indicate that the turkeys would be the winners, as they were then two miles in advance of the geese; but as night came on, the turkeys began to stretch out their necks towards the branches of the trees which lined the sides of the road. In vain the Prince poked at them with a pole to which a bit of red cloth was attached, in vain George Hanger dislodged one from its roosting place, in vain was barley strewn upon the road. The geese waddled on in the meantime, and passed the turkey party, who were all busy in the trees dislodging their obstinate birds; all their efforts, however, were to no effect, and the geese were declared the winners.

> Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
> Tempora sævitiæ!

Charles the Second was not a moral monarch, and his Court did not set a very high value on female virtue as far as we know; but it does not lose by comparison with that of the Prince Regent. Charles made his favourites duchesses. George deserted Mrs. Fitzherbert, and it was his brother William who offered to create her a duchess. Charles knew what war was, what hairbreadth escapes were, and what might be achieved by a few devoted friends against a whole country eager to make him a prisoner. George believed he had been present at Waterloo, and taxed the politeness of the Duke

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of Wellington, who could only say in reply to his recollections, 'I have often heard your Majesty say so.'

Courtier though he was, Sir Walter Scott wrote on the Queen's death to Mr. Morritt :—

> I fear the effect of this event on public manners. Were there but a weight at the back of the drawing-room door, which would slam it in the face of courtesans, its fall ought to be lamented. Honest old Evelyn's account of Charles the Second's Court presses on one's recollection, and prepares the mind for anxious apprehensions.

Apprehensions might well exist and sombre prophecies be made. The rage for appointments, for pensions, for sinecures was perhaps the greater because of the fear that the harvest might only last a short time. Success belonged, as it always does, to the importunate. 'It is a strange scrambling world,' writes a clergyman, 'and there are at least fifty applications for everything that falls, however trifling. I will do my best.' Cobbett, of course, inveighed against the clergy, who, with very few exceptions, were staunchly opposed to reform. The value of the loaves and fishes was estimated in those days with a certain crudity, which must have afforded amusement to the malicious. One bishop, writing to another in 1805, says :—

> By a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, you are nominated to a bishopric of revenues beyond what you or any of your friends could have expected. I saw the Archbishop-elect, and he said, 'If your friend is my successor, he may be assured that he will find it nearer 4,000*l.* than 3,500*l.* He is much a man of business and very accurate. An income like this will soon repay the expenses which await you, and enable you after living up to your station to save money. 60*l.* will pay for your robes, and your first payment of first-fruits will not occur till the end of September. The house is large, and I presume you will have to pay for the furniture there more than you will receive for that at Durham. A very intimate friend of mine will succeed you at Durham, and I can add for your satisfaction that he will be speedily solvent for your furniture.'

The appointment, however, was an excellent one, and the new bishop, in spite of all the temptations which were offered to him in the guise of the highest prizes of the Church, remained true to his party, spoke every year almost alone among his colleagues on the Bench in the House of Lords on behalf of the Catholics, was abused by one side and lauded by the other, and lived to see the realisation of his wishes and to vote for the Reform Bill before he died. Before Mr. Pitt had given away this see, he received a letter from the Bishop of Bristol, thanking him for his intention of conferring it upon him, of which Lord Stanhope says, 'There is something worthy of record in the plan of soliciting a favour by returning thanks for it as though already conferred.'

Appointments were supposed to enable a man not only to maintain but to found a family; the owner of the Governor-Generalship of India expected to save a sufficient sum in five years to keep up the dignity of the peerage which was offered to him at the close of his tenure of office.

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Party feeling ran high, the sense of injustice and of oppression was keen, but I have no intention of endeavouring to make excuses for Cobbett's language, or to deny that it must have had an unfortunate influence on misguided men. He knew no master and gave no quarter. Sydney Smith, the most consistent of reformers, a light to lighten his order, called Cobbett 'that consummate villain.' When Shelley was describing Hell, he said it was a city much like London:

> There is a Castles and a Canning,
> A Cobbett and a Castlereagh,
> All sorts of caitiff corpses planning,
> All sorts of cozening for trepanning
> Corpses less corrupt than they.

To Cobbett's account were placed many of the fires that lit up at night peaceful English villages. All that can be urged in extenuation is that the time was one of war, war between frightened rulers who had been contemporaries of the horrors of the French Revolution, and goaded slaves. Justice had attained to a high standard of her proverbial blindness. The frequency of executions before the alteration of the penal laws no doubt blunted men's feelings, an instance of which we have in Mr. Greville's remark when several boys, to their amazement, were sentenced to be hanged for some slight misdemeanour: 'Never did I see boys cry so.' When remissions were proposed, the Government were supposed to be at stake.

> We shall not know whether we are on our heads or on our feet (said Lord Ellenborough). If you repeal the Act which inflicts the penalty of death for stealing to the value of five shillings in a shop, you will be called upon next year to repeal a law which prescribes the penalty of death for stealing five shillings in a dwelling-house, there being no person within.

The wonder is that Cobbett escaped the clutches of the law so long. He had written with the sword of Damocles suspended above his head, and in June 1810 it fell. His strictures on the flogging of the local militia at Ely by the German legion were made the subject of prosecution, with the result that he was sentenced to pay a fine of 1,000*l.* and to be imprisoned in Newgate for two years. Cobbett bore the blow gallantly, and his own account of his life in prison is one of the most charming passages in his biography. He went on farming his land at Botley, whence every week a hamper was sent to Newgate with early flowers and blossoms, or fruit, or some sweet association of his country home. He dictated the *Register* to his two eldest children, he educated the younger ones, and probably never was life in prison, or indeed out of prison, better spent before.

When the two years of imprisonment were over, his friends welcomed him at a public dinner, and Sir Francis Burdett declared that the cause in which he had suffered was that of our Sidneys and Hampdens. The *Register* was written with renewed energy, and the weekly sale averaged from 75,000 to 100,000. Cobbett was a thorn

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in the side of the Government from 1812 to 1817. The fortunes of war varied: now the Ministers, now the Radicals, scored a success. The Whigs hardly existed as a party; the Grenvilles, tired of fruitless opposition, were meditating the construction of a third party, and paving the way for the negotiation which took effect in 1822. The popularity which accrued, owing to the happy termination of the war, was lost in the distress of the succeeding year. The inflated prices of the war had collapsed, and the position was terribly felt by the agricultural interest. What we are seeing now was intensified then: wretched crops, and distressed landlords groaning under the land thrown upon their hands, and the reduction of their rents by 50 per cent. Gloom and discontent filled the country from north to south. There were nightly drillings in Yorkshire; there was the tramp of armed men marching, and the burning of mills, and the wreck of manufactories. The alarmists became more alarmed, every shadow contained a conspiracy. Reports of rebellion were transmitted to the Government; a hundred thousand men were said to be in arms in Northumberland. 'I was told,' said Mr. Lambton, 'that my property was to be partitioned, and that on my return I should find others enjoying it. I said, I don't believe it, but if it be true, I would much rather my property should be partitioned among my friends in the North than among the corruptionists of the House of Commons.' The prisons were full. Leigh and John Hunt expiated their sarcasm on the Prince Regent—whom they called 'a fat Adonis of fifty' (Cobbett, by the by, asserted that he weighed a quarter of a ton), 'a man who had just closed a quarter of a century without one single claim on the gratitude of his country or the respect of his posterity'—by two years in Surrey Gaol. Shelley lost the custody of his children, and retired to Italy, whence he lashed the English Ministry in safety.

The growing disaffection of the country at last induced the Government to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and Cobbett was able to boast that he was the person against whom that suspension was mainly directed. Cromwell and Hampden were at the point of leaving these shores in 1637, and of seeking a refuge from persecution in America. Southey and a chosen band had the same thought in later days. Cobbett yielded to the storm and sought safety in flight, and he did not return to England until 1819, when he conceived the lamentable idea of adding to the importance of his arrival by bringing with him the bones of Tom Paine in a box, which was lodged at the Liverpool Custom-house. The English hate melodrama, and had plenty to do besides admire Tom Paine's remains; and Byron summed up the episode in language worthy of Cobbett:

> In digging up your bones, Tom Paine,
> Will Cobbett has done well;
> You visit him on earth again,
> He'll visit you in Hell.

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If Cobbett left England in a disturbed state, the lapse of two years had not improved its condition. The Manchester riot had taken place, and Yorkshire sympathy with the rioters had received a check in the deposition of Lord Fitzwilliam from the lord-lieutenancy. Cobbett continued his old life, wrote, quarrelled, tried to get into Parliament, and failed. His speech at the close of his contest at Preston must have delighted his audience: 'Gentlemen, I have done much good to you by coming. I have sweated your tyrants; I have bled them; I have made the silly honourable (the late Lord Derby) throw 15,000*l.* among you, and that's no joke, for though these lords have too much land, they have not too much money. I have tickled the Captain too: he must have pledged his half-pay to keep open houses for you, and now he must live on plates of beef and goes of gin for the next seven years.' Failure was not likely to daunt him, his old confidence in himself continued, and he tilted as gallantly as ever against the placemen, the borough-mongers, and the sinecurists. No one got praise from him, from 'that great, snorting bawler, Mr. Pitt,' 'this old porpoise of a Bourbon, Louis Philippe,' 'the impudent spouter Canning,' 'base Burke,' down to the 'lank Whigs of 1830, lank and merciless as hungry wolves.'

It was not until 1832 that the doors of the House of Commons were opened to him as member for Oldham, which he represented up to his death, which took place three years later. One anecdote of Cobbett will not be out of place here. A few weeks before his entry into Parliament, he had, when in Scotland, promised his friends to pay them a second visit and lecture to them; after his election, however, he considered such an occupation as lecturing quite unfitted for the exalted sphere to which he had been called, and he therefore refused to redeem the promise he had given.

Important as was his work as a politician, it is as a typical Englishman and a writer of English that Cobbett attracts and interests and will live amongst us. 'Damn politics,' he writes to Dr. Mitford from the farm at Botley. 'Is Snip with pup yet?—a matter of far more importance than whether the Prince of Asturias is to be hanged or not.' You can picture him in his red waistcoat plodding about his farm, stopping up pathways, inclosing land and stocking it with hares and pheasants after the fashion of the most approved preserver of game. Unlike Dr. Johnson, at least as regards early rising, he practised what he preached. He got up early, he lived simply, he never spent more than thirty-five minutes during the day on all his meals, and he lived for a year on a mutton-chop a day. He was English in his dislike of novelties, of new-fangled theories, of inventions, of philosophies. He disliked clubs; you should read the newspaper only at home. He hated Malthus, 'the check-population parson,' and Jenner, and spoke of the 'good old-fashioned seam-giving and dimple-dipping small-pox.' Tea and

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potatoes he abused as though they were Burdett and Castlereagh. In all kind household offices, in the mutual tendernesses and ministrations of wedded life, he took more than a man's ordinary share. When his wife lay ill in Philadelphia and could not sleep on account of the noise the dogs made around their house, he sallied forth, and, barefooted that he might not disturb her, on the hot bricks of the causeway, so hot that they burnt his feet, he walked backwards and forwards the livelong night, throwing stones and thus keeping the dogs at a distance.

His papers were often written amidst the racket and noise of children: while he was writing his first book he was rocking the cradle, and to the great object of making his children's lives happy and innocent he made everything give way. A happy marriage prompted some of his finest sentences, and no high priest of Venus ever celebrated love's praises in more inspired strains.

> Love, he said, rescued me from a state of horrible slavery; placed the whole of my time at my own disposal; made me as free as air; removed every restraint upon the operations of my mind, naturally disposed to communicate its thoughts to others; and gave me for my leisure hours a companion, who, though deprived of all opportunity of what is called learning, had so much good sense, so much useful knowledge, was so innocent, so just in all her ways, so pure in thought, word, and deed, so disinterested, so generous, so devoted to me and her children, so free from all disguise and withal so beautiful, and so talkative and in a voice so sweet, so cheering, that I must, seeing the health and the capacity which it had pleased God to give me, have been a criminal if I had done much less than that which I have done, and I have always said that if my country feel any gratitude for my labours, that gratitude is due to her full as much as to me.

As a writer of pure English, Cobbett stands out almost unrivalled, and hundreds of passages might be quoted from his writings which are masterpieces of diction. He did not draw his illustrations from the fantasies of a perplexed brain, but from that nature which is always ready to reveal her secrets to those who love her. You will find his descriptions of scenery as true as those of Sir Walter Scott, and flowers and trees and coppices and wolds and woodlands and the birds and beasts that belong to them, are all put in their proper places. His word-paintings savour sometimes of almost an excessive realism. We should be contented in describing some noise to say it was like the squeaking of pigs. Cobbett says it was like 'the squeaking of little pigs, when the sow is lying on them.' In another passage, after rating the literary hack below the carpenter or the hedger, he stigmatises him as 'a miserable fribble of a wretch who could hardly disentangle his carcase if clasped by a couple of stout brambles, and who hardly knows a rough sheep-dog from a sheep.' All his illustrations are English. He was ever thinking of England when he wrote; he gloried in her past, in the husbandmen who tilled her fields, in the architects who reared her cathedrals, the monks who succoured and fed the poor in their stately

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buildings; and if he lamented over the times in which he lived, it was because the comparison he drew between the reigns of the Edwards and the Georges was in his eyes unfavourable to the latter.

Sixty years of struggles and aspirations have brought us nearer what we conceive to be the light. Our hope is that it is no *ignis fatuus*, no dancing meteor of the marshes that we follow. I remember travelling amidst exquisite scenery, under cloudless skies, in warmth and sunshine, along the banks of the Mediterranean, when a friend of mine, pointing to the snow that was gleaming on the peaks of the Alps above us, said, 'That is to remind us we are mortals.' So in spite of all the luxuries of our lives we have chill prospects on every side to tell us how little our vaunted improvements are worth, and how thin the veneer is of civilisation. Our railways and schools and libraries and clubs are monuments of our energy and wealth, but they are only means to an end, the attainment of happiness by the community at large. A nation wants pleasures as well as work. To play wisely, as Mr. Ruskin puts it, is a great achievement, and we are losing the capacity as well as the conditions necessary for healthy play. Nature gave us pure air and water; we have made them a curse to ourselves and to our neighbours. Science discovers to us her secrets, but we laugh at her instructions and treat them with contempt, and fifty years hence the same surprise will be felt by our descendants on reading the accounts of our habits and society that we feel when we study the history of our grandfathers who lived under the last of the Georges.

CHARLES MILNES GASKELL.

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A COURT OF LUNACY.

An impression has fixed itself on the public mind that our Lunacy Laws are inadequate for the cure of disease, insufficient for the protection of the subject.

The suspicion has been confirmed by trials which have recently occurred, which demonstrate the facility with which a man can be withdrawn from society, through the action of interested relatives or the venality of a medical practitioner.

In one the remarkable talent displayed in refuting the charge negatived the plea of insanity, and proved how flimsy is the garb which veils personal liberty. The signature of a magistrate, the countersign of a physician, and the man disappears.

Two cases of more than local interest will illustrate the dangerous laxity of our Lunacy Laws. In the one, the imputation was too flagrant to secure the acquiescence of the clergyman or the sanction of the doctor; more pliant accomplices were discovered: incarceration was the result. In the other the victim was hurried off without previous warning, and the first hint of his destination was conveyed to him on the signboard—'Lunatic Asylum.'

The measure before the late Parliament was a step in the right direction, but the blot on the Bill is the allowing the magistrate any power whatever to adjudicate in matters of insanity. It is impossible for a man unskilled in the science of mental pathology to discriminate between the various shades of the malady. He may be misled by the advice of the physician, or the misrepresentations of interested parties; and the painful responsibility rests upon him either of casting upon society an element of danger, or the confinement of the harmless sufferer from mental derangement.

We remember the case of a man of varied and extensive learning employed by Government in difficult and abstruse calculations, but, dominated with the idea that his body was made of crockery, refused to discharge the duties of his office in a recumbent posture. Here was an instance of a man in the full vigour of intellectual powers, whose talents were devoted to the service of his country, but, influenced by harmless delusions, was liable at any moment to be excluded from society, through the ignorance or incapacity of a magistrate.

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buildings; commissioners may act as a check upon the abuse of was becament; but the fact remains, that a man can be immured Edwardhe precincts of an asylum, surrounded by horrors which may

Sish the disease which it is the object to avert.

wb The same objection to the jurisdiction of magistrates applies to our courts of justice. Neither judge, jury, nor counsel is qualified to pronounce an opinion on the sanity of an individual. Probably not one amongst the number have made mental disease the object of study; and there may be a miscarriage of justice, either in the extraordinary ingenuity which the insane so often display in baffling the arguments of counsel, or in that nervousness of demeanour natural to a man standing before a judge whose verdict may consign him to liberty or restraint.

As long as tribunals exist incompetent to discharge the duties of their office, we can expect neither safety to the individual nor justice to the public.

We require separate jurisdiction for the trial of insanity—a court presided over by a judge sufficiently conversant with mental disease to enable him to draw the line between the capacity of a man to manage himself and his incapacity to manage his affairs. If mentally incompetent for the business of life, his property should be guarded by law; if a harmless lunatic, he might be allowed the enjoyment of personal liberty, much to his own benefit and with no risk to society. A provision to enable a court to act as trustee to a man's estate will for the future clear our asylums of numbers who never ought to be in confinement, but whom the elasticity of our Lunacy Laws has enabled relatives to imprison, the only resource hitherto at their disposal for the preservation of property. That the task would be a delicate one admits of no doubt. There exists a natural disinclination to interfere with the management or devolution of property; but mental weakness may become the prey of the sharper; the religious fanatic may transfer an estate from its legitimate course to enrich a dangerous or foolish superstition.

The verdict should be accompanied with a registration of the case; the parties who signed the warrant should be responsible for the care of the individual; no change should be allowed from one place to another without the sanction of the court, to obviate the possibility of the object being lost sight of in the recesses of some foreign asylum.

But when the sentence is pronounced which settles the fate of the individual, his future becomes a matter for grave consideration.

To private asylums we entertain a decided objection. We wish to cast no imputation on the management of the receptacles for the insane; the comforts may be in excess of the wants of daily life; every kindness which philanthropy dictates may be lavished upon them,

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and the inspection of Visitors forbids the supposition of the existence of cruelty or neglect.

But we maintain that for the cure of the disease they are inadequate; there is no scope for recreation, no amusement to withdraw the mind from the contemplation of its affliction, no occupation to fix the wanderings of the fancy. Neither are the funds at the disposal of these establishments adequate to secure the highest standard of professional skill; the inducements, both financial and experimental, too small to withdraw from lucrative practice the heads of a profession. The physician to the insane should be a daily companion, a friend in council, a soother of sorrows.

There is a mass of human misery jumbled together without order, regularity, or system. The raving maniac; the harmless imbecile; the cretin morbidly careful of his interests but unable to master a sum of arithmetic; the idiot, with a mind darkened to external objects—enclose a variety of affliction within the walls of a madhouse, painful to contemplate, difficult to relieve. It is impossible amidst such confusion to single out isolated cases, and apply to each the remedy it demands.

An experiment attended with marked success was adopted in Scotland. Idiot children were entrusted to the care of insane women; they were made the sole charge, the maternal instinct was called out; the devotion which they lavished upon the object of their adoption touched the right chord; that feeling in woman so often dormant in the light of prosperity, but which kindles up in the shade of adversity, was aroused; the vacancy in the mind was filled up with the sense of 'something to do'; the intellect became invigorated by the brain effort, and cures were effected which baffled the resources of skill.

But experiments, however successful as tests of the value of attention to individual cases, prove that these private asylums are too large for minute inspection, too small for the general welfare of their inmates.

Thirty and forty years enclosed within the walls of these retreats, with perhaps in the first instance slight symptoms of mental aberration, but which have hardened into concrete, baffling the efforts of science, the mind depressed by the torpor of idleness, the physical powers enervated by enforced inaction—these private asylums should be looked upon as refuges for temporary derangement of the intellect, not as sanatoriums for the cure of the disease.

We discover in them nothing to relieve the monotony of existence, nothing to enliven the dull routine of daily life.

If we turn from the dead-alive aspects of these abodes of misery to large establishments such as Caterham or Hanwell, we are struck with the contrast; there is an air of vitality about them—so much so as to elicit the question of a visitor, 'But where are the madmen?' The essence of the system is occupation, and the area is so extensive

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as to provide employment, congenial to the tastes and habits of the individual. No compulsion is required, but a moral restraint is exercised in withdrawing the mind from the contemplation of its woes, and fixing it upon industrial pursuits; for whilst the intellect in a healthy condition may not be required to devote undivided attention upon the object it prosecutes, it is the characteristic of insanity to concentrate its faculties upon the work which engrosses it and in the oblivion of its griefs the mind may recover the equilibrium which has been upset by false and erroneous impressions. But the main advantage to be derived from these large establishments is their capacity for classification, the being able to deal with the various stages of the malady.

Pinel cites, as an example, a man in a state of mental convalescence who relapsed into the condition of incurable madness from intercourse with a maniac. It is an outrage upon humanity to compel the religious zealot to listen to the oaths of the blasphemer. The mind which might be gradually recovering its powers under the sedative influence of care and of repose is liable to be unhinged by the distraction of noise or the ravings of impiety.

It should never be forgotten that rarely are the whole faculties of the individual impaired; one idea may be predominant to the exclusion of reasoning powers, but the feelings and affections may be as acute as ever, as susceptible to kindness or asperity. There is then one healthy spot on which the physician may work, to combat delusion or soothe irritation.

That, then, is the moment when science is required to adapt itself to the treatment of mental pathology—to trace the thought that may have led up to crime, the paroxysm that may have goaded to action, those wanderings of the will that lie buried in the inmost recesses of the mind.

Phrenologists assert that the head of Palmer was so deficient in the bump of conscience that he was unable to place a check upon his actions. Without subscribing to the tenets of such dangerous fatalism, as that the absence or presence of some protuberance in the head should be made an excuse for crime, we may imagine a weakness in some department of the brain which renders a man powerless to resist the stimulus of ungovernable impulse.

As for hereditary insanity, we disbelieve in it. There may be a disorganisation in the brain, as there may be physical defects in the frame; but with the mind in a healthy state, we no more admit the possibility of transmitting insanity to a descendant than that a wooden leg should be the cause of a stiff joint. Were the evil traced to its source, it would probably be discovered to spring from a defective education, or moral and physical ill-treatment.

The registers of the Bicêtre recorded that the insane consisted almost entirely of priests, painters, artists, sculptors, poets and

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musicians. In no case, of naturalists, physicians, geometricians, or chemists. Whatever value we may attach to such returns, it points to the advantage of sound education in youth, and consequently to the benefit of engrossing occupation to a weakened or disordered intellect.

We are living in times when the malady is increasing both in volume and in virulence; as sure as the nettle follows the steps of the white man, or the thorn-apple marks the track of the gipsy, does insanity march in the wake of civilisation—the penalty a nation pays for its advance in luxury and wealth. Rarely to be found in barbarous tribes, it rises in the barometer of national prosperity.

A national disease demands a national remedy; as the malady originates in overpressure of the brain to supply our national wants, it is a public duty to restore to society those members who have fallen out of its ranks through the cares and anxieties of life.

To stamp out a moral as we could a physical plague is impossible; to mitigate the evil is all that can be hoped for. The remedy will not be discovered in the seclusion of private asylums; it must be the province of science to elucidate the mysteries of insanity.

As for statistics, they may prove anything or nothing. There is no attempt at classification of the various shades of the disease, no line is drawn between the temporary effects of excess or the deep-seated root of the malady. We can draw no conclusion from these returns of the attempts at cure in different establishments; they teach us nothing of the effects of climate or situation, nothing of the effects of changes of society in disordering the intellect. We are treated with figures as if they represented bales of merchandise, satisfactory to the eye, useless as a means for scientific investigation. In diseases of the mind we are confronted with the difficulty that there is nothing tangible to go upon, no data to guide us in tracing cause and effect, from the flights of imagination to the stroke which paralyses the intellect. In the ailments of the body, slight difficulty will be experienced in meeting with the antidote; in the mind their variety confuses us.

It is the ordinary cases of mental aberration which tax the talent of the physician. Comparisons with the habits of daily life cease to be a guide—for his treatment of the man, he must get an insight into character, into the motives which influence conduct. To imprison a man to allay the apprehension of relatives alarmed at the waywardness of eccentricity is injustice, to allow unchecked the depression of melancholia which may terminate in suicide or the excitement of feelings which may swell into mania is a danger to the community; those intricate workings of the mind are not to be elucidated by the common practitioner; it requires the highest order of talent to discover the agency which confines and controls the intellect.

But when we see the wonderful progress in the science of medicine,

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in its mastery of disease, its alleviation of pain, in the numberless cases withdrawn from the list of incurable to the rolls of recovery, we cannot but rely with some degree of confidence that the genius which has modified the ailments of the frame will shed its rays upon the passions and affections of the mind. If it is a fact that to inflammatory diseases it is impossible to assign a limit, tenfold must be the difficulty of gauging the volition of the senses. We have the maniac impelled with the demoniacal possession which urges to violence; its spirit may be exorcised by care and kindness. The imbecile may be taught the rudiments of learning, the false impression of the delusionist may be corrected; there is, at all events, in these cases a glimmer of intellect which may expand under the light of science.

But how are we to regard those cases of idiocy where everything that can dignify human nature has left the man; where progress in virtue, which ought to be the object of life and may be the forecast of a perfection of a hereafter, is brought to a standstill; while the mind, obscured by a cloud which it has not power to penetrate, leaves the object without even the instinct of an animal to guide or direct his actions, existing solely by the power of digestion—a lump of stagnant idleness, blank, boundless, mute, and motionless.

Why a being so useless to others is allowed to live is not for us to inquire. Probably in the inscrutable designs of Providence he is where he ought to be, fulfilling in some mysterious manner his part in the work of creation. To our finite capacity it is unintelligible. But there he is, and we are bound by every principle of duty to support and, if possible, to relieve him. An eminent physician relinquished a practice of thirty years with the remark, 'I am weary of guessing'—a conclusion no doubt satisfactory to the elastic conscience of the individual, but a nation is not so easily absolved from its responsibilities. We have a plague spot in our system to eradicate, embracing in ever-expanding folds a class whose absence is a loss to the community; our object is to 'call it back.' The question how to do it may not be so easy to answer. To pronounce a man mad is simple enough; to exclude him from society there exists unfortunately too great a facility; but to get an insight into the cause of the malady and to apply to it its remedy, is a problem that can only be solved by the aid of science and the test of experience.

Many persons have risen to eminence by the successful treatment of mental disease, but their efforts have been spasmodic and the results uncertain. We have made these unhappy beings the subject of haphazard experiments, and have handed them over to the care of dependents, who have treated them as outcasts of society, too often with harshness and contempt.

It is out of the question for any person who has not made mental pathology an object of study to pronounce a trustworthy opinion

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upon so complex a subject as insanity; but an outsider may perceive causes which militate against the success of our present system. First and foremost are the lunatic asylums, those huge excrescences on the soil, offensive to the eye, revolting to the senses; their long corridors, their bolts and bars, the high walls which enclose them convey the impression of the discomforts of a workhouse, the confinement of a prison. They cannot fail to create an irritation of the feelings destructive to the repose which it is the object to secure.

The very first principle of dealing with the insane is lost sight of —the absence of visible restraint.

Less onerous to the ratepayer, far better for the cure of the disease, would be the grouping of small cottages in the vicinity of places allotted to the reception of the patients, where a system of classification could be adopted, individual attention drawn to particular cases, where the semblance of home life could be realised, and, when convalescence returns, the transition should be gradual from the irksomeness of restraint to the freedom of the outer world.

One more reform is needed: a system of parole—the higher feelings of the man should be encouraged. Confidence in his honour that he will conform to the rules and regulations of the establishment which supports him, a sense of responsibility should be imposed upon him, to control his words, his thoughts, and his actions. And when the moment of liberation arrives, it may not be as that of a culprit at the expiration of a sentence, but that of a man returning into that place of society he may have left from the effects of physical or social misfortune.

Of the mystery of madness we know nothing, and in ignorance we shall remain until great public establishments supply the material for its study, where a branch of the medical profession, especially devoted to probe to its source the origin of the evil, to note its peculiarities, to ascertain whether it springs from over-indulgence of luxury, or in the keen struggle for existence incident to the dense population of a highly civilised country, and, by applying the resources of science, to elucidate the character of an occult, insidious disease.

The treatment demands skill, discretion, knowledge, and experience—a combination of qualities not often to be met with in the limited area of private asylums.

DE MAULEY.

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HAVE WE AN ARMY RESERVE?

THE administration of the army since the epoch of Lord Cardwell has been the subject of many changes and of various criticisms; but in their results these changes have proved that they were in the nature of amendments of our military system, and with some minor exceptions have commended themselves to the favourable judgment of the English people. The popularity of the service has been maintained, and since the adoption of the shorter periods with the colours substantially increased, so that the ranks are now full to overflowing; whilst as regards the conduct of the late military expeditions the administration in Pall Mall has enjoyed a singular immunity from criticism, though had there been any vulnerable points the spirit of the late Parliament clearly demonstrated that they would have been speedily and vigorously assailed. So far, however, from this being the case, we have the unanimous testimony of the general officers themselves, who bear witness to the full and ample supply of all materials for the comfort and support of their men, to the abundance of medical stores, and the excellence of the arrangements for the transport and care of the sick both on shore and on board ship; while the romantic expedition up the Nile and across the desert for the rescue of General Gordon afforded opportunities for the display of a versatility and gallantry which have been rarely rivalled and never surpassed in the brilliant records of the British army.

It may, therefore, appear presumptuous to suggest that any improvements can be admitted in the mechanism of the military machine, whose working has been attended with results so satisfactory, nor would I advocate any which in their nature might be regarded as fundamental. Of this character I should describe the change (advocated during the general election by an ex-Cabinet minister) for the establishment of a separate army in India, to my mind a most retrograde step. The result would be to supply us in India with an old and effete army, neither stimulated by competition with other forces nor invigorated by fresh blood; while it would leave us at home with another army deprived of any opportunity of seeing military service abroad, except at some garrisons where few troops are assembled, and denied the innumerable advantages which are conferred upon all troops by the prospect of active service or of manœuvres on a grand

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scale, such as those which are now taking place between two divisions in the plains of India. I trust that no false economy or motives of convenience will lead us to return to a policy which we have already tried, and after full experience abandoned.

With regard, however, to the military system which we have now to all appearance finally adopted, and the essence of which is short service, there are two considerations which cannot be overlooked. The one is that our present system has only been tried in what may be not unfairly described as our smaller wars, and the other is that we have never perfected the system sufficiently to give it a fair trial. Upon each occasion when we have found it expedient to call out the reserve, we have limited ourselves to but a small proportion, and those collected from the very *élite*. We have never called out the full number of 40,000 men, but have limited ourselves to 10,000, chosen from those who have served the latest in the ranks of the active army. Again, the framers of our present system of short service in the ranks, and a long period in the reserve, could never have contemplated the arrangement of taking a recruit for three years into active military service, and then discharging him with a retaining fee of fourpence a day, under the belief that he would rejoin the colours when needed, as perfect in all military exercises, even including his shooting, as on the day when he retired into civil life. Such a proposition has only to be stated to prove its absurdity, and yet it is upon this system that we are relying for the bulk of our infantry reserves.

It is against this assumption that I am specially desirous to contend, because it appears to me beyond the possibility of a doubt, that on the outbreak of hostilities, at any rate with a European Power, we should find ourselves without an effective reserve, and also that without any excessive expenditure we might easily make provision for it.

So far as I can gather from the best military authorities, the essential qualification which every disciplined soldier under the conditions of modern warfare should possess is the knowledge and accurate use of the rifle. Perfection in drill, as a component part of a vast military machine, is much more easily acquired, and when acquired recovered after a few days' practice by men who have once been taught; but the handling of a delicate weapon, requiring attention to sights, distances, and wind, by a man for years unaccustomed to its use, is a much more difficult matter. Yet those who are to practise with this arm in the field can have no assistance from more skilled comrades, since they will have to act independently and upon their own resources.

Now, to secure efficiency in this primary qualification of the drilled soldier, we have in this country the advantage of an organisation already existing in every locality.

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In the Volunteer organisation we possess in every corps an adequate staff of drilled sergeants, perfectly competent and accustomed to deal with soldiers, who have already brought the shooting of their own men to a high point of perfection. The solution of the problem would, therefore, appear to be to engraft the reserve men upon the volunteer organisation. The great difficulty of reconciling the retention of their employment with the necessary attendances at drill would thus be surmounted, since upon the men of the Reserve there would not be imposed any further obligations than those which are now in many instances voluntarily undertaken by their fellow-workmen. Take, for instance, the case of men employed in factories. They are as a rule released at 2 P.M. on Saturdays. Would it be too much to expect those amongst them who are drawing fourpence a day reserve pay to make the same number of attendances at drill and shoot the same number of rounds as are now exacted from an efficient Volunteer? There are good reasons for believing that this system, if established, would be by no means distasteful to the commanding officers of Volunteer corps. It would not be proposed to make Reserve men enrolled members of their corps, in the first place because it would not be fair to call upon them for subscriptions, and in the second because they are not of the same social standing as the volunteers. They would be attached for drill purposes, and there is evidence to show that commanding officers are prepared to take them upon these terms.

An additional and very important advantage gained would be that the men could then be medically inspected. At present we have no guarantee whatever of their physical efficiency: all that we can secure, and that not invariably, is the fact that the man who draws his pay is alive, while how far he may be fit for active service is left altogether to chance.

In order to insure attendance at the requisite number of drills, and to secure that each man had fired at the target the regulation number of rounds, it would be necessary to make the payment of his reserve pay, at any rate in the final quarter of the year, dependent upon the production of a certificate from the adjutant of the Volunteer corps to which he was attached, to show that these conditions had been fulfilled. In this respect the payment would be made in much the same way as the capitation grant is made to the volunteers on the production of a certificate of efficiency. There would be an initial expense in providing uniforms and accoutrements, but these would only have to be provided periodically, since they would not become the property of the soldier after the completion of his drill, while there is, and ought at all times to be, a sufficient store of arms for the issue of practice rifles to the men.

There remains the difficulty of dealing with those who have no permanent occupations nor settled home, and the case of the Reserve

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men resident in Ireland, where no Volunteer corps exist. There seems to be no alternative but to accept the necessity of giving to these men ten days' permanent drill in barracks, when they will have to be fed, housed, clothed, and equipped at the public expense. But it must be remembered that these men, the waifs and strays, with no settled occupation, form a very unreliable complement to any effective Reserve, and unless some trouble and expense is incurred on their account it is extremely doubtful whether the daily pay now spent upon them is not thrown away. It is surely worth while to give these Reserve men, who may be at once drafted into the ranks of the active army upon the outbreak of a European war, as much drill as we are in the habit of giving to the Yeomanry, whose services are hardly likely to be called upon, if I except the support of the civil power, for any warlike purposes unless in case of an invasion.

This, then, appears to be the simplest and least expensive mode of providing a real Reserve for the supply of the active army on the outbreak of hostilities. It is regarded by the military authorities as giving adequate guarantees for the efficiency of the men, and by the financial authorities as entailing the least expense. It is obvious that no injustice is done to the Reserve, because not one man will be called upon to surrender any employment which he may have obtained. On the other hand, it appears hardly fair to the public to ask them to provide pay of fourpence a day to upwards of 40,000 soldiers, without at the same time any security that these men are capable of rendering some efficient service in return.

The entire cost of the scheme has been estimated by the highest authority at 70,000*l.* per annum, no very excessive sum to provide more than an entire corps d'armée of men not only in the prime of life, but who have been thoroughly disciplined and initiated in the active duties of the profession which they would be called upon to resume.

If, however, it be thought too high a price to pay for a security against panics, and that some set-off in expense must be found in the Army Estimates, I would venture to point out a saving of probably 20,000*l.* a year, which might with perfect justice be effected.

This leads me to the second branch of my proposal.

In the new warrant of 1881, governing the rate of pay and promotion, the principal feature of which was the establishment of rules for the securing of compulsory retirement, a provision was inserted under which any officer can claim a sum of 1,200*l.* after twelve years of service upon retirement. This provision introduces an entirely new principle of compensation, hitherto unknown in the army, and altogether unrecognised in any other service of the Crown. Short service in the ranks does not qualify for either bonus or pension, and it is therefore specially limited to the class of young officers, who are treated differently from all other servants of the Crown. What

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object is attained by the establishment of such a provision as this? Compulsory retirement at the age of forty, if an officer has not risen beyond the rank of captain, is secured by another article of the Warrant, and the field officers' lists are thus relieved from the block which would be occasioned by those who could not, from age, hope to reach the highest ranks in the army. But this fact renders it more difficult to understand the necessity of tempting men to leave the service in the prime of early manhood by the gift of a bonus amounting to 100*l.* for each year of service. It would be absurd to maintain that these officers had earned this compensation by the few years during which they had held the Queen's commission, and this principle was fully recognised in the days of purchase, when all bonuses and sums given for unbought commissions were refused except to officers of twenty years' service. If an officer is inefficient and a Queen's hard bargain to be disposed of, he ought to be got rid of without any compensation at all; and if his services are worth retaining, he ought not to be tempted to leave the service at so early an age.

There is one more consideration which ought not to be overlooked, and that is that in our Army no very serious change has taken place in the class of officers since the abolition of purchase. Sons of wealthy men—peers, baronets, and country gentlemen—are equally willing and desirous to serve in the army as in the days of purchase: these men remain for the most part until they marry and settle, and form a most valuable class for recruiting the lower grades of the army. But this class forms the bulk of the officers who retire early. What possible reason can there be for rewarding them with a douceur of 1,200*l.* when they retire into private life for their own convenience? It is certain that this provision would not have been expected or asked for had it not been introduced into the Warrant, while it is equally certain that neither its retention nor its abolition will have any material effect upon the bulk of these retirements. Why, then, should it be retained and the country mulcted of 20,000*l.* a year for so useless a purpose?

So far, then, we have discussed the Regular Army only, and the mode at once the most simple and the most economical of making its Reserve really efficient. But it must not be forgotten that we have another Reserve, which, if a war lasted for a few months only, could be brought into a high state of efficiency. It was my good fortune to accompany the Duke of Cambridge when he inspected last year the Militia battalions, some of which, owing to apprehensions of a Russian war, had been under training for three months. It is not too much to say that the battalions which had been longest at Aldershot appeared and manœuvred on parade with the stamp and set-up of a regiment of the Line. Nor was it less remarkable how considerable an improvement was noticeable in those which had had the advantage of three months' drill over those which had been only out for a month.

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But if this be the case it is clear that, after sending out the war battalions filled up with drilled men from the Reserve, we shall be able to fall back upon the Militia battalions, which will be at once embodied, and through whose ranks will be poured into the fighting ranks of the active army a continual supply of drilled and disciplined recruits. It is for these purposes, to my mind, most important to keep up the connection between the Line and Militia battalions of the same regiment, in order that every facility may be offered for the one becoming the feeder of the other, and that the feeling of *camaraderie* which induces men to recruit may be sustained in every way possible. For these reasons also it is well that the Militia battalions should be brought as often as possible to our large camps, since it is there that the feeling of rivalry and emulation amongst different regiments is best elicited. No doubt in country corps some respect must be paid to their attachment to the county town, and serious injury might be done to some corps if they were detached every year from the associations with which they have so long been connected. But no Militia regiment ought, I am convinced, to be long divorced from the military surroundings which render a large camp so useful a place of instruction for them, and the London and Middlesex regiments, owing to their proximity to Aldershot and the absence of any special home surroundings or traditions, might have more frequently than the rest of the Militia the advantages of an annual training in camp.

The remaining point which principally deserves attention in connection with our Auxiliary forces is the strengthening of our coast defences by the aid of Volunteer Artillery and Engineer corps. So grievous were felt to be our deficiencies in this respect, and so enormous the possible damage which might be done on the outbreak of hostilities by a sudden attack upon one or more of our commercial ports, that an addition was made to the Army Estimates last year with a view of providing a company of engineers to act as instructors in submarine mining to the volunteer engineer corps.

It was proposed that a commencement should be made with the four great rivers, the Clyde, the Tyne, the Mersey, and the Severn. At each of these stations torpedo gear will be provided, with a non-commissioned officer in charge, while the duty of the officers will be to visit the different stations and superintend the torpedo practice, in which the Royal Engineers will instruct both the officers and men of the Volunteer Engineers. It is to be hoped that some local assistance may be forthcoming in order to erect batteries at specially selected spots on the river line, where the local artillery corps may have the opportunity of practising with heavy guns, and thus some adequate system of defence may be organised for the most vulnerable and yet wealthiest ports of our island. Of the willingness of the Volunteer corps to undertake this duty we have ample means of judging. Of the 44,482 artillery volunteers now enrolled, by far the larger proportion

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belong to counties where they have a coast line to defend; or else to London, where they would be called upon to protect the commercial interests of the capital. Of the engineers probably the finest corps of all belong to Newcastle and Durham, where the skilled artificers would be called upon to defend the richly laden fleets of the Tyne and the Tees. The Volunteer force has, as a whole, shown so much alacrity in lending their ready and willing aid wherever it could be applied for the defence of their country, that I think it altogether unworthy of their former history to harbour a doubt of their willingness to come forward when a case of proved necessity exists. Let it not also be forgotten that this year also for the first time a tardy recognition will be given to the services of the Naval artillery volunteers, who will receive the ordinary capitation grant, and these will form an addition of some 2,000 men to the strength of the skilled defenders of our coast.

These are some of the points to which, I trust, attention may be given in the councils of the War Office and in the discussion of Army Estimates in Parliament. They were discussed by the late Government, but the pressure of Egyptian matters and the despatch of various expeditions hindered their adoption. The scheme of coast defence was actually initiated, and will, we may hope, gradually be developed. The provision of a drilled Reserve would not, I repeat, with the saving to which I have alluded, exceed the sum of 50,000*l*. Surely this is not too large a sum to place us beyond the risk of panic or of danger. Until we do possess it we have not perfected the military system which we have deliberately adopted. We have held out to the public that we have a large force of drilled and effective men in reserve, when we know nothing of the condition in a military sense of three-fourths of them, and have never called upon them to perform any service as a test of their efficiency. When the evil admits of so easy a remedy we ought to put the question beyond a doubt, and to take care that the weapon which upon two occasions, at the scare of a great war, has been so vigorously brandished shall not break in our hands when it is submitted to the ruder test of an actual struggle for existence.

ARTHUR D. HAYTER.

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FOOD ACCESSORIES:

THEIR INFLUENCE ON DIGESTION.

MAN, like any other animal, is so much the creature of his food—his physical perfection, his intellectual activity, and his moral tone are so dependent on the food he receives and the uses he is able to make of it in the processes of digestion and assimilation—that any accurate knowledge, founded on precise and reliable methods of investigation, of the influence on digestion and nutrition of dietetic habits must of necessity be of the most general interest.

To Professor Sir William Roberts, of Manchester, we were already greatly indebted for a series of able and comprehensive researches on the action of 'digestive ferments' and the 'preparation and use of artificially digested food;'[1] to those valuable researches Sir W. Roberts has recently added others equally important, chiefly on the subject of 'food accessories' and their influence on the chemical acts of digestion.[2]

The results of these experimental inquiries are, in some respects, so novel and unexpected, and they contradict so many apparently unfounded assumptions, that they cannot be too soon or too widely known.

Man, as Sir W. Roberts begins by pointing out, is a very complex feeder; he has departed, in the course of his civilisation, very widely from the monotonous uniformity of diet observed in animals in the wild state. Not only does he differ from other animals in cooking his food, but he adds to his food a greater or less number of condiments for the purpose of increasing its flavour and attractiveness; but, above and beyond this, the complexity of his food habits is greatly increased by the custom of partaking in considerable quantity of certain stimulants and restoratives, which have become essential to his social comfort if not to his physical well-being.

The chief of these are tea, coffee, cocoa, and the various kinds of alcoholic beverages.

[1] *On the Digestive Ferments and the Preparation and Use of Artificially Digested Food.* Lumleian Lectures, delivered before the Royal College of Physicians in 1880 by Sir William Roberts, M.D., F.R.S. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

[2] *Lectures on Dietetics and Dyspepsia.* Smith, Elder, & Co.

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It is to these 'food accessories' and the elucidation of their influences on the processes of digestion that Sir W. Roberts's recent experiments and observations have been directed.

These 'generalised food customs of mankind,' he remarks,

> are not to be viewed as random practices adopted to please the palate or gratify our idle or vicious appetite. These customs must be regarded as the outcome of profound instincts, which correspond to important wants of the human economy. They are the fruit of colossal experience, accumulated by countless millions of men through successive generations. They have the same weight and significance as other kindred facts of natural history, and are fitted to yield to observation and study lessons of the highest scientific and practical value.

It is unnecessary to describe here Sir W. Roberts's methods of investigation; they are fully set forth in the volume before us, and they are alike admirable for the ingenuity of their conception and the laborious accuracy of their prosecution.

His object was to ascertain the precise influence of these food accessories on the three chief parts of the digestive process—1, *salivary* digestion, i.e. the action of the saliva as a digestive agent; 2, *peptic* digestion, i.e. the action of the fluids secreted by the stomach as digestive agents; and 3, *pancreatic* digestion, i.e. the action of the secretion of the pancreas as a digestive agent.

We shall deviate a little from Sir W. Roberts's method of marshalling his conclusions, and shall summarise his results as to the action of the various food accessories on these three acts of digestion continuously.

First with respect to the action of ardent spirits on digestion. The experiments were made with 'proof spirit' and with brandy, Scotch whisky, and gin; and the conclusion is that, so far as *salivary* digestion is concerned, these spirits, when used in moderation and well diluted, as they usually are when employed dietetically, rather promote than retard this part of the digestive process, and this they do by causing an increased flow of saliva. 'A teaspoonful of brandy or whisky introduced into the mouth can be perceived at once to cause a gush of saliva. The common practice of adding a tablespoonful of brandy to a basin of arrowroot or sago gruel, therefore, promotes its digestion.'

The proportion must not, however, much exceed five per cent., and gin seems to be a preferable addition to either brandy or whisky. It was noticed in these experiments that brandy and Scotch whisky interfered with the digestive process, 'precipitated the starch more readily,' altogether out of proportion to the amount of alcohol they contained, and brandy was worse than whisky; and this circumstance appears to be due to certain ethers and volatile oils in them; and brandy contains a trace of tannin, which has an intensely retarding influence on salivary digestion.

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With regard to 'peptic' digestion the results are still more surprising. It was found that with ten per cent. and under of proof spirit there was no appreciable retardation, and only a slight retardation with twenty per cent.; but with large percentages it was very different, and with fifty per cent. the digestive ferment was almost paralysed.

In the proportions in which these spirits are usually employed dietetically not only do they not appreciably retard digestion, but these experiments show that they 'act as pure stimulants to gastric digestion, causing an increased flow of gastric juice and stimulating the muscular contractions of the stomach, and so accelerating the speed of the digestive process in the stomach.' For obvious reasons (stated in these lectures) alcoholic drinks as used dietetically can never interfere with pancreatic digestion.

Passing from the consideration of the influence of these ardent spirits on digestion to the more complex problem of the influence of such alcoholic beverages as the various wines and malt liquors, Sir W. Roberts arrives at the following conclusions.

Even very small quantities of the stronger and lighter wines—sherry, hock, claret, and port—exercise a powerful retarding influence on salivary digestion. This is wholly due to the acid—not the alcohol—they contain, and if this acid be neutralised, as it often is in practice, by mixing with the wine some effervescent alkaline water, this disturbing effect on salivary digestion is completely removed.

The influence of acids in retarding or arresting salivary digestion is further of importance in the dietetic use of pickles, vinegar, salads, and acid fruits.

In the case of vinegar it was found that 1 part in 5,000 sensibly retarded this process, a proportion of 1 in 1,000 rendered it very slow, and 1 in 500 arrested it completely; so that when acid salads are taken together with bread the effect of the acid is to prevent any salivary digestion of the bread, a matter of little moment to a person with a vigorous digestion, but to a feeble dyspeptic one of some importance.

There is a very widespread belief that drinking vinegar is an efficacious means of avoiding getting fat, and this popular belief would appear from these experimental observations to be well-founded. If the vinegar be taken at the same time as farinaceous food, it will greatly interfere with its digestion and assimilation.

As to malt liquors, provided they are sound and free from acidity, they interfere but little with salivary digestion; if they are acid it is otherwise.

Effervescent table waters, if they consist simply of pure water charged with carbonic acid, exercise a considerable retarding influence on salivary digestion; but if they also contain alkaline carbonates, as

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most of the table waters of commerce do, the presence of the alkali quite removes this retarding effect.

'The use of these waters as an addition to wines is,' Sir William Roberts observes, 'highly commendable,' as they 'greatly mitigate or wholly obviate the retarding influence of these wines on the digestion of starch.'

It was also observed that these weaker forms of alcoholic drinks (wines and beer) differed greatly in their influence on peptic digestion to that of the distilled spirits. They retarded it altogether out of proportion to the quantity of alcohol they contained. Port and sherry exercised a great retarding effect. 'Even in the proportion of twenty per cent. sherry trebled the time in which digestion was completed.' It should further be borne in mind that this wine also retards greatly salivary digestion. Sherry, then, is not a suitable wine for persons of feeble digestive powers.

With hock, claret, and champagne it was also ascertained that their retarding effect on digestion was out of proportion to the alcohol contained in them; but champagne was found to have 'a markedly less retarding effect than hock and claret;' indeed, in the proportion of ten per cent. champagne had a distinct, though slight, accelerating effect, and this superiority of champagne appears to be due to the 'mechanical effects of its effervescent qualities.'

The quantity of claret and hock often consumed by many persons at meals must exercise a considerable retarding effect on peptic digestion; but *small* quantities of these wines (and even of sherry) do not produce any appreciable retarding effect, but act as pure stimulants. These wines, then, may be taken with advantage, even by persons of feeble digestion, in small quantities, but not in large.

With regard to malt liquors, it was observed, as with wines, that they retarded peptic digestion in a degree altogether out of proportion to the amount of alcohol contained in them, and when taken in large quantities they must greatly retard the digestion, especially of farinaceous food; but a moderate quantity of light beer, when 'well up,' is favourable to stomach digestion.

It was proved by these experiments that the sparkling wines impede digestion less than the still ones, and when taken in moderate quantity 'act not only as stimulants to the secretion of gastric juice and to the muscular activity of the viscus, but may, at the same time, slightly accelerate the speed of the chemical process in the stomach.'

Next as to the influence of tea, coffee, and cocoa on the digestive processes.

Tea exerts a powerful retarding influence on salivary digestion, coffee and cocoa a comparatively feeble one.

Sir W. Roberts estimates the medium strength of the tea usually drunk at four to five per cent.; strong tea may contain as much as

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seven per cent., weak tea as little as two per cent. Medium coffee has a strength of about seven per cent., and strong coffee twelve to fifteen per cent.; cocoa, on the other hand, is generally weaker, not more than about two per cent., and this, he thinks, may be one reason why it is more suitable to persons with feeble digestions than tea or coffee.

Tea exercises a powerful inhibitory effect on salivary digestion, and this appears to be entirely due to the large quantity of tannin it contains.

It appears that tannin exists in two conditions in the tea leaf. One, the larger portion, is in the free state and is easily extracted by hot water; but about one-fourth is fixed and remains undissolved in the fully exhausted tea leaves. *Some persons have supposed that by infusing tea for a very short time—only two or three minutes—the passing of tannin into the infusion would be avoided. This is a delusion*; you can no more have tea without tannin than you can have wine without alcohol. Tannin, in the free state, is one of the most soluble substances known. If you pour hot water on a little heap of tannin it dissolves like so much pounded sugar. Tea infused for two minutes was not found sensibly inferior in its retarding power on salivary digestion to tea infused for thirty minutes.

One gentleman of my acquaintance (says Sir W. Roberts) in his horror of tannin was in the habit of preparing his tea by placing the dry leaves on a paper filter and simply pouring on the boiling water. In this way he thought to evade the presence of tannin in his tea. But if you try the experiment, and allow the product, as it runs through the filter, to fall into a solution of perchloride of iron, you will find that an intense inky black coloration is produced, showing that tannin has come through in abundance.

In order to diminish as far as possible the retarding influence of tea on salivary digestion, it should be made weak and used sparingly, and it should *not* be taken *with* but *after* the meal.

There is another means, mentioned by Sir W. Roberts, of obviating the retarding effect of tea on salivary digestion, and commended by him to the dyspeptic; *it is to add a pinch of bicarbonate of soda* to the tea when it is being infused in the tea-pot. He found that ten grains of soda added to an ounce of dry tea almost entirely removed this retarding influence. The infusion thus made is darker than usual, but the flavour is not sensibly altered, nor is the infusion rendered alkaline, for tea infusion is naturally slightly acid, and the soda, in the proportion mentioned, only just neutralises this acidity.

Coffee, unless taken in very large quantity, has very little retarding effect on salivary digestion; this is explained by the fact that the tannin of tea is replaced in coffee by a substance called caffeo-tannic acid. Cocoa resembles coffee and has little or no effect on salivary digestion; the use of coffee or cocoa is therefore preferable to that of tea for persons of feeble digestion.

With respect to the influence of tea and coffee on stomach digestion, it was found that they both exercised a remarkable retarding effect.

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There was no appreciable difference in the two beverages if they were of equal strength; but as coffee is usually made of greater percentage strength than tea, its effect must ordinarily be greater. Cocoa also had much the same effect if used of the same strength as tea or coffee, but when of the strength ordinarily employed its effect was inconsiderable. Strong coffee—*café noir*—had a very powerful retarding effect, and persons of weak digestion should avoid the customary cup of 'black coffee' after dinner.

'I could not detect,' says Sir W. Roberts, 'any appreciable difference between the effect of tea infused for two or three minutes and tea infused for fifteen or thirty minutes. If you wish to minimise the retarding effects of tea in persons of weak digestion, you should give instructions that the beverage be made weak, or that it be used in sparing quantities.' And he adds in a foot note, 'A good deal has been said of the injurious effects on gastric digestion of tannin contained in tea. I question whether the statements made with reference to this matter are worthy of attention. It has been alleged that meat fibre is hardened by tea, and that the coats of the stomach are liable to be injured by this beverage. These views are entirely theoretical' (p. 48).

Perhaps one of the most unexpected results of these experiments of Sir W. Roberts was the discovery that *beef tea* had a powerful retarding effect on peptic digestion, as much so as that of a five per cent. infusion of tea. Further researches appeared to show that this retarding effect of beef tea was due to the salts of the organic acids contained in it.

While on the subject of beef tea it will be novel and instructive to many to hear that

there is a widespread misapprehension among the public in regard to the nutritive value of beef tea. The notion prevails that the nourishing qualities of the meat pass into the decoction, and that the dry, hard remnant of meat fibre which remains undissolved is exhausted of its nutritive properties; and this latter is often thrown away as useless. A deplorable amount of waste arises from the prevalence of this erroneous notion. The proteid matter of meat is quite insoluble in boiling water, or in water heated above 160° F. The ingredients that pass into solution are the sapid extractives and salines of the meat, and nothing more except some trifling amount of gelatine. The meat remnant, on the other hand, contains the real nutriment of the meat, and if this be beaten to a paste with a spoon or pounded in a mortar and duly flavoured with salt and other condiments, it constitutes not only a highly nourishing and agreeable but also an exceedingly digestible form of food.[3]

Beef tea must therefore be looked upon rather as a stimulant and restorative than as a nutrient beverage, but it is nevertheless very valuable on account of those properties.

[3] 'These remarks on beef tea apply equally to Liebig's extract of meat, Brand's essence of beef, and Valentine's meat juice, all of which are devoid of albuminous constituents' (*British Medical Journal*, August, 1885).

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Sir W. Roberts puts forward an ingenious argument, which cannot be fully repeated here, in favour of the view that, in healthy and strong persons, this *retarding* effect on digestion observed to be produced by many of the most commonly consumed food accessories answers a distinctly useful end. They serve, he maintains, the purpose of wholesomely slowing the otherwise too rapid digestion and absorption of copious meals.

A too rapid digestion and absorption of food may be compared to feeding a fire with straw instead of with slower-burning coal. In the former case it would be necessary to feed often and often, and the process would be wasteful of the fuel; for the short-lived blaze would carry most of the heat up the chimney. To burn fuel economically, and to utilise the heat to the utmost, the fire must be damped down, so as to ensure slow as well as complete combustion. So with human digestion: our highly prepared and highly cooked food requires, in the healthy and vigorous, that the digestive fires should be damped down, in order to ensure the economical use of food. . . . We render food by preparation as capable as possible of being completely exhausted of its nutrient properties; and, on the other hand to prevent this nutrient matter from being wastefully hurried through the body we make use of agents which abate the speed of digestion.

It must be borne in mind that these remarks apply only to those who possess a healthy and active digestion. To the feeble and dyspeptic any food accessory which adds to the labour and prolongs the time of digestion must be prejudicial; and it is a matter of common experience that beverages which in quantity retard digestion have to be avoided altogether by such persons or partaken of very sparingly.

In the dietetic use of wines the writer of this article has constantly had occasion to make the observation that those wines agree best and are most useful which are absorbed and eliminated from the system *with the greatest rapidity*, as tested by the increase of the renal secretions, and he has been led to the practical conclusion that this is the best criterion of the suitability of any particular wine to any particular constitution. If the effect of different wines on notoriously gouty persons be carefully observed, it will be found that some can drink champagne (in moderation of course) with impunity, especially if a small quantity of an effervescing alkaline water be added to it, while claret will at once provoke some manifestations of gout; others who are unable to drink champagne without provoking a gouty paroxysm will often be able to drink a mature, fine, soft claret even with advantage; others will support hock well, and a few can drink fine sherries and ports in small quantities; but in all it will be found that the test of the suitability of the particular wine to the particular constitution is its susceptibility to rapid elimination and *vice versa*.

It has occurred also to the writer to make many observations as

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to the circumstances under which tea and coffee are found to agree or disagree with different persons; in the first place, as Sir W. Roberts has pointed out, tea, if taken *at the same time* as farinaceous food, is much more likely to retard its digestion and cause dyspepsia than if taken a little time after eating; and the custom adopted by many persons at breakfast, for instance, of eating first and drinking their tea or coffee afterwards is a sensible one; so also it is better to take one's five o'clock tea without the customary bread-and-butter or cake than with it.

Indeed, while there is little that can be said against a cup of hot tea as a stimulant and restorative, when taken about midway between lunch and dinner, and *without* solid food, it may, on the other hand, be a fruitful cause of dyspepsia when accompanied at that time *with* solid food. It is also a curious fact that many persons with whom tea, under ordinary circumstances, will agree exceedingly well, will become the subjects of a tea dyspepsia if they drink this beverage at a time when they may be suffering from mental worry or emotional disturbance.

Moreover it is a well-recognised fact that persons who are prone to nervous excitement of the circulation and palpitations of the heart have these symptoms greatly aggravated if they persist in the use of tea or coffee as beverages. The excessive consumption of tea amongst the women of the poorer classes is the cause of much of the so-called 'heart complaints' amongst them: the food of those poor women consists largely of starchy substances (bread-and-butter chiefly) together with tea, *i.e.* a food accessory which is one of the greatest of all retarders of the digestion of starchy food.

The effect of coffee as a retarder of stomach digestion would probably be more felt than it is were it not so constantly the practice to take it only in small quantity after a very large meal; it is then mixed with an immense bulk of food, and its relative percentage proportion rendered insignificant; and to the strong and vigorous the slightly retarding effect on digestion it would then have may be, as Sir W. Roberts suggests, not altogether a disadvantage; but after a spare meal and in persons of feeble digestive power the cup of black coffee would probably exercise a retarding effect on digestion which might prove harmful. It is also worthy of remark that in the great coffee-drinking countries this beverage is made not nearly so strong as with us. In this country *good* coffee always means *strong*, often very strong coffee; but on the Continent they possess the faculty of making *good* coffee which is not necessarily very *strong* coffee, and which is, therefore, as a beverage, less likely to do harm.

The general conclusion to be drawn from these highly interesting and instructive researches is that most of the 'food accessories' which in the course of civilisation man has added to his diet are, when

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taken in moderation, beneficial to him, and conduce to his physical welfare and material happiness; but if taken in excess they may interfere to a serious and harmful degree with the processes of digestion and assimilation. It also is made clear that dietetic habits which may prove agreeable and useful to those who enjoy vigorous health and a strong digestion need to be greatly modified in the case of those who are feeble and dyspeptic.

J. Burney Yeo, M.D.

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SENSATIONALISM IN SOCIAL REFORM.

THEUDAS and Jesus were alike moved by the suffering of the Jews. Theudas, 'boasting himself to be somebody, drew away much people;' Jesus, who did not strive nor cry, had only a few disciples, and died deserted by them. The present method of reform is by striving and crying. The voice of those who see the evils of society is heard in the streets, and much people is drawn to meetings and demonstrations. Many, moved by what they hear, profess themselves to be 'frantic,' and the country seems ready for a moral revolt.

What shall the end be? Will the evil cease because the bitter cry of those who suffer is heard in the land? Will the 'frantic' striving of many people relieve society from the slavery of selfishness and lead a moral reform, or will it be that after a few months some one like Browning's Cardinal will be found saying, 'I have known four-and-twenty leaders of revolt'?

This is a question to be considered, if possible, with calmness of mind, without prejudice for or against sensationalism. It may be that what seems sensational is the bigger cry suited to a bigger world, and therefore the only means of making known the facts which must afterwards be weighed and considered. It may be that some must be made frantic before any will act. It may be, on the other hand, that this trumpeting of sorrow and sin is the vengeance of the crime of sense—itself a sense to be worn with time; that men trumpet sorrows for mere love of noise and size, and become frantic over tales of sin, wringing from the very tale a new pleasure. Sensationalism in social reform is either the vengeance of sensationalism in self-love, or it is the divine voice making itself heard in language which he that runs may read.

Not lightly at any rate are Midlothian speeches, 'bitter cries,' and religious revivals to be passed over. They, by striving and crying, by forcible statements and strong language, have caused public opinion to stop its course of easy satisfaction, and to express itself in new legislation. For the sake of the Bulgarians a Ministry was overturned; because of the cry of the poor, an Act of Parliament has been passed; and because of the success of the Salvation Army, the services in our churches have been modified. In face though of these results on legislation, and of other results represented by various

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societies and leagues, the question still is, Will the same causes result in raising character? Professor Clifford in one of his essays speaks with religious fervour on the importance of character to society:—

> Our words, our phrases, our forms and processes and modes of thought are common property fashioned and perfected from age to age. . . . Into this, for good or ill, is woven every belief of every man who has speech of his fellows. An awful privilege and an awful responsibility, that we should help to create the world in which posterity will live!

Further he goes on to point out that a bad method is bad, whatever good results may follow, because it weakens the character of the doer and so weakens society.

> If (he says) I steal money from any person, there may be no harm done by the mere transfer of possession; he may not feel the loss, or it may prevent him from using the money badly. But I cannot help doing this great wrong towards Man, that I make myself dishonest. What hurts society is not that it should lose its property, but that it should become a den of thieves; for then it must cease to be society. This is why we ought not to do evil that good may come; for at any rate this great evil has come, that we have done evil and are made wicked thereby.

In judging, therefore, of methods of reform, it is not enough to show that laws have been passed and leagues formed; it must also be shown that the character of all concerned is raised. Jesus drew few people after Him and died alone, but He so raised the character of man that His death inaugurated a permanent reformation of society. It is as the character of men is raised that all reforms become permanent. Oppressed nationalities, like the Bulgarians, depend for effectual help on the growth of sympathy among free peoples; the poor will have starvation wages till the rich learn what justice requires; and religion will fail to be a power till men are honest enough to ask themselves in what they do really believe. Methods of reform are valuable just in so far as they tend to increase sympathy, justice, honesty, reverence, and all the virtues of high character. The answer, therefore, as to the end of this striving and crying of modern philanthropy, is to be found in the effects which such methods have on character.

On the one side it is urged (1) that laws and institutions are great educators. By the many laws against theft thieving has come to be regarded as the great crime, and by societies like that for the prevention of cruelty to animals kindness has come to be a common virtue. If, therefore, it is argued, by this rough awakening of the public conscience, laws have been passed and institutions started, something has been done to develope the higher part of character. 'Principles,' as it has been said, 'are no more than moral habits.'

It is further urged that (2) if association is the watchword of the future and the educational force of the new age, it is by these somewhat noisy means that associations are formed, and that the trumpet note

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which is to draw men together from parties and classes between whom great gulfs are fixed must be a loud one. The loudness cannot hurt men's character, and when they are drawn together their sympathy will be developed by contact and their energy by numbers.

Lastly it is said (3) that many whose imagination has been made dull by the modern systems of education could never know the truth unless it were shown to them under the strongest light. They have been so rarely taught in school to take pleasure in knowledge or to stretch their minds, they have so little accustomed themselves to think over what is absent or to trace effects to causes, that it is more often by ignorance than by selfishness that they are cruel. They have been so eager in managing their inheritance of wealth that they have failed to use their other inheritance—the power of putting questions—by which their fathers won their wealth. Such people, it is argued, hearing of atrocities, learning the cost at which wealth is made, and seeing the brutal side of vice, get such development of character that they question habits, customs, conditions, which they before accepted, and become more just and generous.

On the other side, keeping still in view the effects on character, it is urged (1) that actions caused by the excitement of the emotions before they can be supported by reason are followed by apathy. The people who became 'frantic' at the tale of the Bulgarian atrocities have since heard almost with equanimity of suffering as terrible. The many who wrote and spoke of the bitter lot of the poor hardly give the few pounds a year required to keep alive the Sanitary Aid Society which was started to deal with what was allowed to lie nearest the root of the bitterness—the ill-administered laws of health. The leaders of the Salvation Army, pursued by this fear of apathy, have continually to seek new forms of excitement, just as politicians have to seek new cries. It seems as if the wave which is raised by the emotions must fall back unless it is followed by the rising tide of reason, and that the effect on character of neglecting the reason is to make it unfeeling and apathetic. According to Rossetti's allegory, they who are stirred by the sight of vice become, like those who look on the Gorgon's head, hardened to stone.

> Let not thine eyes know
> Any forbidden thing itself, although
> It once should save as well as kill; but be
> Its shadow upon life enough for thee.

The emotions cannot be strained without loss. Of the greatest English actress it is told that she paid in old age the price of early strain on her feelings 'by weariness, vacuity, and deadness of spirit.'

It is urged further by those who argue against sensationalism, (2) that the advertisement which is said to be necessary to promote association, promotes only organisation, or that if it does promote

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association it fills it also with the party spirit, which is a corrupting influence.

Organisations, we have been lately told, are weakening real charitable effort. They by their very nature become hardened round the objects set forth in their prospectus, and to achieve those objects become official. They have at once the strength and the weakness of the standing-army system, and in charitable efforts the weakness is fatal which releases any individual from the duty of serving the need he has recognised. That the sensational method of rousing the charitable activities has resulted in organisation rather than association may be seen by reference to the Charities Register with its endless record of new societies and institutions.

That it also inspires with party spirit the associations which it forms is more difficult of proof, but advertisement to be successful in gathering people must be strong and loud. Strong statements can hardly be fair statements, and loud statements can rarely be exhaustively accurate. The basis of the association will thus be like that which has been the basis of too many religious parties—a basis to be occupied only by those who refuse to consider the position of others, and to be defended by blows rather than by arguments. Where there is neither fairness of feeling nor accuracy of thought, there will be always the theological hatred. 'Ye know not what spirit ye are of,' said Christ to His disciples who, ignorant of His purpose, would have used force in His service against the Samaritans. In the same way it is party spirit which still sometimes inspires those who hold even grand beliefs and support great causes, the height and depth and breadth of which they have had neither time nor will to measure; and the spirit degrades their character. It is not a gain to a man to be a Christian or a Liberal if by so doing he becomes certain that there is no right nor truth on the side of a Mohammedan or a Tory. He has not, that is, risen to the height of his character: rather, as Mr. Coleridge says, 'He who begins by loving Christianity better than the truth will proceed by loving his own sect or church better than Christianity, and end in loving himself better than all.' A teetotaler will not add so much to society by his temperance as he will take away from society, if his character becomes proud or narrow. Party spirit—the spirit, that is, which is roused and limited by some hasty view of truth or right—is likely to make men unjust and cruel, and a method of reform which produces this spirit cannot be approved. Under the influence of the grandest causes, missionaries were in old time cruel, and philanthropists are in modern times unjust.

Lastly (3), those who have pressed the advantage of the law as an educator have been met by the paradox that laws and institutions rarely exist till they have ceased to be wanted. In England, public opinion condemns cruelty to animals, and so a society has been created. In Egypt, where the need is greater, but where there is no public opinion

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to condemn the cruelty, there is no society. Without going the length of this paradox, it may, however, be enough to say that the character of the people has more effect on law than law has on character. A statute-book cumbered with legislation for which society has not been ready is sufficient proof of this statement. Better, therefore, is it slowly to educate the emotions and the reason of the people, than by a sudden pull on their emotions to get them to agree to a law which will for a long time lie dormant. Better is it that men should see their own way through life, than, under even a great man's umbrella, lose both knowledge of their way, and confidence in themselves.

Rather than attempt to decide between arguments so urged, it may be more to the purpose if, out of thirteen years' experience of East London life, I shortly collect what seem to me to be some of the effects on character developed during this period.

The first effect which is manifest is the great increase of humanity in the richer classes. This is shown not only by talk, by drawing-room meetings, and newspaper articles, but by actual service among the poor. The number of those who go about East London to do good is largely increased. The increase is though, I believe, greatest among those philanthropists who aim to apply principles rather than to provide relief. There have always been people of good will ready to give and to teach; there is now an increase in their numbers, but the marked increase is among those who, following Mrs. Nassau Senior, work registry offices, on the principle that friends are the best avenues by which young girls can find places; or, following Miss Octavia Hill, become rent collectors, on the principle that the relation of landlord and tenant may be made conducive to the best good; or, following Miss Nightingale, take up the work of nursing, on the principle that the service of the sick is the highest service; or, following the founders of the Charity Organisation Society, examine into the causes of poverty, on the principle that it is better to prevent than to cure evil; or, following Miss Miranda Hill, give themselves to the entertainment of their neighbours, on the principle that rich and poor have equal powers of enjoying what is good; or, following Edmund Denison, come to live in East London and do the duties of citizens, on the principle that only they who share the neighbourhood really share the life of the poor. In all these cases the increase began more than thirteen years ago, and it is therefore impossible to say that the development of humanity which they represent is due to the cries which have been raised since that time. The cries, though, have not been without influence.

Another effect I notice as generally present, and which seems to be due to the advertisement of evils, is impatience.

The richer classes seeing things that have been hidden, and ignorant that any improvement has been going on, have taken up with ready-made schemes. Irritated that the poor should find obstacles to relief in

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times of sickness, they, in their hurry, give the pauper a vote, but leave him to get his relief under degrading conditions. Angry that children should be hungry, but too anxious to consider other things than hunger, they start an inadequate system of penny dinners which keeps starvation alive. Stirred by the news of uninhabitable houses, and insanitary areas, and brutal offences, they pass stringent laws and take no steps to see that the laws are administered. Affected by the thought that the majority of the people have neither pleasure-ground, nor space for play, nor water for cleanliness, they raise a chorus of abuse against London government, but do not deny themselves every day the bottle of wine or the useless luxury which would give to Kilburn a park, or to East London a People's Palace. Hearing that the masses are irreligious, means are supported without regard as to what must be the influence on thoughtful men of associating religion with things which are not true, nor honourable, nor lovely, nor of good report.

This impatience is further shown by the falling off of subscriptions to means which offer slow progress. The Beaumont trustees beg in vain for money to build a house for higher education and recreation. A meeting of the University Extension Society supported at the Mansion House by statesmen and orators produced 5*l*. The Children's Holiday Fund with more efforts this year got in proportion less money than last year, and the old methods which depend on personal influence rather than on sudden action are left to die for lack of the small funds they need. On all sides among persons of goodwill there seems to be the belief that things done *for* people are more effective than things done *with* them. A change can be made in circumstances which can be seen, a change in character has to be long waited for. There is an absence of the patience—the passionate patience—which is content to examine, to serve, to wait, and even to fail, so long as what is done shall be well done.

The same impatience which takes this shape among the richer classes is, I think, to be seen among the poorer classes in a growing animosity against the rich for being rich. Strong words and angry threats have become common. All suffering and much sin are laid at the doors of the rich, and speakers are approved who say that if by any means property could be more equally shared, more happiness and virtue would follow. Schemes, therefore, which offer such means, are welcomed almost without inquiry. The poorer classes, roused by what they hear of the state in which their neighbours live, misled often by what they see, do not inquire into causes of sin and sorrow. Scamps and idlers come forward with cries which get popular support, and the mass of the poor now cherish such a jealous disposition that, were they suddenly to inherit the place of the richer classes, they would inherit their vices also, and make a state of society in no way better than the present.

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There may be such a thing as a noble impatience, but the impatience which has lately been added to character of both rich and poor is not such as to make observers sanguine of the social reform which it may accomplish. The old saying is still true, 'He that believeth shall not make haste.'

The other effect on character which has become manifest is one at which I have already hinted. It is a growing disposition among all classes to trust in 'societies,' whose rules become the authority of the workers and whose extension becomes the aim of their work. Men give all their energies to get recruits for their army, recognition for their clubs, and more room for their operations. 'Societies' seem thus to be very fountains of strength, and the only method of action. Bishops aim to strengthen the Church by speaking of it as a 'society,' and individual ministers try to keep their parishes distinct with a name, an organisation, and an aim which are independent of other parishes. The lovers of emigration have for the same reason grouped themselves in no less than fourteen societies, and it has seemed impossible even to give music to the people without the strength of three large societies.

A 'society' has indeed taken over many minds the place of a priest, its authority has given the impetus and the aim to action, but it has tended to make those whom it rules weak and bigoted. I see therefore in the members of those societies much of energy, but less of the spirit which is willing to break old bonds and to go on, if need be, in the loneliness of originality, trusting in God. I see much of self-devotion, but more also of the spirit of competition, more of the self-assertion which yields nothing for the sake of co-operation. If, it has been urged, this disposition is due to the importance lately given to advertising, the effect cannot be good. No permanent social reform can be brought about by a method which tends to make weakness and bigotry.

If now I had to sum up what seems to me to be the effect on character of the method of striving and crying, I should say that the increase of humanity is balanced by increase of impatience, by sacrifice of originality, and by narrowness. Whether there is loss or gain it is impossible to say, but it is possible, considering the end in view, to see how the most may be made of the gain and the least of the loss.

The end to be aimed at is one to be stated in the language either of Isaiah or of the modern politician. We all look for a time when there shall be no more hunger nor thirst, when love will share the strength of the few among the many, and when God shall take away tears from every eye. Or, putting the same end in other words, we all look for a time when the conditions of existence shall be such that it will be possible for every man and woman not only to live a decent human life, but also to enjoy the fulness of life which comes from friendships and from knowledge.

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For such an end all are concerned to work. Comparing the things that are with the things that shall be, some may strive and cry, others may work silently, but none can be careless.

None can approve a condition of society where the mass of the people remain ignorant even of the language through which come thought, comfort, and inspiration. The majority are deaf and dumb They cannot ask for what their higher nature needs, they cannot hear the word of God without which man cannot live. None can approve a condition of society where, while one is starving, another is drunken, where in one part of a town a man works without pleasure to end his days in the workhouse, while in the other part of the town a man idles his days away and is always 'as one that is served.' None can look on and think that it always must be that the hardest workers shall not earn enough to secure themselves by cleanliness and by knowledge against those temptations which enter by dirt and ignorance, while many have so much that their wealth makes it almost impossible for them to enter the kingdom of God. A time must come when men shall hunger no more, nor thirst any more, when there shall be no tears which love cannot wipe away, and no pain which knowledge cannot remove. For this end every one who knows 'the mission of man' must by some means work.

That all may avoid the loss and secure the gain which belong to their various methods, it seems to me that they would be wise to remember two things—(1) that national organisations deserve support rather than party organisations, and (2) that the only test of real progress is to be found in the development of character.

A national organisation is not only more effective on account of its strength and extent, but also on account of its freedom from party spirit. Its members are bound to sit down by the side of many who differ from themselves, and are thus bound to take a wider view of their work. They are all under the control of the same body which controls the nation, and they thus serve only one master. A public library, for instance, which is worked by the municipality, will be more useful than one worked by a society or a company. The books will not be chosen to promulgate the doctrines of a sect so much as to extend knowledge, and its management will not be so arranged as to please any large subscriber so much as to please the people. Instead, therefore, of starting societies, it would be wise for social reformers to throw their strength into national organisations.

The Board of Guardians might thus be made efficient in giving relief. From its funds and with the help of its organisation a much more perfect scheme of emigration could be worked than by private societies whose funds are limited and whose inquiries are incomplete. In the workhouse might be arranged such a system of industrial training as would fit the inmates on their discharge both to take and enjoy labour. It is as much by others' neglect as by their own fault that so many strong men and women drift to these places, unable to earn a

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living. They have never been taught to work. The infirmary too, properly organised under doctors and nurses and visited by ladies, might be the school of purity and the home of discipline, in which the fallen might be helped to find strength. The schools from which orphans might be boarded out, and in which, by the service of devoted officers, education could be perfected, might do better work than the schools and orphanages which depend on voluntary offerings and often aim at narrow issues. The guardians, moreover, having the power over out-relief, have in their hands a great instrument for good or evil. Rightly used the power might give to many who are weak a new strength as they realised that refusal implied respect, and that a system of relief which encourages one to bluster and another to cringe cannot be good.

The School Board might in the same way be made to cover the aims of the educationalists. As managers they could bring themselves into close connection with teachers and children. They could show the teachers what is implied in knowledge, introduce books of wider views, and they could visit the children's homes, arrange for their holidays, and see to their pleasures. Much more important is it that the schools under the nation's control should be good than that special schools should be started to achieve certain results. In connection too with the Board, it is possible to have night classes which should be in reality classes in higher education and means both of promoting friendship and gaining knowledge.

Then there are the municipal bodies, the Vestries and Boards of Works, who largely control the conditions which people of goodwill strive to improve. It rests with these bodies to build habitable houses, and to see that those built are habitable, and they are responsible for lighting and cleaning of the streets. It is in their power to open libraries and reading-rooms, to make for every neighbourhood a common drawing-room, to build baths so that cleanliness is no longer impossible, and possibly even to supply music in open spaces. It is by their will that the houses exist in which the young are tempted to their ruin, and it only needs their energy to work a reform at which purity societies vainly strive.

Lastly, there is the national organisation which is the greatest of all, the Church, the society of societies, the body whose object it is to carry out the aim of all societies, to be the centre of charitable effort, to spread among high and low the knowledge of the Highest, to enforce on all the supremacy of duty over pleasure, and to tell everywhere the Gospel which is joy and peace. If the Church fulfilled its object, there would be no need of societies or sects. If the Church fails, it is because it is under the control of clerics; its charity tends thus to become limited to those who follow the clerics, its ideas of duty are affected by its organisation, and it preaches not what it is now taught by the Holy Spirit, but what it has inherited. All this would be

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changed if the people were put in the place of the clerics. The Church would then be the expression of the national will to do good, to distribute the best and to please God.

Because the national organisations are so vast, and because association with them is the best check on the growth of party spirit, it is by their means that the best work can be done. The cost involved may at times be great. It may be hard to endure the slow movement of a public body while the majority of that body is being educated; it may be bitter work for the ardent Christian to endure the officialism of a public institution; it may seem wrong that profane hands should mould the Church organisation; but the cost is well endured. The national organisations do exist, and will exist, if not for good then for evil. They are vast, a part of the life of the nation, and the cost which is paid for association with them is the cost of the self-assertion which, if it sometimes is the cause of success, is also the cause of shame.

Further, the other safeguard which it seems to me that all would be wise to remember is that the only test of progress is in the development of character. Institutions, societies, laws, count for nothing unless they tend to make people stronger to choose the good and refuse the evil. Redistribution of wealth would be of little service if in the process many became dishonest. A revolution would be no progress which put one selfish class in the place of another. The test, then, which all must apply to what they are doing, is its effect on character, and this test rigorously applied will make safe all methods both new and old. As it is applied there will be a strange shifting of epithets. Things called 'great' will be seen to be small, and efforts passed by in contempt will be seen to be greatest.

The man in East London who, judged by this test, stands among the highest is one who, belonging to no society, committed to no scheme of reform, has worked out plan after plan till all have been lost in greater plans. Years before the evils lately advertised were known, he had discovered them, and had begun to apply remedies unthought of by the impatient. He has won no name, made no appeal, started no institution, and founded no society, but by him characters have been made which are the strength of homes in which force is daily gathering for right. The women, too, whose work has borne best fruit are those who, having the enthusiasm of humanity, have had patience to wait while they work. After ten years such women now see families who, by the virtue which has gone out of them, have been raised from squalor to comfort, and are surrounded by girls to whom their friendship has given, in new hopes of womanhood, the best armour against temptation.

That work of these has been great because it has strengthened character, and there are other fields in which like work may be done. Conditions have a large influence on character, and the hardships of life

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may be as prejudicial to the growth of character as the luxuries. They, therefore, who work to get good houses and good schools, who provide means of intercourse and high teaching, who increase the comforts of the poor, may also claim to be strengthening character. One I know who by patient service on boards has entirely changed some of the conditions under which 70,000 people have to live. He has never advertised his methods nor collected money for his system, he has simply given up pleasure and holidays to be regular at meetings; he has at his meetings by patience and good-temper won the ear of his fellows, while by his inquiries into details and his thorough mastery of his subject he has won their respect. A change has thus been made on account of which many have more energy, many more comfort, and many more hope.

One other I can remember who, even more unknown and unnoticed, came to live in East London. He gathered a few neighbours together, and gradually in talk opened to them a new use for idle hours. They found such delight in seeing and hearing new things that they told others, and now there are many spending their evenings in ways that increase knowledge, who do so because one man aimed at providing means of intercourse and high teaching.

Those whose aim it is to reform conditions may, as well as those who teach, claim to be strengthening character, but the admission of their claims must depend on the way in which they have worked. They themselves can alone tell how far in pursuit of their aims they have forgotten the effect of their means upon character, and that those means are represented by people whose growth they have helped or hindered. Teachers are not above reformers, and reformers are not above teachers. The people must be taught, and conditions must be changed. It is for those who teach as well as for those who try to change conditions to judge themselves by the effect their methods have on character. If striving and crying they have avoided impatience and allowed time for the growth of originality, if working silently they have indeed done something else than find faults in others' methods, they may be said to have secured the good and avoided the loss.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT.

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SAMOA.

Lord Granville, when addressing the House of Lords at the opening of Parliament on the relations existing at the present time between foreign Powers and the British Government, pointed out to Lord Salisbury an omission in the Speech from the Throne which he characterised as one he 'hardly expected.' The omission complained of referred to the rumour that reached England some few days ago that Germany had annexed Samoa. 'I felt sure,' said Lord Granville, 'when I saw the statement, that it was not a fact, or that it had been done by an individual officer, and would be disowned by the German Chancellor. I am glad to learn that that is the case.' The gauntlet thus thrown down was immediately taken up by Lord Salisbury, who said:

> I think the noble earl is in error in supposing that there has been, on any hypothesis, any annexation of Samoa by Germany. There have been events which are imperfectly reported, and which strangely never reached the Court of Berlin at all, and we are at present unable to place an exact interpretation on the news which has come to us; but this, which is quite satisfactory, we have received—namely, the most positive assurance on the part of Germany that she will adhere to the treaties in respect to Samoa which already exist.

Rear-Admiral Knorr, who carried out the settlement of the differences between Germany and Zanzibar, and is no stranger to these islands, is now on his way to perform a similar task in Samoa; so we may soon expect to have more accurate information on a subject at present very little understood in England, notwithstanding the fact of its international importance. Meanwhile a sketch from one who has been there and collected the most recent information of the political events that have been taking place in these islands for some time past may not be uninteresting; at any rate, their narration will, I trust, serve to quicken the interest now beginning to be felt by England in Central Polynesia.

It is very commonly imagined by the general public that Samoa is one island. This idea is erroneous. Samoa is the native name of a group of twelve volcanic islands in the South Pacific Ocean, ten of which are inhabited. These islands lie between the parallels of 13° 31′ and 14° 11′ 30″ south latitude, and the meridians of 172° 48′ and 169° 39′ 30″ west longitude, and are marked on the chart as the 'Navigators,' a name given them by Bougainville, from the skill and

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expertness shown by the inhabitants in the use and management of their canoes. They contain between thirty-four and thirty-five thousand inhabitants.

The discovery of Samoa, according to Dr. Turner, one of the pioneers of the London Missionary Society, is due to the Dutch, who, under Roggewein in 1722, were the first to notice these islands. Forty-six years later they were visited by the French navigator Bougainville, and in 1768 La Pérouse appeared upon the scene. Meanwhile Captain Cook had heard of their existence from the Tongans, and in 1791 H.M.S. 'Pandora' put in an appearance; but it is not till many years afterwards that Samoa begins to play any real part in the political history of the world.

The more important islands of the group are Savaii, Upolu, Tutuila, Ta'u and Manu'a-tele. Savaii, the most westerly, is the largest and contains an area of 700 square miles, which, at a rough estimate, is very nearly equal to ten times that of the Channel Islands. Commodore Wilkes, in his Report of the exploring expedition sent out by the United States Government in 1839 for the purpose of surveying these islands, writes thus:—

> Savaii is not as populous or as important as several of the other islands. It differs from any of the others in its appearance, for its shore is low, and the ascent thence to the centre is gradual, except where the cones of a few extinct craters are seen. In the middle of the island a peak arises, which is almost continually enveloped in clouds, and is the highest land in the group. On account of these clouds angles could not be taken for determining its height accurately, but it certainly exceeds 4,000 feet. Another marked difference between Savaii and the other large islands is the want of any permanent streams, a circumstance which may be explained, notwithstanding the frequency of rain, by the porous nature of the rock (vesicular lava) of which it is chiefly composed; water, however, gushes out near the shore in copious springs, and when heavy and continued rains have occurred streams are formed in the ravines, but these soon disappear after the rains have ceased. The coral reef attached to this island is interrupted to the south and west, where the surf beats full upon the rocky shore. There are in consequence but few places where boats can land, and only one harbour for ships, that of Mataatua: even this is unsafe from November to February, when the north-westerly gales prevail. The soil is fertile, and was composed, in every part of the island that was visited, of decomposed volcanic rock and vegetable mould.

From this description it will be seen that Savaii, although the largest, is by far the least valuable island of the group commercially or politically.

Upolu, which is separated by twelve miles of sea from Savaii, contains an area of 560 square miles. A range of mountains runs east and west, from which slope down at uncertain intervals a number of smaller ridges that graduate to a low shore, encircled, says Mr. Seed, in his Report to the New Zealand Government[1]

[1] This Report was laid before the Australian Convention, 1883, and is embodied in the Victorian and New South Wales Blue Books, which were kindly placed at my disposal by the Hon. James Service, of Melbourne, and the Hon. Bede Dalley, of Sydney.

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(dated 'Custom House, Wellington, 13th of February, 1872'), 'by a coral reef interrupted by channels which form the entrances to safe and convenient anchorages for small vessels. At Apia the reef extends across a good sized bay, thus forming a good and safe harbour for large ships, which is entered through a deep and clear channel formed by a break in the reef.'

Between Savaii and Upolu are the smallest islands Apolima and Manono. The shape of the former is not unlike the human hand with the fingers contracted. Hence its name. The latter, on the contrary, is triangular, and has been somewhat poetically described as 'one entire garden, in looking at which the eye can never tire'; it is three miles in circumference. This island held a very extensive political supremacy over Upolu till the native war of 1847–54, when it lost power and was obliged to rank on a level with those over whom for a long time it had exercised much despotism. We now come to the two uninhabited islands so insignificant as to require no description, while a little distance off is the little island of Nuū-tele, thirty-six miles from which lies Tutuila, an important island containing an area of 240 square miles. The land here is mountainous and ascends in one place to 2,327 feet above the level of the sea. This peak affords a good landmark for vessels making Pangopango harbour, which is not unlikely to play an important part in the future of Samoa.

Let me here give Captain Wakeman's[2] description of Pangopango harbour, which is relied upon by the New Zealand Government as an authoritative source of information.

At daylight, I found myself in the most perfectly land-locked harbour that exists in the Pacific Ocean. In approaching this harbour from the south, either by night or day, the mariner has unmistakable landmarks to conduct him into port: one on the port hand, a high, peaked, conical mountain 2,327 feet high, and on the starboard hand, a flat-topped mountain 1,470 feet in height, which keep sentinel on either hand. These landmarks can never be mistaken by the mariner. The entrance to the harbour is three-quarters of a mile in width between Tower Rock, on the port side, and Breaker Point, on the starboard hand, with soundings of thirty-six fathoms. A little more than one mile from Breaker Point to Goat Island, on the port hand, we open out the inner harbour, which extends one mile west, at a breadth of 3,000 feet abreast of Goat Island to 1,100 feet at the head of the bay, carrying soundings from eighteen fathoms to six fathoms at the head of the bay. The reefs which skirt the shore are from 200 feet to 300 feet wide, almost a

[2] Captain Wakeman is an experienced master-mariner, who visited Tutuila at the request of a private shipping firm in order to ascertain the suitability of Pangopango harbour for a coaling station. The information was laid before the Australian Convention, 1883, by the New Zealand representative. The trade between Samoa and New Zealand is rapidly increasing, and the merchants of that colony are constantly pointing out to their Government the advantages that would accrue to both if a more intimate connection than at present exists were to be established between the two. They have even hinted at annexation, but this the Samoans do not wish. During the scare last year the New Zealanders were always on the alert and most anxious to aid the mother country in taking over the islands.

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wash at low water. They have, at their edge, from four fathoms to five, six, and eight fathoms, and deeper in the middle of the harbour. The hills rise abruptly around this bay from 800 to 1,000 feet in height. . . . There is nothing to prevent a steamer, night or day, from proceeding to her wharf. About half way from Breaker Point to Goat Island, and near mid channel, is Whale Rock, with eight feet of water over it at low sea. It has a circumference of about fifty feet and breaks frequently. A buoy renders this danger harmless. The services of a pilot can never be required by anyone who has visited this port before, as the trade-winds from E.S.E. carry a vessel from near Breaker Point with a free sheet in a N.N.W. course into the harbour. It follows that vessels under canvas will have to work out, which, in the ebb tides with the trades, will generally be accomplished in a few tacks. The trouble is that a ship close into the reefs goes in stays, and frequently the whirlwinds off the high land baffle her a few points and prevent her tacking properly aback, whence a boat is kept at hand ready to tow her round upon the right tack. Mr. Powell, a missionary, has been a resident of this place twenty-two years, and never knew of a longer detention than nine days to any ship in that time, and of but one gale, which came from the eastward and unroofed a wing of his kitchen. Even the trades themselves are frequently liable to haul from the E.S.E. to E.N.E., giving a ship a chance to get out with a leading wind. At the different quarters of the moon the tide rises four and a half feet. On the top of the little island of Annu'u, to the east of Tutuila, at an elevation of 600 feet, a site for a lighthouse has been secured. As it can be seen alike from the north or south, and is right in a line with the ship's course in passing, being only seven miles from the entrance to Pangopango bay or harbour, the ships could pick up the port-lights, and go in immediately to the wharf on the darkest night. There are several fine harbours for schooners on both sides of Tutuila.

The Americans were not slow to recognise the importance of this harbour as a naval station, and in 1870 Captain Meade, commanding the U.S.S. 'Narragansett,' entered into an agreement with Manga, the representative chief of Tutuila, by which it was arranged that Pangopango should be given up to the American Government on condition that a friendly alliance existed between that island and the United States. Pangopango harbour has thus passed for ever from the hands of the British.

The question here that naturally arises, is, why did not England secure its possession? 'Tutuila did not want England's protection,' replies a would-be critic. Such an assertion is, however, untrue. So long ago as 1843, the chiefs of this island petitioned for British protection. Two years later a reply was received from Lord Clarendon, who refused to protect, but promised through the British Consul that no other Power should be allowed greater authority in the island than Great Britain. How that promise has been kept, I shall leave my readers to judge. In March 1872 the following commercial regulations relating to the port of Pangopango were drawn up, signed by Manga and recognised on the part of the United States Government by Captain Meade.

1. All foreign Consuls duly appointed shall be protected and respected both in their persons and property, and all foreigners settling on the island, as far as under the jurisdiction of the chief and conforming to the laws, shall receive the protection of the Government.

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2. The fullest protection shall be given to all foreign ships and vessels which may be wrecked, and any property saved shall be taken in charge by the Consul of the country to which the vessel belongs, who will allow salvage on the property so saved; no embezzlement will be permitted. The effects of all foreigners deceased will be given up to the Consul of the nation of the person so deceased.

3. Every vessel entering Pangopango shall pay a port charge to the chief, to be regulated by agreement between the chief, the agent of the California and Australian Steamship Company and the foreign Consuls. Pilots shall be appointed by the same persons, the agent of the Steamship Company to be the Pilot Commissioner *ex officio*, and the charge for pilotage for men-of-war and merchant vessels to be $1 per foot of draft and $1 per day for detention on board. Where pilots are declined, half-pilotage will be paid. Each pilot to be furnished with a copy of Pilot Regulations, and to show the same to the master of each vessel which he may bring into port.

4. No work shall be done on shore, nor shall any natives be employed on board vessels, on Sunday under a penalty of $10, except under circumstances of absolute necessity, such as aid in case of the wreck of a vessel, or the coaling of steamships obliged to proceed on time on the voyage north or south.

5. All trading in distilled or spirituous liquors, or any kind of intoxicating drink, is absolutely prohibited; any person so offending shall be fined $100 on conviction before a mixed court, composed of U.S. Consul, H.B.M. Consul, and the Chief of the bay. All such liquors found on shore and kept for sale or barter in any way shall be seized and destroyed. If any native be found intoxicated and riotous he shall pay a fine of $10.

6. Any person found guilty of offering inducement to a native female to prostitute herself to a foreigner to pay a fine of $10.

7. Deserters shall be apprehended by the Chief on application to him through the Consul, to whom they must be delivered. The usual rewards required by regulation to be paid by merchant-men; one-third to go to the Chief.

8. All fines to be paid in specie or its equivalent, or be commuted at the rate of one month's labour on roads, &c., for $10.

9. Should any master of any merchant vessel refuse complying with the local regulations the case to be referred to the Consul of the nation to which the vessel belongs and redress sought thence.

(Signed) O AU O MANGA.

(*Witness*) RICHARD W. MEADE, Commander.

The foregoing rules have been signed by the Chief in my presence. I shall forward a copy of the same with my approval to the U.S. Government for the information of all masters of vessels visiting Pangopango.

(Signed) RICHARD W. MEADE,
Commander U.S.S. 'Narragansett.'

A mile south-east of Tutuila is the diminutive island of Annu'u, with a coast line of barely five miles.

The Manu'a group, consisting of three islands, lies about sixty miles east of Tutuila. Ta'u, the largest of these, about sixteen miles round, has a most uneven surface, owing to a number of extinct volcanoes. Its highest peak is 2,500 feet. Ofu, the smallest of the three, is separated from Ta'u by the island of Olesenga, a narrow strip of land, three miles long, and 1,200 feet above the level of the sea.

The climate of Samoa is good. June and July are the coolest, and September and October the hottest, months in the year. March is the

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most variable. A breeze is generally blowing, so the temperature is never actually unpleasant. It ranges between 70° and 80°. Hurricanes are the exception, and vegetation continues without intermission all the year round. Nearly every kind of tropical fruit is produced. Cotton and copra[3] are the chief exports. Formerly the natives used to prepare the cocoa-nut oil themselves, but now they send the copra to Europe direct, where it finds an easy market.

The word Samoa is derived from *Moa*, the hereditary name of the King of Manu'a, and the supposed progenitor of all these islands, and the particle *Sa*, which prefixed to a proper name means in the Samoan language 'the family of,' from which we may conclude that it means 'the family of Moa.'

The constitution of the Manu'a islands is monarchical, the royal title being 'King of All Samoa.' Tutuila, on the other hand, has an aristocratic form of government, which is vested in a council of ten chiefs called Fale-Anga-fulu, or the ten houses. The remaining islands had always been under the dominion of two royal dynasties called respectively Malietoa and Tupua, which are the surnames in use to this day. Previous to 1873 these rival royalties were constantly fighting against each other for supremacy, but in May of that year, by the good offices of the missionaries, hostilities ceased and peace was proclaimed. It is to the missionaries that Samoa owes its present state of civilisation. They have done more actual good for the natives than any other body of men. Not only have they Christianised a people who formerly knew not God, but, by mastering a language hitherto unknown to Europeans, they have initiated an education which has had the effect of vastly increasing the commerce of these islands. While steering clear of political squabbles they are ever ready in the interests of peace and justice to act as mediators in native quarrels, or to aid the representatives of foreign Powers in maintaining law and order. No wonder they view with alarm the increasing influence of Germany, and the probable sacrifice of their energies to a nation that has sown no seed, yet is endeavouring to reap the harvest.

During the civil war the natives bartered land to the German traders for arms and ammunition. And in some cases the price given was only equal to one shilling and sixpence an acre. The Polynesian Land and Commercial Company effected some very good bargains also.

In May 1873, by the aid of the European residents, a new form of government was set up on the lines of the British Constitution—consisting of a House of Representatives called the Faipule, corresponding somewhat to our House of Commons, and a House of Nobles called the Taimua, resembling the House of Lords, with the two kings Malietoa and

[3] The kernel of the cocoa-nut cut into small pieces and dried in the sun.

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Tupua as joint kings—which was officially recognised by Great Britain and America.

About this time the United States Government sent out Colonel Steinberger 'in the capacity of special agent, to make observation and report upon the character and condition of their inhabitants.'[4] I am unable to obtain a copy of Colonel Steinberger's Report, but that it was favourable may be gathered from the following letter, which appointed him the second time to proceed to Samoa as special agent of the United States. It is an important document, as it clearly shows anxiety on the part of the Samoans for annexation, and at the same time accurately defines Colonel Steinberger's position.

Department of State,
Washington, 11 Dec. 1874.

Col. A. B. Steinberger, Washington, D. C.

Sir,—The President having determined to authorise you again to proceed to the Samoan group, in the character of a special agent of the United States, you will embark for those islands at San Francisco in a man-of-war, on board of which the Secretary of the Navy has been requested to direct you to be provided with a passage. The expense attending this and of your mission generally must be borne by yourself, and will in no event be recognised as a proper charge against this Government.

Pursuant to the suggestions contained in your letter from Baltimore, of the 19th of November last, the President has addressed the accompanying sealed communication to the Taimua or Pule of Samoa, a copy of which is also furnished for your information. You will make proper arrangements for presenting the original.

The special passport with which you are also herewith provided describes your official character.

I annex hereto a list of articles which have been furnished by several Departments, which will be entrusted to you as presents, as suggested by you.

There is no doubt from your Report, and from information received from other sources, that the Samoan group is naturally fertile and has many resources.

Its position, too, in the Pacific is commanding, and particularly important to us. It is more than doubtful, however, whether these considerations would be sufficient to satisfy our people that the annexation of those islands to the United States is essential to our safety and prosperity. In any event, supposing that the general sentiment should be favourable to such a measure, I am not aware that it has received such an expression as would require an acknowledgment by the present Government, and warrant measures on our part accordingly. It is deemed inexpedient without such a call from the public to originate a measure adverse to the usual tradition of the Government, and which, therefore, probably would not receive such a sanction as would be likely to secure its success.

Under these circumstances your functions will be limited to observing and reporting upon Samoan affairs, and to impressing those in authority there with the lively interest which we take in their happiness and welfare.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) HAMILTON FISH.

Enclosures.
Letter of the President to Taimua or Pule, Dec. 11, 1874.
Copy of same. Special permit.

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[4] Extract from a letter received by S. S. Forster, Esq., Consul of the United States, Apia, from the United States Government. Dated Department of State, Washington.

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We have now arrived at the period in Samoan history from which date all recent complications that have arisen between this country and Germany regarding the administration of affairs in these islands. Two months before the contents of Steinberger's official appointment as special agent of the United States were written, we find him in Hamburg, entering into a mercantile agreement with Messrs. Godeffroy & Son, German merchants, to establish a government in Samoa, and to identify the interests of the Samoan Government with that of the establishment of this firm at Apia. This document[5] has never before been made public, but so important are its contents as showing the power sought to be obtained by the German merchants in the Samoan islands that I feel it my duty to print it *verbatim*.

Agreement between Col. A. B. Steinberger and Messrs. J. C. Godeffroy & Son of Hamburg for their establishment at Apia, Upolu, Samoa.

1. Col. A. B. Steinberger proceeds to the Samoan Islands as United States Commissioner in order to establish there a fixed and substantial government upon the principles of good administration. The advantages of such a fixed government are too evident, both for the welfare of the Samoan population and for the development of the rich resources of those islands.

2. Col. A. B. Steinberger, who by his future position at Samoa and the home endorsement will evidently exercise a paramount influence in the Samoan Islands, hereby pledges himself to the proper and legitimate interests of the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son, at Apia, and to avoid all other business connections *in toto* in America, Europe, and Samoa. He will advise with the managers of the said establishment upon all important matters, especially where the welfare of the same is concerned. He will identify the interests of the Samoan Government with that of the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son at Apia, and secure to the latter a representation commensurate with the importance of the said establishment's interests.

3. J. C. Godeffroy & Son promise, on behalf of their establishment at Apia, in every way to co-operate with Col. A. B. Steinberger in his laudable and humane purpose, to instruct their representative at Samoa heartily to assist Col. Steinberger, and in every way, in his arduous task, viz. to keep upon good terms and to cultivate the intercourse with the missionaries, to keep a vigilant eye upon the behaviour of their vessels and crews on shore, &c. &c.

4. J. C. Godeffroy & Son promise as soon as the established Government at Samoa is recognised by the United States of America, to use directly and through the German Consul at Apia all the influence they possess to promote the recognition of the Samoan Government by the German Empire, and to submit on behalf of their establishment at Apia in all differences and claims to the regular to-be-established courts of justice in Samoa.

In addition to the above general stipulations it has specially been agreed between Col. A. B. Steinberger and Messrs. J. C. Godeffroy & Son for their establishment at Apia.

a. Col. Steinberger to procure for the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son at Apia the Samoan Government's recognition or counter-signature of all land sales heretofore made to the managers of the same by the natives. It being understood, to that effect, a department of the interior and a general registry of land sales is to be created.

[5] A copy of this agreement was found among the papers compromising Steinberger after his arrest, and was handed over to the American Consul.

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b. The Government is to permit the introduction of foreign labour (Chinese, as well as other islanders). Copies of contracts to be lodged with the Government; all such labour to be voluntary, and their grievances as well as all complaints against them subject to courts of law and decision; each labourer to be registered with name, age, and place of birth or nativity, to be furnished with a Government permit, and at the expiration of the time of contract to be at liberty to depart, or recontract, or remain a citizen at Samoa, with all rights, privileges, and immunities, but subject to general law. Each labourer, however, to be free and exempt from direct taxation or compulsory delivery of produce (see Art. *g*) during their contract time, but the contractor to pay a per cap. tax of 50c. per annum to the Samoan Government for each and every adult male labourer. The Samoan Government to furnish to those ships which the manager of the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son points out as destined to import foreign labourers into Samoa the necessary permit passports.

c. That free trade be the establishment of the Samoan Government. No export or import duties except on the importation of spirits as hereinafter mentioned (see Art. *k*) to be levied.

d. That the harbour dues at Apia shall not exceed the amount created for Pagopago by the American officers, say 3c. per register ton; this not to apply to tenders, small craft under 200 tons register, acting as coasters or carriers for larger vessels.

e. Pilotage to be under the jurisdiction of a Board of Harbour Commissioners, who are to appoint persons of trustworthy character as pilots—the scale of pilotage to be fixed in accordance with present customs and after consultation with the managers of the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son at Apia.

f. That a per cap. tax shall be levied upon each adult male inhabitant of the Samoan group, except imported labourers as hereinafter mentioned; to be paid to the Samoan Government in kind—say, copra, cocoa-nut fibre, or other articles of export; however, at least one-half in copra or cocoa fibre, having a specific and fixed value; and that the Samoan Government be responsible for the value and quality of such material.

g. That the Government of Samoa create a contingent fund exclusive of other taxation, to be provided for by a law making it compulsory for each head of a family (foreign labourers excepted) to produce and furnish to the national treasury of Samoa sixty pounds of well-dried sound copra and sixty pounds of cocoa fibre for each and every member of his family, himself included.

h. All copra and cocoa fibre in the hands of the Samoan Government through taxation payment of Government employés, or settlement of disabilities, to be sold to the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son at Apia at the price of one and a half cent per pound for either article for a period of the next ten years, to be delivered at the office of the said establishment at Apia, or at one of their agents or stations in the Samoan group, and to commence after the establishment of the Government, and the introduction of corresponding laws. After the expiration of the first ten years the price for copra and cocoa fibre is to be agreed upon again for the next ten years between the Government of Samoa and the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son at Apia. This latter to abrogate such contracts at one year's notice.

i. All land improved and under cultivation prior to the 1st of March, 1875, to be exempt from taxation for a period of ten years from that date. This provision, however, to apply to productive plantations (except cocoa-nut trees). All land coming into cultivation after the 1st of March, 1875, to be subject to an annual land tax.

k. All spirits to be subject to a tax or import duty, wine and beer always excepted.

l. The Government of Samoa to grant a monopoly for the exportation of the bark of the 'ua,' or paper mulberry, to the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy &

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Son at Apia for Europe, and Walter S. Wilkinson, of Baltimore, for America, for a period of twenty years from date of establishment of intended Samoan Government.

m. That after the 1st of January, 1875, all native lands can only be sold to the Samoan Government, and that hereafter only Government titles will be esteemed valid.

n. Colonel A. B. Steinberger to exert his influence for speedy settlement and fulfilment of past difficulties and claims between the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son at Apia and the Government of Samoa or Samoan chiefs or people.

o. Col. A. B. Steinberger to use his influence and promote a steam communication between San Francisco and the Samoan group.

p. That the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son at Apia be appointed the bankers and the fiscal agents of the Samoan Government at Samoa; and J. C. Godeffroy & Son at Hamburg to be appointed the same for the world excepting the United States of America, but also there if they deem it political and advisable.

q. The Samoan Government to fix a standard coin as a legal tender and, if necessary in order to facilitate the circulation, to create paper money to serve as legal tender in the Samoan Islands. The establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son at Apia to be entrusted with the execution of this measure and the coining of the circulating medium—say, of copper, nickel, or other metal—upon terms to be agreed upon between Colonel A. B. Steinberger and the manager of the said establishment. The establishment of a Government Bank and the conditions likewise to be discussed and fixed between Col. A. B. Steinberger and the manager of the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son whenever the moment arises, and at all events the management of such a bank to be entrusted to said establishment.

r. That of all copra and Government fibre sold by the Government of Samoa to the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son, Apia, or any other agency or station of the same in the Samoan Islands (see Art. *h*) Col. A. B. Steinberger to receive from said establishment two dollars per ton weight delivered.

s. That Col. A. B. Steinberger receive a commission of ten per cent. on the amount of purchase of all other produce or material sold by the Government of Samoa to the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son.

t. That Col. A. B. Steinberger receive a commission of ten per cent. upon the amount of all purchases made by the Samoan Government for material, &c., from the establishment of J. C. Godeffroy & Son in Samoa.

In witness whereof we, the undersigned, have this 10th day of September, 1874, affixed our signatures.

(Signed) A. B. STEINBERGER.
J. C. GODEFFROY & SON.

Attested.
(Signed) GUSTAV GODEFFROY.
JOHN D. THOMPSON.

Early in 1875, Steinberger arrived in Samoa to carry out the Godeffroy agreement, and endeavoured to throw dust in the eyes of the European residents by representing himself as an emissary from the American Government sent out to pave the way for a more definite alliance between that country and Samoa. His success was complete, and in a few months he had changed the constitution, dethroned Tupua, made Malietoa sole king, and installed himself Prime Minister of the new Government. His authority, however, was but brief. Suspected of duplicity, he was called upon by the representatives of Great Britain, America, and Germany to produce his credentials. This, of course, he was unable to do. By the prompt

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interference of King Malietoa—for which he cannot be too highly commended—Steinberger was arrested and deported. Malietoa's action, however, cost him his throne, from which he was soon driven by the infuriated adherents of Steinberger. Civil war now raged again in Samoa, and the Consuls of the Great Powers found it necessary to issue to the chiefs and rulers in the various districts the following address.

To the Chiefs and Rulers of the different Districts of Samoa.

We, the Consuls of Foreign Powers, and the Commanders of men-of-war now in Apia, wish to address to the contending parties in Samoa some words of warning and of advice.

It is with great distress we view the preparations for war now being made. We would willingly see you living peacefully together under a Government recognised, respected, and obeyed by all; but as such a Government does not at present exist, we desire to make clear our position and intention to both parties alike.

We recognise the Government of either party only over such persons and lands as it may be able to control, but we do not recognise the Government of either party as the Government of the Samoan Islands, inasmuch as neither party exercises any Governmental functions beyond the limits of the recognised territory of that party.

We intend strictly to enforce, without respect of parties, the neutrality of the Apia district according to the boundaries already laid down.

We also insist on respect being paid to all land in the occupation of, or cultivated by, foreigners, and all property thereon owned by foreigners. As you have already received notice, such lands and property will be marked by a white flag, or the national flag of the owner.

Should you determine on war, neither party will receive any assistance from us, or the Governments we represent.

Before appealing to arms for the settlement of your disputes, we urge on you fully to consider the evils which must result therefrom both to your country and your race. Many of you will have to part with your lands to foreigners in order to buy arms and ammunition with which to kill one another. Your homes will be desolated, your houses and gardens destroyed. All this destruction may still be without result, and even should one party conquer, it will be at the expense of much of their own land and the lives of many of your fellow-countrymen.

We therefore pray you to consider well the course you will take, and warn you not to listen to the words of foreigners who may have interest in the success of one side or the other; such persons have no authority or support from us or from our Governments.

We will willingly assist as mediators between you should any arrangement be possible by which war may be averted; but we will not accept the position of arbiters in disputes which are Samoan in their origin, and which we think can only be settled satisfactorily by Samoans alone.

We will hail with pleasure the day when your strife shall cease and you can live in peace under a Government respected and obeyed by Samoans and foreigners alike.

R. CHANDLER, Captain United States Navy,
Commanding U.S.S. 'Lackawanna.'
DEINHARD, Commander Imp. German Navy,
Commanding H.I.G.M.S. 'Bismarck.'
ALFRED P. MAUDSLAY, H.B.M. Acting Consul-General.
TH. WEBER, Imperial German Consul.
ROBT. S. SWANSTON, H.B.M. Acting Consul.
THOMAS M. DAWSON, United States Consul.

Apia, Samoa, July 2, 1879.

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After some further fighting, Malietoa's party once more resumed the reins of government, and on the arrival of Sir Arthur Gordon, who frequently visited these islands in his capacity as High Commissioner of Western Polynesia, the first official recognition of the present Government of Samoa took place by the publication of the following proclamation:—

Proclamation.

Nearly two months have elapsed since the issue by the representatives of foreign powers in Samoa, on the 2nd of July, of a notification intimating the inability at that time to recognise either of the parties then contending for supremacy in the Samoan State as possessed of the attributes of a *de facto* Government. Since that time no decisive step has been taken by either faction; although the one has, during this period, steadily increased, and the other as steadily declined in influence.

It is impossible to continue indefinitely a state of affairs so exceptional, and so injurious to the interests of foreign commerce and industry.

We have accordingly resolved to resume official relations with the party which has for the last three months held undisputed possession of the seat of Government, and is supported by an overwhelming and increasing majority of the people of Samoa.

We venture to express our earnest hope that the members of the former Government and their supporters will have sufficient regard for the best interests of their country to discontinue a contest the prolongation of which cannot but inflict the greatest evils on their nation, and that they will hasten to acquiesce in the restoration of the regal authority of the Malietoa family.

Should our counsels in this respect prove fruitless, we emphatically warn the subjects of our different nations against taking part in internal strife. If they do so they will act at their own peril, and will forfeit all claim to protection or assistance from the representatives of their Governments in Samoa.

A. Gordon.
Alfred P. Maudslay.
Th. Weber, Imp. Germ. Consul.
Thomas M. Dawson, United States Consul.
J. Hicks Graves, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.
Robt. S. Swanston, Depty. Commissioner.
R. Chandler, Captain U.S. Navy, Commanding U.S. ship 'Lackawanna.'
F. Mensing, I. Corvettan Capitain, Commanding H.I.G.M.'s gun-vessel 'Albatross.'
James Bruce, Commander Royal Navy, H.M.S. 'Cormorant.'

On August 27, 1879,[6] England entered into the following treaty of friendship with King Malietoa Laupepa and the Government of Samoa, which remains in force to this day.[7] I give the articles *verbatim*, as they clearly show what our present diplomatic relation with this island is *on paper*. What our position is *de facto*, my readers will be able to determine for themselves when they have finished reading the contents of these pages.

Art. I. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty and those of the Samoan State.

[6] *Vide* Samoa, No. 1 (1881).

[7] A similar treaty of reciprocity between America and Samoa also had been concluded with Malietoa.

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ART. II. *The King and Government (Malo) of Samoa engage to grant to no other Sovereign or State any rights, privileges, authority, or predominance in Samoa in excess of such as are or may be accorded to Her Britannic Majesty. The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall always enjoy in Samoa whatever rights, privileges, and immunities shall be granted to those of the most-favoured nation, and no rights, privileges, or immunities shall be granted to the subjects of any foreign State that shall not be equally and unconditionally accorded to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.*

ART. III. Full liberty for the free pursuit of commerce, trade, and agriculture is guaranteed to British subjects, as well as the peaceable possession of all lands heretofore purchased by them from Samoans in a customary and regular manner, and in the event of any dispute arising as to the fact of such purchase, it shall be determined by a Commission, to consist of one person nominated by the Samoan Government (Malo), and one nominated by Her Britannic Majesty's Consul; and, in the event of their disagreement, they shall themselves select an umpire; or, if they fail to do so, such umpire shall be appointed by Her Majesty's Consul-General. All British subjects resident in Samoa shall be exempt from war contributions, military requisitions, and occupation of their houses and lands by war parties.

ART. IV. If any subject of Her Britannic Majesty in Samoa is charged with a criminal offence cognisable by British law, such charge shall be tried by Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific Islands, or other British officer duly authorised by Her Britannic Majesty in that behalf. The expression 'British Law' in this Article includes any rules duly made and issued by Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific Islands, for the government of British subjects within his jurisdiction.

ART. V. Every civil suit which may be brought in Samoa against any subject of Her Britannic Majesty shall be brought before, and shall be tried by, Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner, or such other British officer duly authorised as aforesaid.

ART. VI. Every summons or warrant to appear as a witness before Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner, or such other British officer duly authorised as aforesaid, and directed to a Samoan subject, shall have the same authority, and may be enforced in like manner, as if such summons or warrant had been directed to a subject of Her Britannic Majesty.

ART. VII. Her Britannic Majesty engages to cause Regulations to be issued to enforce the observance by British subjects of such of the existing Municipal Laws and Police Regulations of Samoa as may be hereafter agreed upon by agreement between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and that of the Samoan State, and for the due observance of Quarantine by British subjects.

ART. VIII. *Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain may, if she think fit, establish on the shores of a Samoan harbour, to be hereafter designated by her Majesty, a naval station and coaling depôt; but this Article shall not apply to the harbours of Apia or Saluafata, or to that part of the harbour of Pago-Pago which may be hereafter selected by the Government of the United States as a station under the provisions of the Treaty concluded between the United States of America and the Samoan Government, on the seventeenth day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight.*

ART. IX. The present Treaty shall come into force from the date thereof, but shall again become null and of no effect if not ratified within the prescribed period.

ART. X. The present Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Apia within one year from the date thereof.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto their seals.

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Done at Apia the twenty-eighth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

(L.S.) ARTHUR GORDON.	(L.S.) MALIETOA LAUPEPA.
(L.S.) ALFRED P. MAUDSLAY.	(L.S.) SAGA LE AUAUUA.

In November 1879 the German man-of-war 'Bismarck' arrived upon the scene, and, acting under telegraphic orders from Europe, seized Tupua's fleet, which had the desired effect of speedily stopping the fighting. An agreement was now drawn up and signed by both parties, on board the 'Bismarck,' giving the Malietoa dynasty supreme power for seven years; and Telavou was placed on the throne hitherto occupied by his nephew Laupepa.

Soon after the events just related, on board the 'Bismarck,' Captain Purvis, commanding H.M.S. 'Danae,' arrived at Apia with orders from the British Government to recognise Malietoa, and, in conjunction with the naval power of America and Germany, to protect the Government.

A very knotty problem, however, had now to be solved. Germany had already effected the following treaty with the old Government. I give it epitomised:

Treaty of Friendship between Germany and Samoa, signed at Apia, 24th of January, 1879.[8]

[TRANSLATION.]

ART. I. States that there shall be peace and perpetual friendship between the German Empire and Samoa.

ART. II. That the subjects of both parties shall enjoy equal protection in their persons and property in both countries.

ART. III. And equal religious liberty.

ART. IV. Refers to commerce. I give it *verbatim*:

There shall be full freedom of commerce for German subjects in all parts and places of Samoa; they may enter unpreventedly with their vessels and cargoes of whatsoever kind into all places, harbours, and waters of Samoa, sell the cargoes of their vessels, and land and store them, and they may also send off produce of the country or articles of any other kind belonging to them for loading their vessels. The German subjects shall not pay any taxes or duties, or be submitted to any restrictions with regard to their vessels and cargoes which arrive or depart, or with regard to the pursuit of commerce as long as such have not been especially agreed upon between the two Governments, but also in this case the German subjects shall always enjoy in Samoa the same rights and advantages as the Samoans or the subjects of the most favoured nation.

ART. V. Relates to harbour of Saluafata.

ART. VI. After setting out equal submission of both contracting parties to the laws and regulations of both governments, it concludes thus:

[8] 'From State Papers,' Vol. 70, now in course of publication.

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Specially does the Samoan Government hereby guarantee to the German subjects peaceable possession of all lands in Samoa which they have hitherto bought from Samoans in a regular manner and in accordance with the custom at the time, and all further interference with regard to such lands is therefore excluded by this confirmation by the Samoan Government of the ownership of the German subjects. The Germans shall therefore be at liberty to make use of all their lands in Samoa without interference, to establish plantations thereon, and to procure and employ the necessary labourers as well for such purpose as also in general for their wharves, business premises, and houses.

ART. VII. Germany to determine what jurisdiction shall decide disputes between Germans and Samoans.

Meanwhile, until the two Governments have thus agreed, all disputes arising between Germans in Samoa and Samoans shall be decided in the manner hitherto customary by the German Consul or his substitute in conjunction with an officer of the Samoan Government.

ART. VIII. No submission to future laws and regulations until deliberated upon by German Consul and Samoan officials, and all laws and measures already agreed upon between the officials of Germany and Samoa only to come into force after confirmation by the German Government.

But any agreements which the officers of the two Governments have come to with regard to municipal arrangements or police, quarantine, and *Apia Harbour regulations, &c.*

ART. IX. Relates to civil status and position, and further declares all matters concerning commerce not yet settled shall be reserved to an agreement between the two Governments.

ART X. The Government of Samoa promises not to grant in their own country any monopolies, indemnities, or real advantages to the disadvantage of German commerce or of the flag and the subjects of the German Empire.

ART. XI.—*The Government of Samoa promises to grant the German Government as many rights as the most favoured nation as well in respect to all matters alluded to in the preceding articles of this treaty as also generally and as may be granted to any other nation in future.*

ART. XII. States treaty to come into force at once.

ART. XIII. Certain references to ratification which have been complied with.

Captain Zempsch, the German Consul, now desired the new king to ratify this treaty. Telavou, however, thinking such a step would involve the acknowledgment of all the purchases of land made by German subjects in Samoa, refused to give it his sanction. He was willing to confirm any sale made with the sanction of the hereditary head of any family, but averse to recognising any other land transactions. The German Consul was greatly annoyed at Telavou's action in this matter, and for some time it was thought that he had an intention of lending his influence to the old party; indeed, the

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intimation he gave to Masua, the rebel leader, certainly pointed in that direction. However, on receipt of a letter from Sir Arthur Gordon, dated 'British Consulate, Apia, September 1880,' from which I extract the following paragraph,[9] Malietoa was induced to ratify the treaty in question.

(1) That in reference to the Treaty which you made with Germany, the Consul of the German Government informs me that you are in error if you think that in that treaty there is any reference to debts contracted by the old Samoan Government; another thing about which he informs me, that you are in error if you think there is any reference in that treaty about entertaining an appeal in reference to any land question which had previously been investigated. I therefore positively inform your Majesty that there is no danger, and no difficulty will arise to you, if you hold rightly to the meaning of that treaty.

And on September 2, 1879,[10] a Convention was agreed upon between Great Britain and Samoa in order to make better provision for—

The good government of the town and district of Apia.
The preservation of peace and good order therein.
And the maintenance of its neutrality should internal disturbance unhappily take place in the Samoan State.

This was signed by Malietoa Lupepa and Sir Arthur Gordon on behalf of Samoa and England, and agreed to and attested by the signatures of Mr. Weber, Imperial German Consul, and Captain Chandler, commanding U.S.S. 'Lackawanna.' By the terms of the Convention (Art. X.), the entire authority of the town and district of Apia was to revert to Malietoa and his Government on the 2nd September, 1882, if the internal state of Samoa would admit of such a proceeding being carried out; but when this time came round, affairs in these islands were so unsettled that it was deemed wise by the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States to enter into another Convention with the King and Government of Samoa, so as to enable the clause in the original Convention to hold good.[11] Accordingly on September 26, 1883, King Malietoa and the Consuls of the Great Powers agreed that the 1879 Convention should remain in force without change until the internal state of the island would admit of the district again passing under the control of the Samoan Government.

Notwithstanding the recognition of the new Government by the great Powers, peace was not long maintained, and in the party strife that ensued much more land passed from the natives to the Germans. In July 1881, Captain Willis, commanding the U.S.S. 'Lackawanna,' put an end to the rebellion, and Malietoa and Tupua signed a treaty, attested by the Consuls of Great Britain, America, and

[9] Translated from original in the Samoan language.
[10] *Vide* Samoa, No. 2 (1881).
[11] *Vide* Samoa, No. 1 (1885).

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Germany, by which it was agreed that the armies should be disbanded at once, and that all Samoa should be amicably united under Malietoa and Tupua, the former as King and the latter as Vice-King.

Events that have taken place in the islands during the last few years leave no room to doubt the determination of Germany to be paramount in Samoa.

On the 10th of November, 1884, Malietoa and his Government were forced into signing the following treaty by the German Consul. I give the text as telegraphed to England by Sir William Jervois on the 8th of January, 1885.

In order to secure German subjects residing Samoa advantages good government, and in conformity with Article XVII. Treaty of Friendship between Germany and Samoa 24th January, 1879, Acting German Consul, South Sea Islands, and King, Vice-King, and Government Samoa, have agreed to following Articles:—

I. German-Samoan State Council (Staatsrath) is hereby formed, the same to consist of German Consul or his substitute, two Samoans, of whom on [? one] shall be appointed by King, the other by Vice-King, with approval of the Taimua and Faipule, and two Germans, who shall be appointed by German Consul.

II. German-Samoan State Council (Staatsrath) shall discuss all laws and regulations, and decide whether same are in conformity with common interests of Samoan Government and of German subjects residing Samoa, it shall especially pass such laws as refer to crimes of Samoans when a German subject or subject of other State in German employ, or coloured labourer in German service, or the property of such persons has been injured thereby; same regulations shall apply to crimes committed by coloured labourers in German employ.

III. The Regulations passed by German-Samoan States Council (Staatsrath) shall be published as laws by King and Vice-King under their signatures; in the introductory [*sic*] shall be stated that the law is published after having previously been passed by German-Samoan Council (Staatsrath).

IV. Kings shall, in concert with German Consul, appoint a German officer in the German Government; the said officer shall be Secretary and Adviser of the King in all matters relating to German subjects residing Samoa; he shall exercise functions of a German Judge in every case in which Germans residing Samoa are interested when punishment to be inflicted does not exceed two years' imprisonment with hard labour, in concert with a Samoan Judge, in cast [? cases] where Samoans and coloured labourers have committed crimes against Samoans or Samoans' property alone. In case where coloured labourers have committed crimes amongst themselves, when more than two years' imprisonment with hard labour can be inflicted, German Consul shall, in concert with a Samoan Judge, take upon himself the functions, or authorise the German official in Samoan Government, or a third person, to act.

V. In order to provide for convicts in cases in which German subjects in Samoa are interested, a gaol shall be erected; those convicted to imprisonment with hard labour shall be held to proper work, proceeds of which shall be applied to defraying expenses arising from the administration of gaol.

VI. German officer in the Samoan Government shall have supervision of the prison system. The King, in concert with German Consul, shall appoint police, who shall attend to the prison service and security of the German plantations; the same shall be subject to the orders of official in Samoan Government.

VII. The necessary expenses arising in consequence this Agreement shall be defrayed out of Court fees and receipts from convict labour, and out of taxes to be

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levied on Germans interested; the control of this money shall be intrusted to a representative of German tax-payers; the levying such taxes, also the taxing the amount of the expenses, takes place through German Samoan State Council (Staatsrath).

VIII. This Agreement has immediate force, subject to approval of Imperial German Government. As long as this is not given, payment of taxes cannot be demanded from German subjects. Imperial German Government shall have right to abrogate this Agreement, in which case it loses legal force after lapse of six months, in testimony whereof we have herewith subscribed our signatures.

Done in Imperial Consulate, Apia, 10th November, 1884.

D. Stuebel, Imperial Acting Consul; Malietoa; Te Lipu Samoa Tapua Te tuī Tupu; T. Weber as witness.[12]

I say 'forced into signing,' and the meaning of the phrase is justified by the fact that Malietoa on the 29th of December, 1884, forwarded to the Emperor of Germany a piteous protest, stating that both he and Tupua had only signed it 'on account of fear and through being continually threatened,' and praying that the Treaty would not be received by the Emperor. The petition also brought serious charges against Mr. Weber, who, though no longer acting German Consul, held a high position in a firm of German merchants in Samoa, and acted as witness to Dr. Stübel's signature in the treaty in question; it accuses him of endeavouring to bring about wars, and of causing difficulties in Samoa, of scheming with certain Samoan chiefs, and giving them bribes to break up Malietoa's Government, and various other wrongs.

The arbitrary action of Dr. Stübel and the backing he received from Mr. Weber, caused the native Government much uneasiness. A petition for British protection was now drawn up and signed by the King, Vice-King, and the members of the Government, with but two dissentients, and immediately despatched to England *viâ* New Zealand. Sir William Jervois at once telegraphed the news and subject-matter of Treaty to the Colonial Office. From this method of proceeding, no doubt, arose the report, which was circulated in London and the colonies during the early part of last year, of the annexation of Samoa by New Zealand. Now mark the sequel.

We received intelligence from Samoa few days ago that two German vessels arrived there, and learning King and Chiefs had petitioned Her Majesty for annexation, officers made treaty for five years with King, who states he was forced Chiefs not consulted. Chiefs and people repudiate treaty, and Parliament Samoa decline ratify. Treaty gives whole authority Government to German Representative. Premier and Consuls not consulted. New Zealand has large interests in Samoa. My Ministry consider that if Germany keep New Guinea and adjacent islands, Samoa and Tonga should become British. They hope compact will be maintained with France about New Hebrides.[13]

[12] Forwarded by telegraph from Governor Sir W. F. D. Jervois, G.C.M.G., C.B. (New Zealand), to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G. (Received January 8, 1885.)

[13] Forwarded by telegraph from Governor Sir W. F. D. Jervois, G.C.M.G., C.B. (New Zealand), to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G. (Received January 6, 1885).

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Am requested by my Ministers to state that they feel aggrieved that, though Colonial Office, knowing of Samoan Petition, wired that representations of my Government will be fully considered, assurances were exchanged between England and Germany that independence of Samoa would be respected; also that proceedings of German Consul direct breach of such assurance.

Piteous indeed is Malietoa's position. Forced by German authority to enter into a treaty[14] which binds him to violate his treaty of friendship with Great Britain, and compels him to grant to Germans rights, privileges, and authority in excess of those accorded to English subjects, he appeals to England for protection, yet months go by and no answer comes to his petition. Diplomatic communications take place between the Courts of Germany and Great Britain in which Malietoa's conduct is made the bone of contention. German officials accuse him of violating their treaty, without rhyme or reason. English officials dilly-dally and shilly-shally, but do nothing. Meanwhile the Germans go on increasing their possessions in Samoa and pushing their influence with the natives, till at last the crisis comes. Malietoa is dethroned, and, according to the latest news from Samoa, has fled for safety to Savaii. Here then we have another blow dealt to British prestige in latitudes where our countrymen have ventured their lives to obtain a footing.

The German Consul, exasperated at what had been done without his knowledge, hoisted the German flag at the seat of government, and had it protected with a 'fort.' When asked why he had hoisted the German flag, he replied, 'As a reprisal for Malietoa's insolence. He also refused to allow the native flag to be hoisted and, aided by Mr. Weber, tried to upset the Government.

In this attempt he was successful, and on the 19th of January, 1885, Tamasese and his party sent a circular note to the Consuls, informing them 'they had separated from Malietoa, and established the Government of Samoa at Leulumoenga.'

A few weeks later Captain Acland arrived in H.M.S. 'Miranda,' but, notwithstanding a request made to him by the Consuls of Great Britain and the United States to suppress the rebellion, he declined to move in the matter unless the German Consul joined in the application. This Dr. Stübel refused to do, and so the 'Miranda' departed, leaving the German flag still flying at the seat of government.

That the natives now desire annexation by England is certain. That they did so fifteen years ago is clearly shown by Mr. Seed's remarks in his Report to the New Zealand Government before referred to.

But more important than the subject of annexation at the present moment is the duty of the English Government to protect Malietoa and secure Safata harbour, S.W. of Upolu, as a coaling station.

[14] See Article ii. of Treaty of Friendship quoted above.

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The Americans are in control of Pangopango and the Germans have practically secured Saluafata, and maintain a hold on Apia both on paper and at the place itself, where they have erected numerous warehouses, &c., while the land around Sanga harbour is also mortgaged to Germans.

The fact that Samoa is in the direct highway to New Zealand and only 630 miles from Suva, the chief port of Fiji, is one that should not be lost sight of by those who are responsible for the administration of our foreign and colonial affairs.

The present troubles in Samoa are to a very large extent due to the desire of German merchants to make their power felt by the natives, and now that Prince Bismarck has stated his intention to adhere to the principle he enunciated last year when he said that the German flag shall only go where German trade has already established a footing,[15] a fresh incentive is afforded to German traders in these islands to make their power paramount.

The report circulated in Berlin and London a few days since that, according to the view of the Hamburg merchants, the best solution of the present difficulty is for England to take over Savaii; Germany Upolu (with Apia) and America Tutuila (with Pangopango), is the very worst thing that could happen for British interests in Samoa, and would be practically ceding to Germany all she desires. Savaii, as I have already pointed out, is absolutely worthless. It is the poorest island of the three, so far as soil is concerned, and has no harbour. Upolu is out and away the best island to possess, both commercially and politically. It possesses three good harbours, and has long been the seat of government. The adoption of any such scheme means good-bye to English and Colonial trade in Samoa for ever, unless transacted through German merchants.

So long as mercantile influence is allowed to over-ride that of native government, so long will chaos and confusion reign in Samoa.

Annexation by either England, America, or Germany is not probable while the present treaties between these three nations and Samoa continue in force, but some more authoritative form of government will have to come into being in Samoa if law and order are to be maintained.

What I suggest and what I have good reason to believe would not be distasteful to the natives themselves, is for the English, German, and American Governments respectively to send out, in addition to their consular representative, some man of high standing, possessing the requisite tact and experience, to act in council in aiding the Samoans to form a native Government, and at the same time to watch the interests, political and commercial, of their own nations.

[15] See report of General Caprivi's statements in the German Budget, Berlin, 18th January, 1886.

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The best form of native government that would be able to rule the country and maintain its position with foreign Powers, is that which was in existence when Steinberger arrived in Samoa—a House of Representatives and a House of Nobles, with two Kings possessing joint power.

C. KINLOCH COOKE.

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ALTERNATIVE POLICIES IN IRELAND.

Up to the middle of last December, the question of Irish Home Rule had been little discussed in Great Britain. People were familiar with the name, but had not seriously considered the thing. Those who sat in the last Parliament and watched the steady growth and consolidation of the Nationalist party there knew that a crisis was coming. That party was kept at bay: Coercion Bills passed in its teeth, measures which it demanded refused; but the danger drew nearer all the while as a thunder-cloud rises against the wind. The country, however, did not realise what was passing. Wonderfully little was said on the subject at the general election, for the electors were occupied with English or Scottish topics, and those candidates who best knew the gravity of the problem distrusted their own capacity to solve it. The consequence is that the demand for an Irish Parliament now preferred by Ireland through eighty-five out of one hundred and three members comes upon England with the shock of surprise, and startles her people out of that coolness with which they commonly conduct their discussions. We are flurried and perplexed; we see difficulties start up on all sides, and do not see how to thread our way among them. The newspaper debates of the past six weeks, while throwing full light on some parts of the question, have left others in shadow, and though the country has been warned of the many dangers incident to a scheme of Home Rule, that scheme has not been considered as a whole, nor have the other alternative policies been worked out in their consequences, and set beside the Home Rule project for dispassionate comparison. There seems, therefore, to be room for attempting such a working-out and comparison, with a view, not to the advocacy of any particular policy, but to the just comprehension of what each policy requires for its success and involves as its result. Advocacy is premature, for this reason, that one condition necessary for a decision between the possible courses has not yet been fulfilled. We do not know what form of the vague thing called Home Rule the Nationalist party desires or would accept in satisfaction of its demand. Till we do know, we can neither reject nor entertain that demand. Nevertheless, even though the time be not ripe for a final decision, certain leading features of the several competing policies may be set forth, and

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certain propositions submitted on which Englishmen of all parties may find themselves able to agree. To discover agreement on some points clears the way for the discussion of others. It is this which the present article proposes to attempt. It will keep altogether clear of politics and persons, resisting even the temptation to compare the speeches of Mr. Gibson in Opposition with the conduct of Lord Ashbourne in power.

The difficulty which confronts us is twofold, and it is of the utmost consequence to keep in view both its sides and the distinction between them. One side is the parliamentary problem. We have to secure—I might say, to restore—the efficiency of the Imperial Parliament as the means of conducting the government of Britain, her colonies and dependencies. The other side is the problem of Irish administration. If Ireland is to continue directly subject to the Imperial Parliament, the Imperial Parliament must secure life and property, must enforce the payment of rent and fulfilment of other contracts, punish crime, and protect peaceable citizens. If it is removed from the immediate control of Parliament, some means must be provided for making it the interest of whoever becomes responsible for the government of the island to make that government strong and just.

Further, whatever solution is proposed for either side of the problem, but especially for that of Irish administration, ought to have a prospect of permanence. For the last ten years we have been resisting Irish parliamentary obstruction by a series of make-shift expedients, which have injured the tone of the British Parliament, lowered its dignity in the eyes of the country, furnished mischievous precedents for the future, and yet after all have not prevented a deplorable waste of precious time and strength.

For eighty-five years we have been grappling with the forces of disaffection and disorder in Ireland. Every kind of coercion has been tried. There have been two insurrections; but far more serious than an open insurrection is the fact that during the whole period a state of war has existed between the mass of the people on the one side, the government and the landlords on the other. What the law calls crimes, the people regard as legitimate acts of war. Every kind of coercion has been tried and has failed. No statesmanship is worth the name that can contemplate the continuance of such a position. No proposal ought to be accepted which does not give a hope of its removal. The good fortune which has kept us out of wars with our European neighbours in which Irish rebellion might have proved dangerous may not always protect us from the natural consequences of our own vacillation and want of skill. Augustus used to say, speaking of his situation at Rome, that he held a wolf by the ears: it was equally dangerous to hold on or to let go. We have been holding the Irish wolf all this century. Suppose while we hold him

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some other foe appears. Let us have done with temporary expedients, limited coercion acts, grudging 'concessions,' sops of money, patronage jobbery and the other means whereby we have demoralised even the governing classes in Ireland. Let us once for all take a departure on broad lines, resolved to give whatever policy is chosen a chance of success by its resolute maintenance for a long term of years.

The policies which have been placed before the country during the last few weeks reduce themselves, neglecting minor differences, to three.

The first we may call the Hold-on policy: government as at present, with Coercion Acts (if necessary) similar to those of recent years.

The second is the policy of small concessions. Give county government, create various local boards, perhaps provincial boards, perhaps central boards for special purposes, following, but not all the way, the precedents of English local government.

The third is the policy of Home Rule. Let Ireland have a local legislature, with powers sufficient to throw on the Irish people the responsibility for making and administering their own law and its administration.

Let us see what each of these three courses involves. I begin with the Hold-on policy, and ask how it will deal with the parliamentary side of the problem.

It will require, in the first place, the constant presence in the House of Commons of a much larger number of ministerial members than has been hitherto required. More than one hundred will have to be always within sound of the division bell in order to outvote on any casual question eighty-six members whose aim will be to stop business and throw things into confusion. Scores of questions come up in Parliament as to which there is no party controversy, and perhaps little difference of opinion. These are now disposed of by the good sense of members of both English parties after fair discussion, so that the Government of the day has comparatively little trouble over them. But for all such questions it will in future be necessary to keep a ministerial majority constantly at hand. The whips, who find it difficult even now to prevent surprises, and secure the requisite quorum of forty during certain hours, may shudder at the far heavier task that awaits them.

It will also involve sweeping changes in the procedure of the House of Commons. There will be needed a more stringent power of closure, and the extinction of other rights now enjoyed by minorities. For instance, forty members can now insist on having any subject discussed at question time as to which a minister of the Crown has given an answer they think inadequate. This power of interrupting the regular business of the day will become intolerable if the Nationalist leaders choose (as they may) to use it frequently. There are many customs and rules of the House which, strained as

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they have been of late years, still can be made to work, because English and Scotch members, owing allegiance to responsible leaders, seldom abuse them, but which will have to be abolished. Mechanical regulations will take the place of the old sway of good sense and good feeling. The whole House of Commons will suffer, and the business of the country with it; for either the majority will be clothed with despotic powers, or the Ministry will be forced, in order to obtain the help of the English Opposition, so to yield to it that strong government and energetic English legislation will become impossible.

These are inconveniences which England and Scotland may put up with for a session or two. But after a time they will either be felt insufferable, or will seriously alter for the worse the character of Parliament. It is also doubtful whether any changes in procedure can overcome the difficulties which eighty or ninety members, if bent upon mischief, can raise. Probably the exasperation will increase until it will seem the simpler and more logical course to eject this hostile element altogether. Especially will this be the case if many of them are suspected of promoting sedition or agrarian agitation in Ireland. When the irritation caused by outbreaks of crime in Ireland has supervened on the irritation caused by obstruction in the House of Commons more effective than we have yet seen, the tendency to stronger measures against both will be irresistible. Why allow questions and debates in the House of Commons to weaken the executive in its struggle against crime? Why suffer Nationalist members to scatter over Ireland through the medium of their reported speeches incitements to sedition and lawlessness which their constituents would be prosecuted for uttering at a public meeting? Suspension of Irish representation, as Mr. Goldwin Smith and others have long ago said, is the natural and logical result to which the policy of repression carries us.

What will the Hold-on policy involve in Irish administration?

Obviously some fresh Coercion Act. We are told that the National League rules Ireland. We know that the fall in the price of stock and produce has caused distress; we can foresee that the refusal of remedial legislation will excite the people. Even making those enormous deductions that must be made from the Irish news supplied to English readers, it is probable that rents will not be paid, that evictions will be resisted, that boycotting and outrages will increase, until we are forced to grant the executive some further powers than it now possesses for tracking and convicting offenders. It may be quite right to do so. All criminal law threatens coercion; all criminal courts and officers carry it out. To be a terror to evildoers is the magistrate's first duty in every state, and Parliament must arm him with such powers as he needs for that purpose. But observe the consequences as regards Ireland. If the new statute relates to Ireland only, as former Coercion Acts have

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done, it will be one more declaration and confession that we have one law for Ireland, another law for Great Britain, and that peoples which we allege to be one are really distinct. It will, moreover, be only the old prescription, which has sometimes driven the disease inwards, but has never cured it. So far from holding out a prospect of permanent improvement, it will, if we may judge from past experience, tend rather to increase the activity of secret societies and the influence of the violent men who act from Paris and America. People assume that because crime diminished after the passing of the Crimes Act in 1882, it will again diminish should a similar statute be enacted. But as the Arrears Act also had then been just passed, and as the Nationalist leaders were anxious to keep the country quiet with a view to the Franchise and Redistribution Bills, which soon appeared on the horizon, the effect of the Crimes Act may well have been due to these transient causes. Hence hopes based on the success of the Act of 1882 rest on a weak foundation. Something much stronger may prove to be needed to meet the emergency that will arise if remedial legislation be refused. And if the result of a Coercion Act *plus* the refusal of such other demands as the Nationalist party may prefer should be to transfer the control of the movement from the parliamentary leaders to the conspirators, then still more stringent repression will be called for. Political assassinations may recommence. The nitro-glycerine men may succeed better than hitherto in killing innocent people at railway stations or in places of public resort. Such crimes will of course have no terrors for a British Government or Parliament, but they may exasperate our people, and may lead to demonstrations against Irishmen in England, perhaps even to lynchings. Had the London explosions taken place in Lancashire, and caused the deaths of women or children, a fierce revenge might probably have been taken by the English workmen. It is a vista of crime, violence, and embittered hatred that the policy of coercion opens before us, and whether peace and order lie anywhere at the end of that vista must remain more than doubtful.

This at least is certain, that if a repressive policy is to succeed in pacifying Ireland, in forcing her people to renounce those fancies which have so long floated before their minds, and submit to be finally assimilated with the population of Great Britain, such a policy must be pursued in a different spirit and manner than heretofore. In the first place, it must be maintained with unwavering firmness through a long series of years. The plan of Coercion Acts limited to two or three years does not and cannot quell the spirit of disorder, but at best interrupts its display for a short time. It brings the question of Irish discontent before Parliament every few years, consumes the time of the nation, shakes Ministries, dislocates government, and withal (as we know to our cost) does not produce permanent improvements in administration. If the habits of crime

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and disorder are to be untaught, to be washed and purged out of the minds of the people, the process must be continued for a generation, and the Acts amending and strengthening the criminal law (whatever they are to be) must be passed for a long period or, like most other statutes, without limit. Even those who object on principle to exceptional criminal legislation for Ireland may well think it better both for her and for Parliament that if a Crimes Act be deemed necessary, it should be passed without restriction of time, and should be left in force so long as there can be supposed to remain any risk of the recurrence of the old mischiefs.

Such a policy ought, moreover, to be carried out by very different instruments from those whom the Irish Government has hitherto employed. One of our greatest troubles in Ireland has been that the magistrates (paid as well as unpaid) and most of the executive officials of all kinds belong to the landlord caste, which the people hates, and which hates the people. They administer what an ex-viceroy has lately called 'a hateful bureaucratic system.' They are suspected of unfairness, and the knowledge that they are suspected makes it all the harder for them to be fair. Few even of the paid officials have had such a legal training as is thought requisite for an English stipendiary magistrate or a Scotch sheriff-substitute. Many are ill-suited for their functions; most have suffered from the habit of looking for and relying on exceptional powers, instead of learning how to make the most of the ordinary criminal law. If the administration is to be amended, new men ought to be found for it; and it would actually be better to take those men from England, little as they would at first know of the country, than to entrust large coercive powers to members of the Irish caste that has hitherto maintained Protestant ascendency.

Such a policy would need, in order to give it any chance of success, to be accompanied by sweeping reforms in administration and probably in the law also. But if the Nationalists are crushed and perhaps excluded from Parliament, there will be no Irish party to demand reforms. At all times the difficulty of carrying reforms through the House of Commons, still more through the House of Lords, against the opposition of Irish landlords is very serious. It would seem to follow, therefore, that the Irish executive, since it is to be made responsible for the due exercise of wide criminal authority, ought also to enjoy a wider power than heretofore of introducing administrative changes, and ought to have its legislative proposals accepted almost as a matter of course by Parliament. To help the people and the country with one hand while it represses disorder with the other, is essential; and that it may do this, it must have a freer hand than Irish viceroys or chief secretaries have possessed of late years. It must not be interfered with, pulled up or interrupted in pursuing a settled course of policy. If it could be made inde-

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pendent of the rise or fall of English Ministries, so much the better, but in any event it ought to be loyally trusted and supported so long as it appeared to be moving with firmness and vigour, on the lines of justice to and consideration for the people.

These are the conditions needed to give the Hold-on policy a prospect of success. Is there a probability of their fulfilment?

Not unless English parties rise to a level of unselfishness, self-restraint and far-sighted wisdom which they have never attained in this century when Irish questions came before them. They must resist the temptation to win the Irish vote in England, which will remain even if Irish representation in Parliament has been suspended. They must reprove and restrain the humanitarian sentiments and freedom-loving instincts of the English masses, who will chafe at the idea of treating Ireland as a subject country. They must forego the pleasure of criticising the mistakes of the Irish Government, unless those mistakes are so dangerous to the state as to require its supersession. They must, in fact, agree to take Ireland out of English party politics as completely as India is now, or was till Lord Lytton's viceroyalty; and to let it stay out.

I am not arguing for or against this policy; I am merely trying to point out what it involves, or ought to involve if it is to effect permanent good. It has the advantage of keeping Ireland as an integral part of the British nation, of giving her a fair chance of material progress by arresting the disorders which are ruining her trade and agriculture, of breaking the detestable traditions of agrarian crime. But to effect all this requires a firmness, constancy, and wisdom—shall I add, an abandonment of the traditions of representative Government?—not only from one English Ministry, but from a succession of Ministries; not only from one Parliament, but from a succession of Parliaments; not only from Ministers and Parliaments, but from the great majority of the English people, which our recent history and the genius of our party system give us little reason to expect.

I come next to the policy of small concessions. The occasion of reorganising local government in rural England may, it is suggested, be used to give county government to Ireland also. All sorts of elective local boards may be created, with taxing powers, perhaps with the control of the police. There may even be central boards, these, too, wholly or partly elective; only they must be strictly limited each to one special function, lest they should try to play the part of a Parliament. Private Bill legislation may be given to them, and the control of certain branches of local expenditure: perhaps poor-law business, perhaps education.

We are all agreed in valuing self-government, so these proposals have an immediate claim on our favour. It is quite true that the English people have been reared to the full measure of their political

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stature by the long practice of local self-government, and that the Irish people ought to have received similar educational facilities. It is also true that if such county boards were properly worked, worked as Englishmen would work them, they might remove the vices that now deform Irish administration. Once more, it is most true that such a system has the great advantage of recognising the differences between different parts of Ireland, and in particular of letting the Protestant counties of Ulster, commercial and manufacturing Ulster, manage their own affairs in their own way.

But there is an objection to this policy. It does not touch the capital difficulty of governing Ireland. It touches neither branch of that difficulty. It will not appease the Nationalists in Parliament, nor make them a whit less anxious to injure, less capable of injuring, the British House of Commons. Nor does it remove any of the troubles of Irish local administration. Rent will be no easier to recover, boycotting no less mischievous, outrages no less difficult of detection. Is the control of the police to be given to a county board or not? If it is not given, then, after all, you have not that similarity and equality between England and Ireland which you profess to be trying to establish; but even while reforming and enfranchising you leave Ireland in an inferior position. If, on the other hand, the control of the police is given, then good-bye to rents, good-bye to the security of person and property which the police find it hard enough even now to insure. Or again, is the central Board elected to deal with education, to have power over Trinity College and the northern Queen's College or not? If it is not, the complaints of grievance will be as loud as ever from the hierarchy, and nothing will have been gained by your concession. If it is, the Board elected by Nationalist votes at the bidding of the priesthood will forthwith put out those two eyes of Ireland, and leave the country in that darkness which is to make it more obedient to its spiritual guides.

But the Irish critics of this policy go even further. They urge that, so far from pacifying the island, the granting of petty concessions might even aggravate the existing difficulties of our government. It will, they say, inspirit and intensify the agitation for Home Rule by seeming to have brought Home Rule one step nearer. It will furnish the agitators with weapons in whose use they will soon become experts. Every county board, every central council, however limited its legal powers, may become a focus for agrarianism or sedition. Resolutions may be passed demanding an Irish Parliament, and denouncing any acts of the executive offensive to Nationalists. Taxing powers may be so exercised as to oppress the landlords, and pushed far enough to destroy the value of their property. At this moment the local poor-law authorities, we are told, are evading the law by giving outdoor relief to persons who are really able-bodied, but whom the National League regards with favour. They have in places raised

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the poor rate to more than twice what it was some years ago. A central authority might of course be armed with powers to resist such action on the part either of guardians or of county boards. But if the central authority is elective, it too will fall under the control of the Nationalists. If it is nominated by an English Ministry, it will be engaged in angry wrangles with the local bodies; the present bitterness will become more bitter; the minds of the people will be more than ever inflamed by the struggle. All this is of course argued on the assumption that in three provinces and a half out of the four provinces of Ireland the Nationalist party will obtain command of whatever elective boards are created. But the assumption is one which the recent parliamentary elections amply warrant.

With all deference to the eminent statesmen who have recommended this policy, I must observe that it is a Half-way-house policy. It carries us half way to Home Rule, gives none of the advantages which are claimed for Home Rule, loses such advantages as the Hold-on policy retains, and leaves the English Parliament in a position where there is really no stopping. It sets us on an inclined plane, whence the descent to Home Rule is all but certain, unless with doubled toil we climb back up the slope to the policy of repression. And this has already been perceived by the Unionists of Ulster. The apparent guarantee for their own safety which the system of county authorities offers does not blind them to the results involved in these concessions. They are now protesting that such concessions are but the beginning of the end.

The third alternative policy is Home Rule. Under this loose term I understand a system which throws the responsibility of legislating on Irish matters and conducting Irish administration on an Irish body or bodies. It may be a federal system, created by a written constitution or species of treaty between the nations—an instrument to be placed above the Parliament of either country. It may be merely a statutory Constitution, like those granted to Canada or Australia by the Imperial Parliament, which the Imperial Parliament can revoke or alter at its pleasure. It may grant wider or narrower powers over Ireland: may, for instance, withhold or yield the right to impose a separate Irish tariff. It may create a body with powers of legislating on all subjects not expressly excluded, or only on subjects expressly specified, or only on subjects specially committed to it by imperial statutes passed from time to time. It may leave Ireland a representation in the Imperial Parliament, or extinguish such representation, or create a new Imperial council for certain common affairs, like the American Congress, or provide for the settlement of such affairs by bodies like the Delegations in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It may place Ireland in a position like that of the Canadian Dominion, or like that of one province of that Dominion, or like that of a State in the American Union. The forms it may take are so numerous, and

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the arguments for and against each of these forms so different, that there is little use in discussing any one unless we are prepared to discuss all in succession.

There are of course some arguments that may be alleged in favour of any of these schemes, such as the desirability of teaching the Irish people to govern themselves by giving them the chance of learning; the need for creating a sense of responsibility, and letting them feel that errors in government bring their sure and appropriate punishment; the difficulty, proved by so many deplorable examples, of getting from an English Parliament the kind of legislation which Ireland requires. 'Stew in your own juice,' 'Make your bed and lie on it'—these are the phrases which sum up this line of advocacy. But, after all, the reason which has chiefly moved such Englishmen as incline to the Home Rule view is a despair of the present system engendered by the experience of the past eighty-five years, and the notion that since all previous prescriptions have failed, and there is little prospect that an English democracy ruling through two rival parties will consent to apply any repressive treatment steadily for a long period of years, some new kind of treatment ought to have a chance.

These Englishmen have begun to realise how little we have understood Ireland during all these years. At this moment English members know neither how much distress exists requiring a reduction of the judicial rents, nor how far boycotting exists, *i.e.* they cannot tell whether there is a case for either of the measures they are urged to pass, an Arrears and Land Bill, or a Coercion Bill. The government of Ireland, by the Imperial Parliament, has not been self-government, but the government of a dependency, because the English majority has not that knowledge of Ireland which it has of its own country. On English questions it has its own opinion, by which a Ministry is guided. On Irish questions it follows the opinion of the Irish Minister of the day, who may be, and often has been, utterly wrong. Scotland, on the other hand, has always retained institutions thoroughly her own. When they need change, the change is made by Parliament at the bidding of the Scotch members. Nothing could either be forced on Scotland or taken from Scotland against the will of the Scottish people. An English king tried the experiment, and he lost his throne and his head.

There are also many objections equally, or almost equally, applicable to every form of Home Rule. These objections have been stated in the English press with such force and fulness during the last seven weeks that there is no need to recapitulate them. Yet any one who has studied federal governments, such as that of the United States, could add to the long list. He could point out that the American system works because the central authority has in every State the means of enforcing the decisions of the federal courts and the lawful administrative orders of the federal executive. He

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could show that such enforcement succeeds because the sentiment of the people of the States supports the federal judiciary and executive, because in fact the centripetal force holds in check, and showed in the War of Secession its power to overbear, the centrifugal tendencies of a State or even of a great group of States. And he could ask how a quasi-federal machinery is to be created in Ireland, and where is the centripetal sentiment to support it.

Why, it may be asked, should not English politicians set themselves to examine the various forms above mentioned, and either frame a workable one or reject all as unworkable? The answer is that there is nothing gained by trying to do so till it is known what would be accepted by Irish opinion as a settlement of the question. If there is anything which our experience of Irish legislation proves, it is the uselessness of forcing on the people reforms they reject. The chief argument advanced for Home Rule is that it might give a chance of ending the struggle of the two nations by removing the grounds of quarrel and letting Irish parties dispute with one another, instead of uniting to harass England. But this could not be attained if a constitution were granted to Ireland which the majority of her representatives refuse to accept, and which, if granted, they would forthwith begin to use as an engine of attack against England, a means of extorting further concessions. We should be worse off than we are now, because the Nationalists would be entrenched in the position we had given them, and they would still be enemies, not having got what they wanted. Englishmen, therefore, occupy safer ground when they decline to propose schemes until they are told by the responsible spokesmen of Ireland what is the scheme they will accept. To refuse to consider any scheme is unreasonable. To give encouragement to ideas which when formulated in a scheme may prove inadmissible is dangerous. The first thing is to call upon those Nationalist leaders who come as the delegates of their nation to tell us all they want. They are the plaintiffs: let them open their case.

Are there, then, no issues which can be now profitably argued, no points on which agreement may be obtained? I believe that there are, and I shall submit a few. If any one says that all discussion can stand over, because the current of English opinion now seems to run against any form of Home Rule, let him remember how suddenly opinion changes in this country. Who dreamt of the Land Bill of 1881 even a year before it was passed? We may roll up our stone of Sisyphus, but it will come down on us again, none can tell how soon.

The first point I submit is this. The assumption often made that the general desire of the Irish is for total separation is quite unwarranted. How far such a desire prevails, there is no means of ascertaining. But many of the best native observers, themselves loyal, declare that it is confined to the extreme or Fenian party. This

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much is certain, than separation means economic ruin to Ireland, and that the Irish farmer is shrewd enough to know it. However, whether the separatists be many or few, they ought to be told at once, and in the firmest language, that neither separation nor anything leading to separation can be thought of. The right claimed for the numerical majority of those who inhabit a part of the earth's surface to disjoin themselves at their pleasure from those nations to whom nature and many centuries of political connection have bound them is a claim which both reason and history reject. The cases of the Swiss Sonderbund and of the Southern States of America are sufficient to justify Great Britain in retaining Ireland if she thinks it best for Ireland, for herself, and for the world, that this should be done. What concessions would lead to separation is a point open to much discussion. Some will argue, like Mr. Albert Dicey in his powerful article in the *Contemporary Review* for July 1882, that any form of Home Rule does. Those who deny this will at any rate agree that the power for an Irish authority to maintain any armed force beyond what is needed for civic order would lead to separation, and must be withheld. And it may be argued that to allow an Irish legislature to impose protective duties, which might produce a war of tariffs, is open to the same objection.

A second point is, that no change in the relations of Great Britain to Ireland should destroy that vital quality and supreme merit of the British Constitution, the absolute sovereignty of Parliament. No compact can be admitted which would erect over the head of Parliament a written Constitution with a judiciary interpreting that Constitution—which would in fact replace our historic Constitution by one after the American model. That model has great excellences for the purposes of the Republic where it exists; but it would inflict the gravest injuries upon us. A recollection of the way in which the long struggle of North and South before the War of Secession was complicated and rendered more difficult of settlement by the fact that the constitution seemed to entrench the South behind legal right, ought to be enough to warn us from an experiment foreign to the genius of our people and the circumstances of our empire. To hold that empire together will tax all the resources of our sovereign Parliament: let us not for a moment dream of tying its hands.

Thirdly: one of the weightiest arguments against the creation of any legislative body in Ireland, whether central or local, whether a Parliament or a provincial council, or a county board, is the danger it involves to landowners. The power of dealing with the land is the very power which the Irish most desire; what object is there in a grant from which this power is reserved? But everybody knows how such a power would be used. Most Nationalists own that they would give a merely nominal compensation to the landlords, whom they regard as robbers. Some talk of five years' purchase; some of prairie value. It

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is proposed, even by some English statesmen, to give elective county authorities the control of the police. But with the police under the orders of an elective board, the landlord might whistle for his rent. He would be lucky if he kept a whole skin. His property would be gone without any need for confiscatory legislation.

Now, can the Imperial Parliament leave the landlords to the mercy of an Irish authority? There is a feeling against them in England, a feeling justified by the sins of the class in time past, but which ought not to make us forget the innocence of many members of the class, still less the hardships which some of the innocent—ladies, for instance, with no livelihood save from their rents—have suffered since 1879. All of them, however, be they good or bad, and their mortgagees also, have legal rights, grounded on imperial statutes. The honour of England is pledged to these rights. At no cost can we abandon them. We could not look other nations in the face were we to throw over men whose property we confirmed as lately as by the Act of 1881; not to speak of the shock which so pernicious a precedent would give to the security of property in England and Scotland. It has been suggested that guarantees might be taken from any Irish authority against interference with contracts or vested rights of property. But such guarantees would not touch the police difficulty; and in any case they would be uncertain in their effect, likely to give rise to infinite litigation, certain to produce conflicts between any Irish authority and imperial statutes. They would keep up that very irritation which the grant of powers of local legislation would be designed to remove. The conclusion follows that before any police control, or any considerable legislative functions, can be conferred on an Irish authority, whether central or local, the land question must be grappled with. Reasonable compensation must be offered to the landowners, and, either prior to or concurrently with any settlement of the other questions, this compensation must be secured, and a scheme enacted for the discharge by the purchasing tenants of the liability devolved upon them. If the landlords are wise, they will accept moderate compensation, lest a worse thing befall them.

When I began this article, I proposed to argue at length the paramount importance of dealing promptly with the land question. But it becomes clearer every day that this view is accepted by those to whom Parliament and the country look for guidance. Opponents and friends of Home Rule may agree upon it, for while the latter regard it as making Home Rule possible, the former may hold that it will render Home Rule unnecessary. Much of the strength of the agitation has been derived from the hunger of the tenants for the land. Most of the outrages and the boycottings which baffle justice are connected with evictions. If the land could be got on fair terms out of the hands of its present owners into the hands of the tenants, some at least of the sinews of agitation would be cut, the occa-

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sions for crime would be immensely reduced, and a contest might spring up between the new owners and the labourers which would drive the former over to the side of order. What I have seen of Ireland makes me believe that the sentimental side of the national movement, backed as it is by sympathy from the Irish in America, will still survive as a serious force. But the problem will in any case be simpler and less formidable.

Fourthly: the landlords, it may be said, are not the only persons who would be left to Nationalist mercies were either Home Rule or a wide system of local government established in Ireland. There are the merchants of the towns; there are the Protestants everywhere.

These classes have little to fear, except from such a decline in the prosperity of the country as would follow bad legislation and lax administration. The worth of capitalists and traders in Dublin and the Southern towns seems too obvious to make attacks on them probable. It is one of the aims and hopes of the Nationalist party to develop the commerce and manufactures of these towns. Nor would Protestants be molested as Protestants. They might suffer in the loss of educational endowments, and perhaps see the schools still more completely controlled by the Catholic priesthood than is now the case. But they are so mixed up with the rest of the population, and form, except in Dublin and the North, so small a part of it, that they would not be conspicuous. It would not be in the interest of the priests to harass them, nor are the priests strong enough to influence legislation for that purpose.

So much as to the six-sevenths of the area of Ireland, four-fifths of the population. But the case of the Protestant part of Ulster is different. One cannot say Ulster as a whole, because about half of Ulster is mainly Roman Catholic in population and by consequence Nationalist in sentiment. The Protestant part (in which there is, no doubt, a large Catholic minority) includes the counties of Antrim, Down, Derry, half Tyrone, half Armagh, with a population of something over a million. The Nationalists have long hated this half of Ulster, not so much on religious grounds as because they think its people anti-national. Not only the Episcopalians but the more numerous Presbyterian population of Scotch extraction, from whom the rebellion of 1798 drew much of its strength, are with scarcely an exception attached to the Union. The Orangemen, as everybody knows, recruited from Presbyterians as well as Episcopalians, are the fiercest of all Irish Unionists, and have long waged a sort of civil war with their Roman Catholic neighbours. Now these Ulster Protestants believe that any powers which an Irish authority might enjoy (and this argument applies to any central council in Dublin scarcely less than to an Irish Parliament) would be used to worry and injure them. 'Our trade and manufactures' (so they say) 'would

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be so far as possible diverted to Dublin and the Catholic provinces. Our philanthropic and educational institutions would be interfered with—Queen's College, Belfast, being the first victim. Every device to insult and harass us would be resorted to; and a thriving and industrious population, whose sympathies are entirely with England and with Scotland, whence it came, would be made to suffer in mind and estate, if not also in body, for its loyalty to the British connection.'

One may deem these fears exaggerated and yet admit that there is ground for them. The Orangemen are excitable and pugnacious. The risk of an attack by them or upon them may be smaller than those who declaim to their lodges believe. But it exists. Considering the centuries of animosity that have inflamed the minds of both parties, armed collisions are possible, collisions which would be disgraceful to England as well as to Ireland, and would strongly move the feelings of Englishmen. Would England, however much she may condemn the violence of the Orangemen in the past, look on and see them suffer? And do not the same arguments by which the Nationalists seek to show that Ireland should be allowed to manage her own affairs, free from English interference, show that the Protestant half of Ulster, no less distinct from the rest of Ireland than Ireland is from Britain, ought to enjoy the like self-government, free from Nationalist control? Those who know the people of Ulster best will be the first to agree that the passionate protests, which come thick and fast from them, against being left to the mercies of an Irish Parliament, are well entitled to respect. By what means they should be protected, if any local autonomy were yielded to Ireland which made protection necessary, is a difficult question, on which they would have to be consulted. Since their territory cannot be cut off from Ireland and floated across to Scotland, the simplest method would seem to be to give them a local autonomy which should restrict any exercise of authority by an Irish national council to which some council of their own had not assented. The whole question is so far from a settlement that these details need not now be argued. But England ought to realise that here lies a difficulty which she cannot evade without dishonour nor neglect without the risk of civil war.

If I have not argued on behalf of any of the policies that now lie before us, it is not for the want of a distinct opinion of my own, for I have one, but because it seems presently more useful to point out how these policies are related to one another, and what each of them involves. Lest I should have failed to make clear the propositions which I advance, I will summarise them as follows:—

1. The maintenance of the present system of Irish government (the Hold-on policy) involves probably the suspension of Irish representation in Parliament, certainly stringent measures of repression.

2. To enable repression to effect any permanent improvement, it

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must be continued for a long time, perhaps a generation ; be carried out by men more impartial and more capable than the present Irish magistrates ; be accompanied by large amendments in law and administration ; be conducted on the principle of keeping Ireland out of English party politics.

3. The policy of small concessions in the way of local government will solve neither branch of the present problem ; will whet rather than appease the appetite for legislative independence. It is trying to stop half-way down an inclined plane.

4. Nothing will be gained by giving any form of Home Rule which the bulk of the Nationalist party is not prepared to accept as a settlement. There is, therefore, little use in discussing schemes till the demands of that party have been specifically formulated.

5. Separation and such a remodelling of the British Constitution as would sacrifice the sovereignty of Parliament are out of the question.

6. No scheme of Home Rule or local self-government is admissible which would leave the landowners at the mercy of Irish elective bodies.

7. No such scheme as aforesaid is admissible which does not recognise and provide for the case of the Ulster Protestants.

If it is said that these propositions suggest more difficulties than they solve, I answer that it is well to determine where the real difficulties lie, and, while we offer a fair hearing to proposals of change, to declare frankly what limits no change shall overpass. The outlook may be dark, but we make it no darker by calculating the consequences which must follow the steps we are about to take. There is much cause for anxiety but none for despondency. Democracy, at which it is now fashionable to rail, is not the cause of our present perplexities, for these were as great under the oligarchy before 1832, and during the period of middle-class rule that followed. Sudden reversals of policy such as that of last summer have not been due to popular fickleness, but to the arts of party politicians. The whole British people is more likely to succeed in dealing with Ireland than were the class governments of earlier days, because it has a stronger sense of justice, is less influenced by special tenderness for landlords and more by goodwill to the Irish in general, and can give to its decisions, whatever they may be, the weight of a nation's will. The material strength of England, great as it is, is not a more important factor in this question than the spirit of fairness and unselfishness which her people have more and more begun to display towards Ireland. It is to be hoped that the Nationalists in Ireland and America will not mistake this spirit, which has borne many provocations quietly, for a want of firmness or of courage. If they do, they will be fatally mistaken. England will yield nothing to menace ; but she is strong enough to be magnanimous. Recognising the

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novelty of the present situation, recollecting the lamentable errors of the past, contrasting her own peace and prosperity with the miseries of distracted Ireland, she is prepared to give a calm and patient consideration to any and every scheme which offers a prospect of alleviating those miseries and of creating a better feeling between peoples whom nature meant to be friends, and whose friendship is essential to the welfare and the greatness of her empire.

JAMES BRYCE.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF IRELAND TO GREAT BRITAIN.

That one of the roots of mischief in Ireland is economic, everybody agrees. The curse of Ireland is its poverty. The hunger for land which is so unintelligible to English feeling is at the bottom of outrages of every kind, and is played upon by political agitators. It is not, however, generally understood how the weakness of Ireland affects the whole aspect of the Irish political difficulty.

I have thought it worth while, therefore, when the notion of splitting partnership is in the air, to bring together some notes as to the economic position of Ireland, relatively to Great Britain, from the point of view of a statesman in Great Britain looking at the suggested proposal to part company as a mere matter of business—as he would look, in fact, at the analogous suggestion of union with a State which was seeking partnership with us. The statesman, of course, must weigh moral and political considerations as well as economic, and the various questions involved are necessarily intermixed; but it is expedient nevertheless to separate the economic from the other elements. We shall know better what we are doing or going to do in Ireland if the business loss or gain is clear.

The first point to notice in such a question is population. The people of Ireland are rather less than five millions, as compared with nearly thirty-one and a half millions in Great Britain. If Great

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Britain were to be offered a partnership of about five millions of people of equal character and resources to those of Great Britain themselves, the addition to the strength of the empire would be as five to thirty-one and a half. The population thus to be added would constitute in the new State somewhat less than a seventh of the whole. Equally the deduction of a people of this magnitude from the existing Union would be the deduction of rather less than a seventh.

A change of this description would be a very considerable one. But, apart from what it might lead to, it cannot be described as in itself formidable. With the loss of a seventh, the United Kingdom would be as great a Power as it was in 1870, and in fact a much greater Power, because the remaining six-sevenths are richer and stronger individually than the population of 1870. Their condition in the interval has enormously improved.

Of course, if by any arrangement the splitting of partnership were only to be partial—if we retained Ulster, while permitting to the rest of Ireland more or less complete separation—the deduction from the United Kingdom would be materially less. The disaffected parts of Ireland are not more than three-fifths of the whole, or three millions. In losing the three millions we should only lose one-twelfth of our numbers, or less than the growth of our population every decade.

Looking at the matter historically, we must come to the conclusion that the problem of disaffection in Ireland is mitigated in its intensity by the changes of population which have occurred. Down to about 1845, from the beginning of the century, the people of Ireland were about half those of Great Britain—about a third of the whole population of the United Kingdom. The population of the disaffected parts of Ireland was also nearly three-fourths of the whole of that country, and consequently about a fourth of that of the United Kingdom. The change from such proportions to those of about one-seventh for the proportion of Ireland itself to the United Kingdom, and one-twelfth for the proportion of the disaffected parts of Ireland, requires no comment. Disaffection in Ireland is obviously not what it was in relation to the United Kingdom as a whole.

I have called attention to this point for some years past as necessarily altering our entire conception of the Irish difficulty. It is dealt with in *Essays in Finance* (first series), in an essay on the *Taxation and Representation of Ireland*, which was first published in 1876, and I have introduced the same topic in two essays in the second series of *Essays in Finance*—viz. an essay on the Utility of Common Statistics, and another on Some General Uses of Statistical Knowledge. I doubt if the full force of this consideration is properly appreciated even yet. Relatively Ireland is still losing ground most rapidly, not so much because Irish

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population diminishes, as because that of Great Britain increases. We grow a new people in Great Britain equal to the whole disaffected part of Ireland at the present time every ten years. In a few generations, at this rate, Ireland must become relatively to Great Britain very little more than a somewhat larger Isle of Man or Channel Islands. To let Ireland split partnership would differ in no way in kind, and comparatively little in degree, as far as business is concerned, from letting the Isle of Man remain a separate State.

The second point is even more important. The people of Ireland are not equal in industrial character and resources to those of the United Kingdom. They are very far from being equal. Great Britain, in adding to itself an Ireland, would add a community having only a twentieth part of the income of the United Kingdom; the United Kingdom, in losing an Ireland, would only lose a small percentage of its strength.

It is very difficult, of course, dealing with questions of the aggregate income of different communities; but, practically, we need have little doubt of the proportions stated.

In the assessments to the Income-tax the proportion of Ireland is as 1 to 17—viz. United Kingdom (including Ireland), 629,000,000*l.* sterling; Ireland, 37,000,000*l.* sterling. This is more than five per cent., but not very much more. And there is reason to believe that Ireland is more strictly valued than Great Britain, and that it is overvalued.

At any rate, when it comes to be a question of the whole aggregate income of the different communities, there can be little doubt that other sources of income, outside of the Income-tax, are larger relatively in Great Britain than in Ireland. In dealing with the subject lately in *Further Notes on the Progress of the Working Classes*, I put down the whole income of Great Britain as about 1,200,000,000*l.*, and that of Ireland alone as just over 70,000,000*l.* But I have a strong feeling that in these figures, which were based very much on what Mr. Dudley Baxter and Mr. Leone Levi had done, I gave too little to Great Britain, if not too much to Ireland.

With regard to Ireland specially, it is easy to see that the income cannot be very large. The chief industry is agriculture, which employs in round figures about sixty per cent. of the population. Out of 1,290,000 males of twenty years and upwards, with specified occupations, according to the census of 1881, no fewer than 757,000 were engaged in agriculture, which is just under sixty per cent. Among the remainder, there were no fewer than 115,000 called 'mechanics or labourers,' among whom, I suspect, would be many partly or largely engaged in agriculture. The proportion of sixty per cent. may, however, be taken. In other words, three millions of people in Ireland depend on agriculture directly—the breadwinners of the family are

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engaged in that occupation. And this means that, all told, the average income of these three millions, including those who receive rent, as well as farmers and labourers, is not more than about 13*l.* or 14*l.* per head. The gross produce of the crops of Ireland, according to the latest returns, is about 33,000,000*l.* only, from five million acres, of which about 10,000,000*l.* are from cereal crops, 10,000,000*l.* from potatoes, and the remainder mainly from hay and green crops, which latter, of course, along with a large part of the cereal crops themselves, are not in their final form when thus valued. Making a deduction from the 33,000,000*l.* on this account, and making an estimate for the value of cattle, sheep, and pigs sold, and for dairy produce, the gross produce of pasture-land being, of course, much less than that of cereal or other crops, it seems impossible to arrive at a larger figure than about forty to forty-five millions as the value of the agricultural produce of Ireland, deducting seed, manures, and expenses of that nature. On this forty to forty-five millions, three millions of people have to live, which gives about 14*l.* per head; or less than 60*l.* for a family of four persons.

Deducting a total rent of just under 10,000,000*l.* according to the Income-tax returns, with practically no deduction from the numbers of people on the other side, we should leave about 11*l.* per head only for farmers and labourers and their families. And if we take the rent at a less figure, as I believe we ought to do—say at about eight millions sterling only—we should still make the income of the Irish agricultural classes, farmers and labourers together, only 12*l.* per head; or under 50*l.* for a family of four persons. Comparing this with England, it would appear that the tenant-farmers and labourers of Ireland are not so well off as the average of the English agricultural labourers, which implies that very many must be far below that level.

On this basis, also, we may calculate the aggregate income of Ireland. Assuming the income per head of the rest of the people of Ireland to be one-half equal to the income per head of those engaged in agriculture, and the other half fifty per cent. more, we should still arrive at a figure of less than eighty millions only as the total aggregate income of the whole people of Ireland.

In this way, according to estimates of income generally, the proportion of Ireland to the United Kingdom also comes out as one to seventeen, the same as from Income-tax assessments only.

Another test of resources would be the relative capital of Great Britain and Ireland. I have to refer to Irish capital later on, and estimate it at 400,000,000*l.* or thereabouts. There can be no exact estimates in such matters; but the total capital of the United Kingdom ten years ago I ventured to estimate at not less than 8,500,000,000*l.*, and, calculating on a similar basis now, it cannot be less, I think, than 9,600,000,000*l.* In other words,

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Irish capital is only a twenty-fourth part of that of the United Kingdom. And, whatever doubt there may be about the figures, which are necessarily very wide, and which assume that a nation can be valued as a going business concern, it is at least certain that no emendation would sensibly alter the proportions. An addition to Irish capital and a deduction from English capital that would both be large, would leave the proportions much the same.

It is easy to see, then, how little the gain of an Ireland would add to the resources of Great Britain, or the loss of it would deduct from those resources. The taxable income of Ireland must bear a still smaller proportion to the taxable income of Great Britain than does its gross income or capital to the gross income or capital of Great Britain. The taxable income is the income remaining after allowance for the minimum necessary to maintain a population upon a given standard of living. In this sense, giving the people of Great Britain an average of 12*l.* per head as the minimum, they have a taxable income of about 800,000,000*l.* sterling annually.[1] On the same scale, five millions of people in Ireland would absorb sixty out of, say, seventy-five millions gross income, leaving a taxable income of 15,000,000*l.* sterling only. Even allowing that the standard in Ireland is necessarily lower, the taxable income would not be much increased. As a partner with so rich a State as Great Britain, Ireland must therefore be considered strictly as entirely insignificant. It hardly counts one way or the other.

Of course the practical taxable income of Great Britain is not so much as 800,000,000*l.* The State could not levy 800,000,000*l.*, or anything like that sum, without reducing many classes in the scale of living. There would be a revolution if any such levy were attempted. But, limiting the 800,000,000*l.* as we may, there would still be a vast amount to compare with the taxable income of Ireland, where the practical taxable income must be very small indeed.

Here again, as with regard to population itself, it is quite true that Ireland is becoming less and less important to Great Britain. At the beginning of the century there was some excuse for an expectation that was never fulfilled—that Ireland would participate in the burdens of the United Kingdom to the extent of two-seventeenths. With a third of the population of the United Kingdom, Ireland, it was calculated, might contribute rather less than one-eighth to joint objects. This was allowing that even then Ireland, man for man, was not half as rich as Great Britain, which seemed an extreme calculation, as both countries were then mainly agricultural, and Ireland had quite a third of the cultivated area. Now there is no question that Ireland's resources in proportion, instead of

[1] Thirty-two millions, multiplied by 12, is 384 millions, deducting which from 1,200 millions leaves rather more than 800 millions.

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being two to seventeen, are less than one to seventeen. Its numbers are relatively to Great Britain not half what they were, and the distance between the average incomes per head of the two communities continues very great. The taxable income and capital of Great Britain have increased enormously, and those of Ireland hardly at all.

To put the matter shortly, and in the roundest figures—there can, of course, be no exact figures of income and capital—Ireland in population has sunk from one-third to less than one-seventh; in gross income, from two-seventeenths to less than one-seventeenth; in capital, from a proportion that was material to about one-twenty-fourth only; in taxable resources, from a proportion that was also material, being perhaps about one-tenth, to a proportion that is almost inappreciable —the proportion of only one to fifty. In resources, Ireland has no doubt increased absolutely. The Irish people are much better off individually, partly because there are fewer people than there were fifty years ago, but with much the same resources; but as a community in relation to Great Britain there is an immense decline.

The relative decrease of the disaffected part of Ireland only is quite as remarkable. From being about one-tenth of the United Kingdom in resources, it has become about one-fortieth or less. As regards taxable income, the proportion of the whole of Ireland to the United Kingdom being only about one to fifty, that of the disaffected part of Ireland only must be about one to a hundred!

How small the proportion of Ireland is will also be impressed on us more if we consider for a moment the economic relations of Great Britain with other British dependencies. Compared with Ireland, our interests in India, where we have invested over 200,000,000*l.*, and in Australia, where we have invested over 100,000,000*l.*, are enormous. And our trade with India figures up as 66,000,000*l.* annually, and with Australia as 55,000,000*l.* annually, as compared with a trade of about 40,000,000*l.* with Ireland, imports and exports together. The Indian and Australian trades also give more employment to our shipping in proportion than that of Ireland does. And neither India nor Australia imposes on us any direct charge for government, such as we shall find Ireland does, to constitute a deduction from the profit we derive, as a community, from the connection.

As regards this question of resources, it will be interesting to go farther and to look at the matter a little more closely. Great Britain and Ireland have been in close partnership for over eighty years. How does the account stand as regards government and people? Has Ireland been a help or the reverse?

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It is obvious, to begin with, that Ireland has not helped as the framers of the Union expected. According to the Act of Union, Ireland was expected to contribute to the joint expenditure of Great Britain and Ireland in the proportion of two-seventeenths. In point of fact, Ireland could not do so under the strain of the enormous outlay at the beginning of the century. Under that arrangement between 1800 and 1815 Irish debt increased rapidly—viz. from 24,000,000*l.* to 128,000,000*l.*—although Irish taxation was enormously increased, viz. from three and a half to nearly seven millions. In 1816, the amalgamation of the exchequers and indiscriminate taxation were recommended, because it was quite impossible for Ireland to bear two-seventeenths of the joint burdens.

Actually at the present moment Ireland is no gain to the exchequer of Great Britain. The facts are as follows:—Ireland's gross contributions from Customs, Excise, and Inland Revenue generally are put down in Thom's Almanac as about 7,700,000*l.*; but of course no such account shows exactly what Ireland's proper contribution is. Duties are paid in Ireland on spirits consumed in England, and duties are paid in England on tobacco and tea consumed in Ireland. An exact account is impossible. It seems to be believed, however, according to the return No. 36, session 1884, that, after corrections are made on this head, about 6,700,000*l.* represents the contributions of Ireland to imperial purposes, exclusive of Post Office, &c., the contributions of Great Britain being nearly ten times that amount. In other words, Ireland, while constituting only about a twentieth part of the United Kingdom in resources, nevertheless pays a tenth or eleventh of the taxes. Ireland ought to pay about 3,500,000*l.* and it pays nearly 7,000,000*l.* To the extent of the difference Great Britain is better off in the partnership than could have been expected beforehand.

This is only a part of the account. When we look at the other side—viz. the disposal of the taxes—we shall see that Great Britain does not gain so much as would appear from the revenue side only. But I ought to explain in passing that it is not surprising, considering the nature of our imperial taxes, that Ireland should contribute more than its proper share, although the taxes are not merely indiscriminate, but Ireland is really exempted from some of them. The reason is that imperial taxes fall so much on the common luxuries of the poor—on spirits, tobacco, and tea. Nearly the whole cost of the first two articles to the consumer is a tax, and the *ad valorem* tax on tea is also very high. The poor, if they are to have these common luxuries at all, must contribute disproportionately to the exchequer. Ireland as a poor country is disproportionately taxed, although the taxes of the United Kingdom are technically indiscriminate.

Turning to the other side of the account, what we find is that

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the Imperial Government has, first, to garrison Ireland to a degree unnecessary in Great Britain; and, second, to pay disproportionately for the local government of Ireland. If the home troops were to be stationed in Ireland in proportion to the population, the troops in Ireland would be about 12,000 only; if in proportion to resources, about 5,000 only. Actually Ireland has at least 24,000 troops, sometimes more,[2] an excess on the first basis of 12,000 troops, and on the second basis of nearly 20,000. At 150*l.* per man, which is the cost of the British standing army, we thus spend in Ireland on the first basis 1,800,000*l.* which we might save; and on the second basis nearly 3,000,000*l.*

Next, the Imperial Government spends a certain amount of money on the internal administration of different parts of the United Kingdom—the Civil Service expenditure. Altogether it spends in this way the sums shown in the following table (the particulars being extracted from the last finance and revenue accounts):

Statement of Charges on Imperial Revenues for Local Administration in Great Britain and Ireland compared. From the Finance and Revenue Accounts, 1884–85. [*In thousands of pounds*—000's *omitted.*]

	Total	Great Britain	Ireland
	£	£	£
Pensions for judicial services, pp. 52–60 . .	127	103	24
Salaries and allowances, pp. 63–65 . . .	84[3]	42	42
Courts of Justice salaries, pp. 66–79 . . .	506	392	114
Civil Service, Class I.—Public Works and Buildings (less spent abroad)	1,662	1,457	205
Civil Service, Class II. (Civil Departments) .	2,397	2,109[4]	288
„ Class III. (Law and Justice) .	6,341	4,101	2,239
„ Class IV. (Education) . . .	5,135	4,368	767
„ Class VI. (Non-effective) . .	1,193	1,078	115
Total	17,445	13,650	3,794

In addition there have been numerous grants of loans to Ireland in the last forty years which have never been repaid.

It is easy to see that, on any hypothesis, the Imperial Government spends on Ireland more than its proper share, whether measured by its resources, its population, or its actual contributions to imperial revenues. Out of a sum of 17,500,000*l.* spent out of imperial revenues for the internal administration of Great Britain and Ireland, it obtains very nearly a fourth. The following compares what Ireland would be entitled to on these different hypotheses with what it actually receives out of this sum of 17,500,000*l.*:—

[2] In 1884 the numbers were 24,400, out of a total of 90,000 at home.

[3] Including salary of Lord-Lieutenant and Queen's Colleges. I have only included salaries and allowances special to Great Britain and Ireland.

[4] Ireland gets the benefit of part of this sum.

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		Sum due to Ireland from Imperial Revenues	Sum actually received by Ireland	Excess of actual Receipts
	Proportion	£	£	£
Proportion to resources .	$\frac{1}{20}$th	872,000	3,800,000	2,928,000
„ population .	$\frac{1}{13}$th	2,492,000	3,800,000	1,308,000
„ contributions	$\frac{1}{10}$th	1,744,000	3,800,000	2,056,000

In any case Ireland gets more than is due to it, assuming in the last two cases that a contribution according to population or on the present scale is just. In these two ways, then, partly through excessive military expenditure, and partly through excessive civil expenditure, Great Britain spends upon Ireland a disproportionate sum. Taking the resources as a measure, the account would balance as follows:—

	£	£
Overspent for British troops in Ireland . .	3,000,000	
„ local administration . . .	2,928,000	
Deduct excess of receipts from Ireland in proportion to its resources		5,928,000
		3,200,000
Deficit		2,728,000

The English Government is thus a loser by Ireland to the extent of about 2,750,000*l.* per annum, although it receives from Ireland over 3,000,000*l.* more revenue than Ireland, on any fair computation, ought to pay. If Ireland only paid a fair contribution for imperial purposes, we should be out of pocket by this 3,200,000*l.* more, or nearly 6,000,000*l.* Actually, it is beyond question, we lose as a government nearly 3,000,000*l.*, while taxing Ireland over 3,000,000*l.* more than it ought to be taxed.

Of course it may be said that we do not lose by the army expenditure; that the troops being in Ireland are available, to a certain extent, for the miscellaneous purposes of the United Kingdom. Unfortunately, it is beyond question that the troops are not available. The extra 12,000 or 20,000 troops that are in Ireland, beyond what is necessary to garrison it in proportion to Great Britain, are lost to us for imperial purposes. The expenditure is pure waste.

So much for the balance of the account as far as the Government is concerned. The question remains as to the account of the community as a whole.

English capital, it may be said, is invested in Ireland, and there is a large profit to the community, if not to the Government. I am sorry to say I can find little foundation for this impression. There is some profit, but not a large profit.

The whole capital of Ireland must be inconsiderable—probably not over 400,000,000*l.*—the principal items being:—

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	£
Value of land (160,000,000*l.*) and houses (40,000,000*l.*)	200,000,000
Tenants' capital	80,000,000
Railways	36,000,000
Furniture of houses and other movable property .	20,000,000
Other capital (say)	64,000,000
Total	400,000,000

What banking capital there is I include in other capital, as part of it at least is no doubt invested by loan or otherwise in agriculture, railways, &c., and it ought not to be counted twice over. The 400,000,000*l.* is probably over the mark.

And most of this capital must be held locally. The trading and farming capital is so held. The banking capital is so held; out of the 40,000,000*l.* of resources of the Irish banks, capital and deposits together, the share owned by English people must be very small, for the deposits are necessarily those of the locality, and Irish bank shares, I know, are held locally. Part of these resources finds its way to London, and is invested in London. Irish railway shares are also, for the most part, held in Ireland. There remains only the real property, which is said to be mortgaged largely to English insurance companies, and so on. But English insurance companies only hold a little over 70,000,000*l.* of mortgages altogether, and I should doubt if a fifth part of these mortgages are in Ireland. The mortgages there, all told, can hardly exceed 50,000,000*l.*, of which only a part would be held in England. There are, of course, the landlords who reside in England. *Per contra*, however, residents in Ireland hold English securities, not inconsiderably, I believe, in proportion to the resources of Ireland, and this holding, putting the two communities against each other, is a set-off to Irish securities held in England.

Ireland, as a field for English capital, does not seem, therefore, to count for much. But, if we allow that even a sum equal to a fourth part of the *nominal* agricultural rent of Ireland, which appears to be under 10,000,000*l.*, finds its way to England on balance in the shape of mortgage interest, &c., deducting what is received in Ireland on similar account from Great Britain, the English community as a whole, Government and people together, would still have very little out of Ireland. The gain to the community, whatever it is, would be balanced, *pro tanto*, by the deficit on Government account. If Ireland were only to be taxed according to its resources, there would be a very large deficit.

It is quite clear, it may be added, that, as compared with the enormous capital and income from capital which the community of Great Britain enjoys, the share due to the Irish connection, even if the whole nominal rental of Ireland were to be remitted to Great Britain, would be inconsiderable. Our income from capital is over 400,000,000*l.* annually, to which a contribution of 10,000,000*l.* would not be very material. What has been said above as to the superior

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importance to us of India and Australia has a bearing on this point. There are many parts of the world which are more important, economically, to Great Britain than Ireland is.

Next, it may be said, we gain by the trade of Ireland. Ireland is a good customer of Great Britain, and we get conveniently from Ireland much of what we require. It will follow, however, from what has been said, that, as the income of Ireland altogether is about 75,000,000*l.* only, the trade with Ireland must be limited (1) by the surplus which Ireland can afford to export out of that sum, and (2) by the proportion of that surplus which Ireland can afford to spend on the produce and manufactures of Great Britain.

The total exportable surplus of Ireland cannot be very large. The exports and export value of cattle, sheep, and pigs, valuing them at about the average given by 'Thom' for Irish live stock in general in 1884[5] are as follows (average of three years 1881–3):—

		Value per head	
Cattle	630,000	£12	£7,560,000
Sheep	530,000	£2 3*s.*	1,220,000
Pigs	450,000	£3	1,350,000
Total			10,130,000

And the export of butter and cheese, allowing that the produce available for export from each milch cow is about 4*l.* per head, would not be more than about 6,000,000*l.*

Adding these two sums together, the total agricultural exports of Ireland would be about 16,000,000*l.* only; of course at lower prices the exports would be less.

In addition, there are the exports of the linen manufacture, the Belfast shipbuilding trade, the spirits and porter of Dublin and Belfast, the produce of Irish fisheries, and other miscellaneous productions, amounting in all, I should say, to about other 5,000,000*l.*—total 21,000,000*l.* The calculation is necessarily very rough.

The imports on the other side would more than balance, I think, but they are largely of articles which are not the produce and manufactures of England. Grain of different kinds is a principal item. There are no returns of imports now, but in 1874 they amounted from foreign countries only, principally grain and flour, to 10,000,000*l.* At recent prices the same quantity of imports would of course be of less value.

Ireland in addition takes sugar, tea, and other articles of tropical produce, principally imported from Great Britain, probably to the amount of 5,000,000*l.*, giving a much smaller quantity of tea and sugar per head than is consumed in the United Kingdom generally.

Adding these two amounts together, the total is 15,000,000*l.*, and the difference between this sum and the total required to balance the estimated exports only amounts to 6,000,000*l.* Ireland probably imports somewhat more; the particulars I cannot give, except for coal, of

[5] *Thom's Almanac* for 1885, pp. 692–94.

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which Ireland imports 3,000,000 tons, worth, say, including freight, rather more than 2,000,000*l.* The other articles which Ireland must import, including textiles, would necessarily contain a large amount of raw material. Altogether, it may be doubted whether Ireland is a customer for British labour to the extent of more than a few millions per annum.

When it is considered that even complete separation need not involve loss of t rade, and partial separation, by which I mean any tolerably comprehensive scheme of local self-government, would not involve loss of trade at all, except through Ireland falling into anarchy, it cannot be said that the risk to our trade is a very serious element in the question of the loss or gain which the separation of Ireland, and *à fortiori* a mere alteration of the form of the political connection, would involve.

I have been looking at the question exclusively from the British point of view. The view presented, when looked at from an Irish standpoint, is somewhat different. The precise interest of Ireland in the connection requires a little explanation.

1. On the direct Government account, Ireland would probably gain by separation or by a revisal of present arrangements. It would have about 7,000,000*l.* of revenue to dispose of, which it now contributes to the Imperial exchequer, and out of the difference between this sum and the sum of 3,800,000*l.* it gets back from the Imperial Treasury for internal administration, it would have to defray its army and navy, if any, its share of the Imperial debt, and any expenses of that sort. Assuming economy in spending for the purposes on which the 3,800,000*l.* is now spent, Ireland might get on very well, the scale of expenditure all round being lower than in Great Britain. For less than a million a year Ireland could have a very tolerable force to maintain internal order; its share of the imperial debt, proportioning that share to its resources, would not cost more than 1,500,000*l.* per annum; there would remain over 4,000,000*l.* for all the miscellaneous purposes of internal administration, which is more than what is now spent. Ireland would thus gain by the severance; while Great Britain, which loses now, although extracting over three millions more from Ireland than its proper share of taxation, would decidedly gain. Both sides would gain, assuming no political danger to arise, because the present government of Ireland by England involves very serious waste.

2. Ireland would lose indirectly by the withdrawal of English troops. English army expenditure in Ireland now recoups a part of the loss inflicted on Ireland by disproportionate taxation.

3. Separation, if it should bring about an interruption of trade between Ireland and Great Britain, would be disastrous to Ireland. The 20,000,000*l.* which Ireland exports find almost their sole

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market in Great Britain. If more capital is to be invested in Ireland, the capital must come from England. In this respect Great Britain is indispensable to Ireland.

On balance the direct advantages to Ireland from complete or partial separation are apparently so little that they cannot compensate the danger involved in anything like complete separation. Of course in isolation and hostility to Great Britain, Ireland would be lost. It is utterly without resources to maintain such an attitude. On the other hand, the advantage to Ireland of a partial separation, involving a settlement of the direct accounts, and leaving to it all the advantage of forming part of the United Kingdom, would be enormous.

I have thus answered the question with which I started, or nearly so. The conclusion is that Great Britain has not much to lose in dissolving partnership, while Ireland has.

The only point I have left untouched is the question of the indirect political danger in separation and the loss it may involve. This is almost too remote a speculation for such an inquiry as I have been making. It is obvious, however, still keeping strictly to the economic question, that the sum of 2,750,000*l.*, the amount of the deficit we now incur on account of Ireland, would go some way towards the expense of extra military and naval preparation which the presence of a hostile Ireland near us might involve. I should like further to ask the question why a State like Ireland beside us, if completely separate, should add sensibly to the dangers we incur from States like Belgium and Holland, which are just about as populous and much richer, and almost equally near. The question is one of military strategy; but, without being dogmatic, I would suggest that the experience of past times, when France tried to use Ireland against us, does not wholly apply. In past times Ireland was useful positively to Great Britain, because of the relative magnitude of its resources in both men and wealth. The loss of it would have been a great loss to Great Britain in the life-and-death struggles in which it was engaged. Further, Ireland hostile might in former times have been a real danger to England for two reasons—the first, its relative magnitude, already referred to; and next, the necessity or convenience, in the days of sailing ships, of using as the basis of hostile operations against a State which was to be reached by sea a place near to that state, so that a Power like France might have gained something by 'enveloping' Great Britain. Now all the circumstances have changed. Ireland is so poor in resources that the loss of it positively would hardly count. Even as a recruiting ground it is no longer required, because a State like Great Britain with 31½ millions of men, not to speak of its colonial reserves, can have as many men for soldiering as its finances can afford out of its own numbers. Negatively also we can keep military possession of

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Ireland much more easily than was formerly the case; it is an easier task than it was in proportion to our resources; and just because it is easier, it is less worth the while of an opponent to seek to overcome us through Ireland. In these days of steam also a great Power meaning to attack us could do so as easily, or nearly as easily, from Antwerp or Hamburg or Havre, or even Cadiz, as from Dublin or Belfast; to attempt to reach us through Ireland would not be worth while. To guard against accidents, it is prudent and best for both countries that we should keep military hold of Ireland; but it would seem to be conceivable that Ireland, even if disposed to be hostile, would not 'count' when separate, if we were only to put forth our strength. If we lose command of the sea, we shall be liable to be assailed directly by a military Power; if we keep the command, Ireland will not count.

There is less need, however, to discuss a point like the last, because there is no question, under any scheme of local self-government or Home Rule that I have seen, of permitting to Irish local authorities an army or a navy. Many of those who are in favour of Home Rule appear to admit as a possibility that the Irish local authorities may attempt illegally and covertly to raise a military force. But the cost of guarding against such a risk, which is the economic aspect of the question, ought not to be very material. Would it conceivably be necessary to keep more troops in Ireland than we now do? I consider myself precluded from fully discussing the latter question. It involves those moral and political considerations from which I have endeavoured to disentangle the economic problem. But it would seem just at least to notice, economically, that Ireland, even if separate, would have overwhelming motives to be on good terms with Great Britain.

I propose to leave the question of the economic value of Ireland to Great Britain at this point. As I have stated at the beginning, and as I have just been repeating, there are moral and political considerations to be taken into account after the economic aspect of the question has been studied. For historical reasons, for the sake of the connection between Ulster specially and Great Britain, for the sake of a minority who have been encouraged to trust to English law administered by an English Parliament, neither separation nor any form of Home Rule for Ireland may be desirable or possible. To discuss all these matters would take me into regions which, for many reasons, even if I desired to do so, I must avoid. I may venture to express the hope, however, that the facts I have stated are of a tendency to mitigate apprehensions which are generally entertained. If Ireland in a business view hardly counts in a question of force against Great Britain, we can afford to arrange its destinies and its relations to Great Britain in any way that may be politically

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found expedient. Having practically omnipotent power, we should discuss with reasonable coolness how Ireland is to be governed.

I shall only, then, permit myself one or two remarks appearing to verge on politics, because they arise directly out of a consideration of the economic and business aspects of the Irish problem.

The first of these remarks is that all claim of Ireland to be represented in Parliament, if it really contributes nothing material to the strength of the empire when properly taxed, is taken away. At present it is unprofitable to us, because, though it is overtaxed, the circumstances are such that it absorbs the surplus taxation. If it were to be taxed properly, and the present system of government were to continue, it would be still more unprofitable. It appears then to be an intolerable anomaly that such a State should be represented in the Imperial Parliament, helping to vote the taxes which another community pays, and meddling in all the affairs of that community. The anomaly might be endurable if the representatives returned happened to be friendly or to be sensible of deriving advantage from the imperial connection. But to admit into the Imperial Parliament representatives of a State which can be no contributory to imperial needs; which could not bear the strain of an imperial emergency; which requires for its own internal administration all the taxable income it can spare, and which, moreover, sends representatives avowedly hostile, with no other mission than to make imperial government impossible, is nothing less than the *reductio ad absurdum* of Parliamentary government. The affairs of an empire like that of England cannot possibly go on upon such conditions. The enormous reduction or absolute extinction of the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, with or without terms of Home Rule for Ireland, is a measure on which both parties in Great Britain might justifiably unite.

Another remark I have to make is with reference to a certain scheme which appeared in the *Statist* newspaper, and which became known as 'Economist's' plan of settling the Land and Home Rule questions in Ireland. There is no reason why I should not assume responsibility for a suggestion which I was encouraged to ventilate, when I first put it forward in conversation, by official and political friends, although for obvious reasons I am most anxious to keep out of political controversy, and could take no part, either in my own name or anonymously, in the incessant discussions of the last few months. What I should like to point out is that the idea of buying out Irish landlords at the expense of the imperial exchequer, and of handing over a rent-charge to Irish local authorities in lieu of the present imperial payments for the internal administration of Ireland, is closely related to the view of Ireland's economic position which I have set forth in this paper. It is all based on the notion that Ireland is a comparatively small State which has gained

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a footing in the imperial system of Great Britain to which it is not entitled, and for which, therefore, another system, excluding Irish representatives wholly, or nearly so, from the Imperial Parliament, must be devised. If Irish local authorities can be set up amicably, and with the consent of Ireland's representatives, so much the better; if no such authorities can be set up, then it will be necessary still to exclude hostile Irish representatives from the Imperial Parliament, and set up local authorities of a non-popular kind. As far as I can see, there is no getting out from between the horns of this dilemma. In either case a settlement of the land question seems expedient, in order to give the new authorities a chance, and in order to disentangle the imperial and Irish exchequers. No merely Irish authorities could buy out the landlords, because they would not have credit enough. If the exchequers are not disentangled, the Irish people would have the apparent grievance of being taxed without representation, whereas in some form or other they could be represented in local councils. It is, therefore, expedient at the same time at once to buy out Irish landlords effectively, which can be done by the imperial exchequer, and to give the new local authorities a revenue which they could collect and administer themselves, and which would be the *equivalent* of the contributions to the imperial exchequer they would continue to make under existing taxes, deducting a certain fixed proportion as due from them for the imperial protection. Subject to the condition that the Imperial Parliament imposed no new taxes on Ireland, which it is not worth while doing, there would be no injustice in such an arrangement, and the Irish people could not then say they were taxed without representation. But the existing intolerable anomaly would be got rid of, and Great Britain would cease to be governed in a large degree by a hostile faction coming from a country which contributes nothing to imperial strength.

I desire, likewise, to call special attention to the fact which has come out incidentally that Ireland is overtaxed in comparison with Great Britain. It contributes twice its proper share, if not more, to the Imperial Exchequer. The taxation in one view is not reprehensible; it is levied in the shape of indirect taxes, mainly on spirits and tobacco. The Irish masses could untax themselves by the simple expedient of consuming less spirits and tobacco. This is the easy view which has often been acted upon when the subject has come up in the Imperial Parliament. Long ago, in 1864, when there was a Committee on Irish Taxation, Mr. Lowe embarrassed an able witness, Mr. E. Senior, a Poor-law Inspector in Ireland and well acquainted with Irish poverty, by putting this very point (see No. 513, Session 1864). But it is not the right view. How much of the expenditure of the Irish people on spirits and tobacco is really wasteful is not certainly known. People who have so little taxable income have at any

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rate a claim to have the money thus taken from them by the Government applied for their special benefit. At present, nearly the whole taxable income of the Irish people is, in fact, absorbed by the State. The taxable income being about 15,000,000*l.* only, the Imperial Government, as we have seen, takes nearly 7,000,000*l.*, and the local taxes are over 3,000,000*l.* more, or about 10,000,000*l.* in all. So large a proportion of taxation to taxable income would be a serious fact for any country, and there can be little accumulation in Ireland under such conditions. Considerations like these, which are so material, have however made no impression in the Imperial Parliament hitherto, and that this has been the case is one reason, among many others, why on this side of St. George's Channel we should speak with some modesty of the Imperial Parliament being capable of dealing with Irish affairs. Here is certainly a matter on which, with no intention to be unjust, with an apparent willingness to be more than fair to Ireland, as is shown by the exemption of Ireland specially from certain taxes, we have nevertheless acted unjustly and to the injury of Ireland. I may commend Mr. Senior's evidence on this head, in the Blue Book of 1864 already referred to, to those who care to study the subject. Surely the whole blunder clearly suggests the expediency of devising some form of government for Ireland, under which the special needs and circumstances of the country and people would receive more and better attention than they do under present arrangements, although the attention which they do get disturbs and disorganises the management of Imperial affairs themselves.

ROBERT GIFFEN.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THEOLOGY:

An Anthropological Study.

I conceive that the origin, the growth, the decline, and the fall of those speculations respecting the existence, the powers, and the dispositions of beings analogous to men, but more or less devoid of corporeal qualities, which may be broadly included under the head of theology, are phenomena the study of which legitimately falls within the province of the anthropologist. And it is purely as a question of anthropology (a department of biology to which I have at various times given a good deal of attention) that I propose to treat of the evolution of theology in the following pages.

With theology as a code of dogmas which are to be believed, or at any rate repeated, under penalty of present or future punishment, or as a storehouse of anæsthetics for those who find the pains of life too hard to bear, I have nothing to do; and, so far as it may be possible, I shall avoid the expression of any opinion as to the objective truth or falsehood of the systems of theological speculation of which I may find occasion to speak. From my present point of view, theology is regarded as a natural product of the operations of the human mind, under the conditions of its existence, just as any other branch of science, or the arts of architecture, or music, or painting are such products. Like them, theology has a history. Like them also, it is to be met with in certain simple and rudimentary forms; and these can be connected by a multitude of gradations, which exist or have existed, among people of various ages and races, with the most highly developed theologies of past and present times. It is not my object to interfere, even in the slightest degree, with beliefs which anybody holds sacred; or to alter the conviction of any one who is of opinion that, in dealing with theology, we ought to be guided by considerations different from those which would be thought appropriate if the problem lay in the province of chemistry or of mineralogy. And if people of these ways of thinking choose to read beyond the present paragraph, the responsibility for meeting with anything they may dislike rests with them and not with me.

We are all likely to be more familiar with the theological history of the Israelites than with that of any other nation. We may therefore fitly make it the first object of our studies; and it will be convenient to commence with that period which lies between the invasion

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of Canaan and the early days of the monarchy, and answers to the eleventh and twelfth centuries B.C. or thereabouts. The evidence on which any conclusion as to the nature of Israelitic theology in those days must be based is wholly contained in the Hebrew Scriptures—an agglomeration of documents which certainly belong to very different ages, but of the exact dates and authorship of any one of which (except perhaps one or two of the prophetical writings) there is no evidence, either internal or external, so far as I can discover, of such a nature as to justify more than a confession of ignorance or, at most, an approximate conclusion. In this venerable record of ancient life, miscalled a book, when it is really a library comparable to a selection of works from English literature between the times of Beda and those of Milton, we have the stratified deposits (often confused and even with their natural order inverted) left by the stream of the intellectual and moral life of Israel during many centuries. Imbedded in these strata, there are numerous remains of forms of thought which once lived, and which, though often unfortunately mere fragments, are of priceless value to the anthropologist. Our task is to rescue these from their relatively unimportant surroundings, and by careful comparison with existing forms of theology to make the dead world which they record live again. In other words, our problem is palæontological, and the method pursued must be the same as that employed in dealing with other fossil remains.

Among the richest of the fossiliferous strata to which I have alluded are the books of Judges and Samuel.[1] It has often been observed that these writings stand out in marked relief from those which precede and follow them, in virtue of a certain archaic freshness and of a greater freedom from traces of late interpolation and editorial trimming. Jephthah, Gideon, and Samson are men of old heroic stamp, who would look as much in place in a Norse Saga as where they are; and if the varnish-brush of later respectability has passed over these memoirs of the mighty men of a wild age, here and there, it has not succeeded in effacing, or even in seriously obscuring, the essential characteristics of the theology traditionally ascribed to their epoch.

There is nothing that I have met with in the results of biblical criticism inconsistent with the conviction that these books give us a fairly trustworthy account of Israelitic life and thought in the times which they cover; and, as such, apart from the great literary merit of many of their episodes, they possess the interest of being perhaps

[1] Even the most sturdy believers in the popular theory that the proper or titular names attached to the books of the Bible are those of their authors will hardly be prepared to maintain that Jephthah, Gideon, and their colleagues wrote the book of Judges. Nor is it easily admissible that Samuel wrote the two books which pass under his name, one of which deals entirely with events which took place after his death. In fact, no one knows who wrote either Judges or Samuel, nor when, within the range of 100 years, their present form was given to these books.

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the oldest genuine history, as apart from mere chronicles on the one hand and mere legends on the other, at present accessible to us

But it is often said with exultation by writers of one party, and often admitted more or less unwillingly by their opponents, that these books are untrustworthy, by reason of being full of obviously unhistoric tales. And, as a notable example, the narrative of Saul's visit to the so-called 'witch of Endor' is often cited. As I have already intimated, I have nothing to do with theological partisanship either heterodox or orthodox, nor, for my present purpose, does it matter very much whether the story is historically true, or whether it merely shows what the writer believed; but, looking at the matter solely from the point of view of an anthropologist, I beg leave to express the opinion that the account of Saul's necromantic expedition is quite consistent with probability. That is to say, I see no reason whatever to doubt, firstly, that Saul made such a visit; and, secondly, that he and all who were present, including the wise-woman of Endor herself, would have given, with entire sincerity, very much the same account of the business as that which we now read in the twenty-eighth chapter of the first book of Samuel; and I am further of opinion that this story is one of the most important of those fossils to which I have referred in the material which it offers for the reconstruction of the theology of the time. Let us therefore study it attentively—not merely as a narrative which, in the dramatic force of its gruesome simplicity, is not surpassed, if it is equalled, by the witch scenes in *Macbeth*—but as a piece of evidence bearing on an important anthropological problem.

We are told (1 Sam. xxviii.) that Saul, encamped at Gilboa, became alarmed by the strength of the Philistine army gathered at Shunem. He therefore 'inquired of Jahveh,' but 'Jahveh answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets.'[2] Thus deserted by Jahveh, Saul, in his extremity, bethought him of 'those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards,' whom he is said, at some previous time, to have 'put out of the land;' but who seem, nevertheless, to have been very imperfectly banished, since Saul's servants, in answer to his command to seek him a woman 'that hath a familiar spirit,' reply without a sign of hesitation or of fear, 'Behold, there is a woman that hath a familiar spirit at Endor;' just as, in some parts of England, a countryman might tell any one who did not look like a magistrate or a policeman, where a 'wise-woman' was to be met with. Saul goes to this woman, who, after being assured of immunity, asks, 'Whom shall I bring up to thee?' whereupon Saul says, 'Bring me up Samuel.' The woman immediately sees an apparition. But to Saul nothing is visible, for he asks, 'What seest thou?' And the woman replies, 'I see Elohim coming up out of the earth.' Still the spectre remains invisible to Saul, for he asks, 'What form is he of?' And

[2] My citations are taken from the Revised Version; but for LORD and GOD I have substituted *Jahveh* and *Elohim*.

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she replies, 'An old man cometh up, and he is covered with a robe.' So far, therefore, the wise-woman unquestionably plays the part of a 'medium,' and Saul is dependent upon her version of what happens.

The account continues:—

> And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he bowed with his face to the ground and did obeisance. And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up? And Saul answered, I am sore distressed: for the Philistines make war against me, and Elohim is departed from me and answereth me no more, neither by prophets nor by dreams; therefore I have called thee that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do. And Samuel said, Wherefore then dost thou ask of me, seeing that Jahveh is departed from thee and is become thine adversary? And Jahveh hath wrought for himself, as he spake by me, and Jahveh hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand and given it to thy neighbour, even to David. Because thou obeyedst not the voice of Jahveh and didst not execute his fierce wrath upon Amalek, therefore hath Jahveh done this thing unto thee this day. Moreover, Jahveh will deliver Israel also with thee into the hand of the Philistines; and to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me: Jahveh shall deliver the host of Israel also into the hand of the Philistines. Then Saul fell straightway his full length upon the earth and was sore afraid because of the words of Samuel. . . . (v. 14-20).

The statement that Saul 'perceived' that it was Samuel is not to be taken to imply that, even now, Saul actually saw the shade of the prophet, but only that the woman's allusion to the prophetic mantle and to the aged appearance of the spectre convinced him that it was Samuel. Reuss[3] in fact translates the passage 'Alors Saul reconnut que c'était Samuel.' Nor does the dialogue between Saul and Samuel necessarily, or probably, signify that Samuel spoke otherwise than by the voice of the wise-woman—the Septuagint does not hesitate to call her *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*, that is to say a ventriloquist, implying that it was she who spoke—and this view of the matter is in harmony with the fact that the exact sense of the Hebrew words which are translated as 'a woman that hath a familiar spirit' is 'a woman mistress of *Ob*.' *Ob* means primitively a leather bottle, such as a wine-skin, and is applied alike to the necromancer and to the spirit evoked. Its use in these senses appears to have been suggested by the likeness of the hollow sound emitted by a half-empty bottle of this kind, when struck, to the sepulchral tones in which the oracles of the evoked spirits were uttered by the medium. It is most probable that, in accordance with the general theory of spiritual influences which obtained among the old Israelites, the spirit of Samuel was conceived to pass into the body of the wise-woman, and to use her vocal organs to speak in his own name —for I cannot discover that they drew any clear distinction between possession and inspiration.

[3] I need hardly say that I depend upon authoritative Biblical critics, whenever a question of interpretation of the text arises. As Reuss appears to me to be one of the most learned, acute, and fair-minded of those whose works I have studied, I have made most use of the commentary and dissertations in his splendid French edition of the Bible. But I have also had recourse to the works of Dillman, Kalisch, Kuenen, Thenius, Tuch, and others, in cases in which another opinion seemed desirable.

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If the story of Saul's consultation of the occult powers is to be regarded as an authentic narrative, or, at any rate, as a statement which is perfectly veracious so far as the intention of the narrator goes—and, as I have said, I see no reason for refusing it this character—it will be found, on further consideration, to throw a flood of light, both directly and indirectly, on the theology of Saul's countrymen—that is to say upon their beliefs respecting the nature and ways of spiritual beings.

Even without the confirmation of other abundant evidences to the same effect, it leaves no doubt as to the existence among them of the fundamental doctrine that man consists of a body and of a spirit, which last, after the death of the body, continues to exist as a ghost. At the time of Saul's visit to Endor, Samuel was dead and buried; but that his spirit would be believed to continue to exist in Sheol may be concluded from the well-known passage in the song attributed to Hannah, his mother:—

> Jahveh killeth and maketh alive,
> He bringeth down to Sheol and bringeth up. (1 Sam. ii. 6.)

And it is obvious that this Sheol was thought to be a place underground in which Samuel's spirit had been disturbed by the necromancer's summons, and in which, after his return thither, he would be joined by the spirits of Saul and his sons when they had met with their bodily death on the hill of Gilboa. It is further to be observed that the spirit, or ghost, of the dead man presents itself as the image of the man himself—it is the man not merely in his ordinary corporeal presentment (even down to the prophet's mantle) but in his moral and intellectual characteristics. Samuel, who had begun as Saul's friend and ended as his bitter enemy, gives it to be understood that he is annoyed at Saul's presumption in disturbing him; and that, in Sheol, he is as much the devoted servant of Jahveh, and as much empowered to speak in Jahveh's name, as he was during his sojourn in the upper air.

It appears now to be universally admitted that, before the exile, the Israelites had no belief in rewards and punishments after death, or in anything similar to the christian heaven and hell; but our story proves that it would be an error to suppose that they did not believe in the continuance of individual existence after death by a ghostly simulacrum of life. Nay, I think it would be very hard to produce conclusive evidence that they disbelieved in immortality; for I am not aware that there is anything to show that they thought the existence of the souls of the dead in Sheol ever came to an end. But they do not seem to have conceived that the condition of the souls in Sheol was in any way affected by their conduct in life. If there was immortality, there was no state of retribution in their theology. Samuel expects Saul and his sons to come to him in Sheol.

The next circumstance to be remarked is that the name of *Elohim*

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is applied to the spirit which the woman sees 'coming up out of the earth,' that is to say from Sheol. The authorised version translates this in its literal sense 'gods.' The revised version gives 'god' with 'gods' in the margin. Reuss renders the word by 'spectre,' remarking in a note that it is not quite exact; but that the word Elohim expresses 'something divine, that is to say superhuman, commanding respect and terror' (*Histoire des Israelites*, p. 321). Tuch, in his commentary on Genesis, and Thenius, in his commentary on Samuel, express substantially the same opinion. Dr. Alexander (in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, s. v. 'God') has the following instructive remarks:—

> [*Elohim* is] sometimes used vaguely to describe unseen powers or superhuman beings that are not properly thought of as divine. Thus the witch of Endor saw 'Elohim ascending out of the earth' (1 Sam. xxviii. 13), meaning thereby some beings of an unearthly, superhuman character. So also in Zech. xii. 8, it is said 'the house of David shall be as Elohim, as the angel of the Lord,' where, as the transition from Elohim to the angel of the Lord is *a minori ad majus*, we must regard the former as a vague designation of supernatural powers.

Dr. Alexander speaks here of 'beings;' but as Elohim, a plural form, is very often used elsewhere with a verb in the singular, there is no reason to suppose that the wise-woman of Endor referred to anything but a solitary spectre, and it is quite clear that Saul understood her in this sense, or he asks, 'What form is HE of?'

This fact that the name of Elohim is applied to a ghost, or disembodied soul, conceived as the image of the body in which it once dwelt, is of no little importance. For it is well known that the same term was employed to denote the gods of the heathen, which were thought to have definite quasi-corporeal forms and to be as much real entities as any other Elohim.[4] The difference which was supposed to exist between the different Elohim was one of degree, not one of kind. Elohim was, in logical terminology, the genus of which ghosts, Chemosh, Dagon, Baal, and Jahveh were species. The Israelite believed Jahveh to be immeasurably superior to all other kinds of Elohim. The inscription on the Moabite stone shows that King Mesa held Chemosh to be as unquestionably the superior of Jahveh. But if Jahveh was thus supposed to differ only in degree from the undoubtedly zoomorphic or anthropomorphic 'gods of the nations,' why is it to be assumed that he also was not thought of as having a human shape? It is possible for those who forget that the time of the great prophetic writers is at least as remote from that of Saul as our day is from that of Queen Elizabeth, to insist upon interpreting the gross notions, current in the earlier age and among

[4] See, for example, the message of Jephthah to the King of the Ammonites: 'So now Jahveh, the Elohim of Israel, hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and shouldest thou possess them? Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh, thy Elohim, giveth thee to possess?' (Judges xi. 23, 24). For Jephthah, Chemosh is obviously as real a personage as Jahveh.

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the mass of the people, by the refined conceptions promulgated by a few select spirits centuries later. But if we take the language constantly used concerning the Deity in the books of Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, or Kings, in its natural sense (and I am aware of no valid reason which can be given for taking it in any other sense), there cannot, to my mind, be a doubt that Jahveh was conceived, by those from whom the substance of these books is mainly derived, to possess the appearance and the intellectual and moral attributes of a man, and indeed of a man of just that type with which the Israelites were familiar in their stronger and intellectually abler rulers and leaders. In a well-known passage of Genesis (i. 27) Elohim is said to have 'created man in his own image, in the image of Elohim created he him.' It is 'man' who is here said to be the image of Elohim—not man's soul alone, still less his 'reason,' but the whole man. It is obvious that for those who called a manlike ghost, Elohim, there could be no difficulty in conceiving any other Elohim under the same aspect. And if there could be any doubt on this subject, surely it cannot stand in the face of what we find in the fifth chapter, where, immediately after a repetition of the statement that 'Elohim created man, in the likeness of Elohim made he him,' it is said that Adam begat Seth 'in his own likeness, after his image.' Does this mean that Seth resembled Adam only in a spiritual and figurative sense? And if that interpretation of the third verse of the fifth chapter of Genesis is absurd, why does it become reasonable in the first verse of the same chapter?

But let us go further. Is not the Jahveh who 'walks in the garden in the cool of the day;' from whom one may hope to 'hide oneself among the trees;' of whom it is expressly said that 'Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel,' 'saw the Elohim of Israel' (Exodus xxiv. 9–11); and that, although the seeing Jahveh was understood to be a high crime and misdemeanour, worthy of death, under ordinary circumstances, yet, for this once, he 'laid not his hand on the nobles of Israel;' 'that they beheld Elohim and did eat and drink;' and that afterwards Moses saw his back (Exodus xxxiii. 23)—is not this Deity conceived as manlike in form? Again, is not the Jahveh who eats with Abraham under the oaks at Mamre, who is pleased with the 'sweet savour' of Noah's sacrifice, to whom sacrifices are said to be 'food'[5]—is not this Deity depicted as possessed of human appetites? If this were not the current Israelitish idea of Jahveh even in the eighth century B.C., where is the point of Isaiah's scathing admonitions to his countrymen: 'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith Jahveh: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of

[5] For example: 'My oblation, my food for my offerings made by fire, of a sweet savour to me, shall ye observe to offer unto me in their due season' (Numbers xxviii. 2).

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he-goats' (Isaiah i. 11). Or of Micah's inquiry, 'Will Jahveh be pleased with thousands of rams or with ten thousands of rivers of oil?' (vi. 7). And, in the innumerable passages in which Jahveh is said to be jealous of other gods, to be angry, to be appeased, and to repent; in which he is represented as casting off Saul because the king does not quite literally execute a command of the most ruthless severity; or as smiting Uzzah to death because the unfortunate man thoughtlessly, but naturally enough, put out his hand to stay the ark from falling—can any one deny that the old Israelites conceived Jahveh not only in the image of a man, but in that of a changeable and, occasionally, violent man? There appears to me, then, to be no reason to doubt that the notion of likeness to man, which was indubitably held of the ghost Elohim, was carried out consistently through the whole series of Elohim, and that Jahveh-Elohim was thought of as a being of the same substantially human nature as the rest, only immeasurably more powerful for good and for evil.

The absence of any real distinction between the Elohim of different ranks is further clearly illustrated by the corresponding absence of any sharp delimitation between the various kinds of people who serve as the media of communication between them and men. The agents through whom the lower Elohim are consulted are called necromancers, wizards, and diviners, and are looked down upon by the prophets and priests of the higher Elohim; but the 'seer' connects the two, and they are all alike in their essential characters of media. The wise-woman of Endor was believed by others, and, I have little doubt, believed herself, to be able to 'bring up' whom she would from Sheol, and to be inspired, whether in virtue of actual possession by the evoked Elohim, or otherwise, with a knowledge of hidden things. I am unable to see that Saul's servant took any really different view of Samuel's powers, though he may have believed that he obtained them by the grace of the higher Elohim. For when Saul fails to find his father's asses, his servant says to him—

> Behold now, there is in this city a man of Elohim, and he is a man that is held in honour; all that he saith cometh surely to pass: now let us go thither; peradventure he can tell us concerning our journey whereon we go. Then said Saul to his servant, But behold if we go, what shall we bring the man? for the bread is spent in our vessels and there is not a present to bring to the man of Elohim. What have we? And the servant answered Saul again and said, Behold I have in my hand the fourth part of a shekel of silver: that will I give to the man of Elohim to tell us our way. (Beforetime in Israel when a man went to inquire of Elohim, thus he said, Come and let us go to the seer: for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer.)[*] (1 Samuel ix. 6–10.)

In fact, when, shortly afterwards, Saul accidentally meets Samuel, he says, 'Tell me, I pray thee, where the Seer's house is.' Samuel answers, 'I am the Seer.' Immediately afterwards Samuel informs

[*] In 2 Samuel xv. 27 David says to Zadok the priest, 'Art thou not a seer?' and Gad is called David's seer.

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Saul that the asses are found, though how he obtained his knowledge of the fact is not stated. It will be observed that Samuel is not spoken of here as, in any special sense, a seer or prophet of Jahveh, but as a 'man of Elohim'—that is to say, a Seer having access to the 'spiritual powers,' just as the wise-woman of Endor might have been said to be a 'woman of Elohim'—and the narrator's or editor's explanatory note seems to indicate that 'Prophet' is merely a name introduced later than the time of Samuel for a superior kind of 'Seer,' or 'man of Elohim.'[7]

Another very instructive passage shows that Samuel was not only considered to be diviner, seer, and prophet in one, but that he was also, to all intents and purposes, priest of Jahveh—though, according to his biographer, he was not a member of the tribe of Levi. At the outset of their acquaintance, Samuel says to Saul, 'Go up before me into the high place,' where, as the young maidens of the city had just before told Saul, the Seer was going, 'for the people will not eat until he come, because he doth bless the sacrifice' (1 Sam. ix. 13). The use of the word 'bless' here—as if Samuel were not going to sacrifice, but only to offer a blessing or thanksgiving—is curious. But that Samuel really acted as priest seems plain from what follows. For he not only asks Saul to share in the customary sacrificial feast, but he disposes in Saul's favour of that portion of the victim which the Levitical legislation, doubtless embodying old customs, recognises as the priest's special property.[8]

Although particular persons adopted the profession of media between men and Elohim, there was no limitation of the power, in the view of ancient Israel, to any special class of the population. Saul inquires of Jahveh and builds him altars on his own account; and in the very remarkable story told in the fourteenth chapter of the first book of Samuel (v. 37–46), Saul appears to conduct the whole process of divination, although he has a priest at his elbow. David seems to do the same.

Moreover, Elohim constantly appears in dreams—which in old Israel did not mean that, as we should say, the subject of the appearance 'dreamed he saw the spirit;' but that he veritably saw the Elohim which, as a soul, visited his soul while his body was

[7] This would at first appear to be inconsistent with the use of the word 'prophetess' for Deborah. But it does not follow because the writer of Judges applies the name to Deborah that it was used in her day.

[8] Samuel tells the cook, 'Bring the portion which I gave thee, of which I said to thee, Set it by thee.' was therefore Samuel's to give. 'And the cook took up the thigh (or shoulder) and that which was upon it and set it before Saul.' But in the Levitical regulations it is the thigh (or shoulder) which becomes the priest's own property. 'And the right thigh (or shoulder) shall ye give unto the priest for an heave-offering,' which is given along with the wave breast 'unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons as a due for ever from the children of Israel' (Leviticus viii. 31–34). Reuss writes on this passage: 'La cuisse n'est point agitée, mais simplement *prélevée* sur ce que les convives mangeront.'

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asleep. And in the course of the history of Israel Jahveh himself thus appears to all sorts of persons, non-Israelites as well as Israelites. Again, the Elohim possess, or inspire, people against their will, as in the case of Saul and Saul's messengers, and then these people prophesy—that is to say 'rave'—and exhibit the ungoverned gestures attributed by a later age to possession by malignant spirits. Apart from other evidence to be adduced by-and-bye, the history of ancient demonology and of modern revivalism does not permit me to doubt that the accounts of these phenomena given in the history of Saul may be perfectly historical.

In the ritual practices of which evidence is to be found in the books of Judges and Samuel, the chief part is played by sacrifices, usually burnt offerings. Whenever the aid of the Elohim of Israel is sought, or thanks are considered due to him, an altar is built, and oxen, sheep, and goats are slaughtered and offered up. Sometimes the entire victim is burnt as a holocaust; more frequently, only certain parts, notably the fat about the kidneys, are burnt on the altar. The rest is properly cooked; and, after the reservation of a part for the priest, is made the foundation of a joyous banquet, in which the sacrificer, his family, and such guests as he thinks fit to invite, participate.[9] Elohim was supposed to share in the feast; and it has been already shown that the portion which was set apart on the altar or consumed by fire was spoken of as the food of Elohim, who was thought to be influenced in favour of the sacrificer by the costliness, or the pleasant smell, of the sacrifice.

All this bears out the view that, in the mind of the old Israelite, there was no difference save one of degree between one Elohim and another. It is true that there is but little direct evidence to show that the old Israelites shared the widespread belief of their own, and indeed of all, times that the spirits of the dead not only continue to exist, but are capable of a ghostly kind of feeding and are grateful for such aliment as can be assimilated by their attenuated substance and even for clothes, ornaments, and weapons.[10] That they were familiar with this doctrine in the time of the captivity is suggested by the well-known reference of Ezekiel (xxxii. 27) to the 'mighty men that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to Sheol with their weapons of war and have laid their swords under their heads.' Perhaps there is a still earlier allusion in the 'giving of food for the dead' spoken of in Deuteronomy (xxvi. 14).[11]

[9] See, for example, Elkanah's sacrifice, 1 Sam.

[10] The ghost was not supposed to be capable of devouring the gross, material, substance of the offering; but his vaporous body appropriated the smoke of the burnt sacrifice, the visible and odorous exhalations of other offerings. The blood of the victim was particularly useful because it was thought to be the special seat of its soul or life. A West African negro replied to a European sceptic: 'Of course, the spirit cannot eat corporeal food, but he extracts its spiritual part, and, as we see, leaves the material part behind' (Lippert, *Seelencult*, p. 16).

[11] It is further well worth consideration whether, as Lippert suggests, indications of former ancestor-worship are not to be found in the singular weight attached to the

It must be remembered that the literature of the old Israelites, as it lies before us, has been subjected to the revisal of strictly monotheistic editors, violently opposed to all kinds of idolatry, who are not likely to have selected from the materials at their disposal any obvious evidence, either of the practice under discussion, or of that ancestor-worship which is so closely related to it, for preservation in the permanent records of their people.

The mysterious objects known as *Teraphim*, which are occasionally mentioned in Judges, Samuel, and elsewhere, however, can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as indications of the existence both of ancestor-worship and of image-worship in old Israel. The teraphim were certainly images of family gods, and, as such, in all probability represented deceased ancestors. Laban indignantly demands of his son-in-law 'Wherefore hast thou stolen my Elohim?' which Rachel, who must be assumed to have worshipped Jacob's God, Jahveh, had carried off, obviously because she, like her father, believed in their divinity. It is not suggested that Jacob was in any way scandalised by the idolatrous practices of his favourite wife, whatever he may have thought of her honesty, when the truth came to light; for the teraphim seem to have remained in his camp, at least until he 'hid' his strange gods 'under the oak that was by Shechem' (Genesis xxxv. 4). And, indeed, it is open to question if he got rid of them then, for the subsequent history of Israel renders it more than doubtful whether the teraphim were regarded as 'strange gods' even as late as the eighth century B.C. The writer of the books of Samuel takes it quite as a matter of course that Michal, daughter of one royal Jahveh worshipper and wife of the servant of Jahveh *par excellence*, the pious David, should have her teraphim handy in her and David's chamber, when she dresses them up in their bed into a simulation of her husband, for the purpose of deceiving her father's messengers.

Even one of the early prophets, Hosea, when he threatens that the children of Israel shall abide many days without 'ephod or teraphim' (iii. 4), appears to regard both as equally proper appurtenances of the suspended worship of Jahveh, and equally certain to be restored when that is resumed. When we further take into consideration that, only in the reign of Hezekiah, was the brazen

veneration of parents in the fourth commandment. It is the only positive commandment in addition to those respecting the Deity and that concerning the Sabbath, and the penalties for infringing it were of the same character. In China, a corresponding reverence for parents is part and parcel of ancestor-worship; so in ancient Rome and in Greece (where parents were even called δεύτεροι καὶ ἐπίγειοι θεοί).—The fifth commandment, as it stands, would be an excellent compromise between ancestor-worship and monotheism. The larger hereditary share allotted by Israelitic law to the eldest son reminds one of the privileges attached to primogeniture in ancient Rome, which were closely connected with ancestor-worship. There is a good deal to be said in favour of the speculation that the ark of the covenant may have been a relic of ancestor-worship; but that topic is too large to be dealt with incidentally in this place.

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serpent, preserved in the temple and believed to be the work of Moses, destroyed, and the practice of offering incense to it, that is, worshipping it, abolished—that Jeroboam could set up 'calves of gold' for Israel to worship, with apparently none but a political object, and certainly with no notion of creating a schism among the worshippers of Jahveh, or repelling the men of Judah from his standard—it seems obvious, either that the Israelites of the tenth and eleventh centuries B.C. knew not the second commandment, or that they construed it merely as part of the prohibition to worship any supreme god other than Jahveh, which precedes it.

In seeking for information about the teraphim, I lighted upon the following passage in the valuable article on that subject by Canon Farrar, in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, which is so much to the purpose of my argument, that I venture to quote it in full:—

> The main and certain results of this review are that the teraphim were rude human images; that the use of them was an antique Aramaic custom; that there is reason to suppose them to have been images of deceased ancestors; that they were consulted oracularly; that they were not confined to Jews; that their use continued down to the latest period of Jewish history; and lastly, that although the enlightened prophets and strictest later kings regarded them as idolatrous, the priests were much less averse to such images, and their cult was not considered in any way repugnant to the pious worship of Elohim, nay even to the worship of him 'under the awful title of Jehovah.' In fact, they involved *a monotheistic idolatry very different indeed from polytheism*; and the tolerance of them by priests, as compared with the denunciation of them by the prophets, offers a close analogy to the views of the Roman Catholics respecting pictures and images as compared with the views of Protestants. It was against this use of idolatrous symbols and emblems in a monotheistic worship that the *second* commandment was directed, whereas the first is aimed against the graver sin of direct polytheism. But the whole history of Israel shows how utterly and how early the law must have fallen into desuetude. The worship of the golden calf and of the calves at Dan and Bethel, against which, so far as we know, neither Elijah nor Elisha said a single word; the tolerance of high places, teraphim and betylia; the offering of incense for centuries to the brazen serpent destroyed by Hezekiah; the occasional glimpses of the most startling irregularities sanctioned apparently even in the temple worship itself, prove most decisively that a pure monotheism and an independence of symbols was the result of a slow and painful course of God's disciplinal dealings among the noblest thinkers of a single nation, and not, as is so constantly and erroneously urged, the instinct of the whole Semitic race; in other words, one single branch of the Semites was under God's providence *educated* into pure monotheism only by centuries of misfortune and series of inspired men. (Vol. iii. p. 986.)

It appears to me that the researches of the anthropologist lead him to conclusions identical in substance, if not in terms, with those here enunciated as the result of a careful study of the same subject from a totally different point of view.

There is abundant evidence in the books of Samuel and elsewhere that an article of dress termed an *ephod* was supposed to have a peculiar efficacy in enabling the wearer to exercise divination by means of Jahveh-Elohim. Great and long continued have been the

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disputes as to the exact nature of the ephod—whether it always means something to wear, or whether it sometimes means an image. But the probabilities are that it always signifies a kind of waistcoat or broad zone, provided with shoulder-straps, which the person who 'inquired of Jahveh' put on. In 1 Samuel xxiii. 2 David appears to have inquired without an ephod, for Abiathar the priest is said to have 'come down with an ephod in his hand' only subsequently. And then David asks for it before inquiring of Jahveh whether the men of Keilah would betray him or not. David's action is obviously divination pure and simple; and it is curious that he seems to have worn the ephod himself and not to have employed Abiathar as a medium. How the answer was given is not clear, though the probability is that it was obtained by casting lots. The *Urim* and *Thummim* seem to have been two such lots of a peculiarly sacred character, which were carried in the pocket of the high-priest's 'breast plate.' This last was worn along with the ephod.

With the exception of one passage (1 Sam. xiv. 18) the Ark is ignored in the history of Saul. But in this place, the Septuagint reads 'ephod' for ark, while in 1 Chronicles xiii. 3 David says that 'we sought not unto it [the Ark] in the days of Saul.' Nor does Samuel seem to have paid any regard to the ark after its return from Philistia; though, in his childhood, he is said to have slept in 'the temple of Jahveh where the ark of Elohim was' (1 Sam. iii. 3) at Shiloh, and there to have been the seer of the earliest apparitions vouchsafed to him by Jahveh. The space between the cherubim, or winged images, on the canopy or cover (*Kapporeth*) of this holy chest was held to be the special seat of Jahveh—the place selected for a temporary residence of the Supreme Elohim who had, after Aaron and Phineas, Eli and his sons for priests and seers. And when the ark was carried to the camp at Eben-ezer there can be no doubt that the Israelites, no less than the Philistines, held that 'Elohim is come into the camp' (iv. 7), and that the one as much as the other conceived that the Israelites had summoned to their aid a powerful ally in 'these (or this) mighty Elohim'—elsewhere called Jahve-Sabaoth, the Jahveh of Hosts. If the 'temple' at Shiloh was the Pentateuchal tabernacle, as is suggested by the name of 'tent of meeting' given to it in 1 Sam. ii. 22, it was essentially a large tent, though constituted of very expensive and ornate materials; if, on the other hand, it was a different edifice, there can be little doubt that this 'house of Jahveh' was built on the model of an ordinary house of the time. But there is not the slightest evidence that, during the reign of Saul, any greater importance attached to this seat of the cult of Jahveh than to others. Sanctuaries, and 'high places' for sacrifice, were scattered all over the country from Dan to Beersheba. And as Samuel is said to have gone up to one of these high places to bless the sacrifice, it may be taken for tolerably certain that he knew

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nothing of the Levitical laws which severely condemn the high places and those who sacrifice away from the sanctuary hallowed by the presence of the ark.

There is no evidence that during the time of the Judges and of Samuel any one occupied the position of the high-priest of later days. And persons who were neither priests nor Levites sacrificed and divined or 'inquired of Jahveh' when they pleased and where they pleased, without the least indication that they, or any one else in Israel at that time, knew they were doing wrong. There is no allusion to any special observance of the Sabbath; and the references to circumcision are indirect.

Such are the chief articles of the theological creed of the old Israelites, which are made known to us by the direct evidence of the ancient records to which we have had recourse, and they are as remarkable for that which they contain as for that which is absent from them. They reveal a firm conviction that, when death takes place, a something termed a soul, or spirit, leaves the body and continues to exist in Sheol for a period of indefinite duration, even though there is no proof of any belief in absolute immortality; that such spirits can return to earth to possess and inspire the living; that they are, in appearance and in disposition, likenesses of the men to whom they belonged, but that, as spirits, they have larger powers and are freer from physical limitations; that they thus form one of a number of kinds of spiritual existences known as Elohim, of whom Jahveh, the national God of Israel, is one; that, consistently with this view, Jahveh was conceived as a sort of spirit, human in aspect and in senses, and with many human passions, but with immensely greater intelligence and power than any other Elohim, whether human or divine. Further, the evidence proves that this belief was the basis of the Jahveh-worship to which Samuel and his followers were devoted; that there is strong reason for believing, and none for doubting, that idolatry, in the shape of the worship of the family gods, or teraphim, was practised by sincere and devout Jahveh-worshippers; that the ark, with its protective tent or tabernacle, was regarded as a specially but by no means exclusively favoured sanctuary of Jahveh; that an ephod appears to have had a particular value for those who desired to divine by the help of Jahveh; and that divination by lots was practised before Jahveh. On the other hand, there is not the slightest evidence of any belief in retribution after death, but the contrary; ritual obligations have at least as strong sanction as moral; there are clear indications that some of the most stringent of the Levitical laws were unknown even to Samuel; priests often appear to be superseded by laymen, even in the performance of sacrifices and divination; and no line of demarcation can be drawn between necromancer, wizard, seer, prophet, and priest, each of whom

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is regarded, like all the rest, as a medium of communication between the world of Elohim and that of living men.

The theological system, thus defined, offers to the anthropologist no feature which is devoid of a parallel in the known theologies of other races of mankind, even of those who inhabit parts of the world most remote from Palestine. And the foundation of the whole, the ghost theory, is exactly that theological speculation which is the most widely spread of all, and the most deeply rooted among uncivilised men. I am able to base this statement, to some extent, on facts within my own knowledge. In December 1848, H.M.S. 'Rattlesnake,' the ship to which I then belonged, was anchored off Mount Ernest, an island in Torres Straits. The people were few and well disposed, and when a friend of mine (whom I will call B.) and I went ashore we made acquaintance with an old native, Paouda by name. In course of time we became quite intimate with the old gentleman, partly by the rendering of mutual good offices, but chiefly because Paouda believed he had discovered that B. was his father-in-law. And his grounds for this singular conviction were very remarkable. We had made a long stay at Cape York hard by, and, in accordance with a theory which is widely held among the Australians, that white men are the re-incarnated spirits of black men, B. was held to be the ghost, or *narki*, of a certain Mount Ernest native, one Antarki, who had lately died, on the ground of some real or fancied resemblance to the latter. Now Paouda had taken to wife a daughter of Antarki's, named Domani, and as soon as B. informed him that he was the ghost of Antarki, Paouda at once admitted the relationship and acted upon it. For as all the women on the island had hidden away in fear of the ship, and we were anxious to see what they were like, B. pleaded pathetically with Paouda that it would be very unkind not to let him see his daughter and grandchildren. After a good deal of hesitation and the exaction of pledges of deep secrecy, Paouda consented to take B., and myself as B.'s friend, to see Domani and the three daughters, by whom B. was received quite as one of the family, while I was courteously welcomed on his account.

This scene made an impression upon me which is not yet effaced. It left no question on my mind of the sincerity of the strange ghost theory of these savages, and of the influence which their belief has on their practical life. I had it in my mind, as well as many a like result of subsequent anthropological studies, when, in 1869,[12] I wrote as follows:—

> There are savages without God in any proper sense of the word, but none without ghosts. And the Fetishism, Ancestor-worship, Hero-worship, and Demonology of primitive savages are all, I believe, different manners of expression of their

[12] 'The Scientific Aspects of Positivism,' *Fortnightly Review*, 1869, republished in 'Lay Sermons.'

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belief in ghosts, and of the anthropomorphic interpretation of out-of-the-way events which is its concomitant. Witchcraft and sorcery are the practical expressions of these beliefs; and they stand in the same relation to religious worship as the simple anthropomorphism of children or savages does to theology.

I do not quote myself with any intention of making a claim to originality in putting forth this view; for I have since discovered that the same conception is virtually contained in the great *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* of Bossuet, now more than two centuries old:—

> Le culte des hommes morts faisoit presque tout le fond de l'idolâtrie: presque tous les hommes sacrifioient aux mânes, c'est-à-dire aux âmes des morts. De si anciennes erreurs nous font voir à la vérité combien étoit ancienne la croyance de l'immortalité de l'âme, et nous montrent qu'elle doit être rangée parmi les premières traditions du genre humain. Mais l'homme, qui gâtoit tout, en avoit étrangement abusé, puisqu'elle le portoit à sacrifier aux morts. On alloit même jusqu'à cet excès, de leur sacrifier des hommes vivans: on tuoit leurs esclaves, et même leurs femmes, pour les aller servir dans l'autre monde.[13]

Among more modern writers J. G. Müller, in his excellent *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen* (1855) clearly recognises 'gespensterhafter Geisterglaube' as the foundation of all savage and semicivilised theology, and I need do no more than mention the important developments of the same view which are to be found in Mr. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, and in the writings of Mr. Herbert Spencer, especially his recently published *Ecclesiastical Institutions*.[14]

It is a matter of fact that, whether we direct our attention to the older conditions of civilised societies, in Japan, in China, in Hindostan, in Greece, or in Rome,[15] we find, underlying all other theological notions, the belief in ghosts, with its inevitable concomitant, sorcery; and a primitive cult in the shape of a worship of ancestors, which is essentially an attempt to please, or appease, their ghosts. The same thing is true of old Mexico and Peru, and of every semicivilised or savage people who have developed a definite cult; and in those who, like the natives of Australia, have not even a cult, the belief in, and fear of, ghosts is as strong as anywhere else. One of the most clearly demonstrable articles of the theology of the Israelites in the eleventh and twelfth centuries B.C. is therefore simply the article which is to be found in all primitive theologies; namely, the belief that a man has a soul which continues to exist

[13] *Œuvres de Bossuet*, ed. 1808, t. xxxv. p. 282.

[14] I should like further to add the expression of my indebtedness to two works by Herr Julius Lippert, *Der Seelencult in seinen Beziehungen zur alt-hebräischen Religion*, and *Die Religionen der europäischen Culturvölker*, both published in 1881. I have found them full of valuable suggestions.

[15] See among others the remarkable work of Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique*, in which the social importance of the old Roman ancestor-worship is brought out with great clearness.

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after death for a longer or shorter time, and may return, as a ghost, with a divine or, at least, demonic character, to influence for good or evil (and usually for evil) the affairs of the living. But the correspondence between the old Israelitic and other archaic forms of theology extends to details. If, in order to avoid all chance of direct communication, we compare the former with the theology of semi-civilised people, separated by the greatest possible distance and by every conceivable barrier from the inhabitants of Palestine, such as the Polynesian Islanders, we shall find, not merely that all the features of old-Israelitic theology which are shown in the records cited are found among them, but that extant information as to the inner mind of these people tends to remove many of the difficulties which those who have not studied anthropology find in the Hebrew narrative.

One of the best sources, if not the best source, of information on these topics is Mariner's *Tonga Islands*, which tells us of the condition of Cook's Friendly Islanders eighty years ago, before European influence was sensibly felt among them. Mariner, a youth of fair education and of no inconsiderable natural ability (as the work which was drawn up from the materials he furnished shows), was about fifteen years of age when his ship was attacked and plundered by the Tongans; he remained four years in the islands, familiarized himself with the language, lived the life of the people, became intimate with many of them, and had every opportunity of acquainting himself with their opinions as well as with their habits and customs. He seems to have been devoid of prejudices, theological or other, and the impression of strict accuracy which his statements convey has been justified by all the knowledge of Polynesian life which has been subsequently acquired.

It is desirable, therefore, to pay close attention to that which Mariner tells us about the theological views of these people:—

> The human soul,[16] after its separation from the body, is termed a *hotooa* (a god or spirit), and is believed to exist in the shape of the body; to have the same propensities as during life, but to be corrected by a more enlightened understanding by which it readily distinguishes good from evil, truth from falsehood, right from wrong; having the same attributes as the original gods but in a minor degree, and having its dwelling for ever in the happy regions of Bolotoo, holding the same rank in regard to other souls as during this life; it has, however, the power of returning to Tonga to inspire priests, relations, or others, or to appear in dreams to those it wishes to admonish; and sometimes to the external eye in the form of a ghost or apparition; but this power of reappearance at Tonga particularly belongs to the souls of chiefs rather than of matabooles. (Vol. ii. p. 130.)

The word 'hotooa' is the same as that which is usually spelt 'atua' by Polynesian philologues, and it will be convenient to adopt

[16] Supposed to be 'the finer or more aeriform part of the body,' standing in 'the same relation to the body as the perfume and the more essential qualities of a flower do to the more solid substances.' (Mariner, ii. p. 127.)

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this spelling. Now under this head of '*Atuas* or supernatural intelligent beings' the Tongans included—

1. The original Gods. 2. The souls of nobles that have all attributes in common with the first but inferior in degree. 3. The souls of matabooles [17] that are still inferior, and have not the power as the two first have of coming back to Tonga to inspire the priests, though they are supposed to have the power of appearing to their relatives. 4. The original attendants or servants, as it were, of the gods, who, although they had their origin and have ever since existed in Bolotoo, are still inferior to the third class. 5. The *Atua pow* or mischievous gods. 6. *Mooi*, or the god that supports the earth and does not belong to Bolotoo. (Vol. ii. pp. 103–4.)

From this it appears that the 'Atuas' of the Polynesian are exactly equivalent to the 'Elohim' of the old Israelite.[18] They comprise everything spiritual, from a ghost to a god, and from 'the merely tutelar gods to particular private families' (vol. ii. p. 104), to Tá-li-y-Toobó, who was the national god of Tonga. The Tongans had no doubt that these Atuas daily and hourly influenced their destinies and could conversely be influenced by them. Hence their 'piety,' the incessant acts of sacrificial worship which occupied their lives, and their belief in omens and charms. Moreover, the Atuas were believed to visit particular persons—their own priests in the case of the higher gods, but apparently anybody in that of the lower—and to inspire them by a process which was conceived to involve the actual residence of the god, for the time being, in the person inspired, who was thus rendered capable of prophesying (vol. ii. p. 100). For the Tongan, therefore, inspiration indubitably was possession.

When one of the higher gods was invoked through his priest by a chief who wished to consult the oracle, or, in old Israelitic phraseology, to 'inquire of,' the god, a hog was killed and cooked over night, and, together with plantains, yams, and the materials for making the peculiar drink *kava* (of which the Tongans were very fond) was carried next day to the priest. A circle, as for an ordinary kava-drinking entertainment, was then formed; but the priest, as the representative of the god, took the highest place, while the chiefs sat outside the circle, as an expression of humility calculated to please the god.

As soon as they are all seated the priest is considered as inspired, the god being supposed to exist within him from that moment. He remains for a considerable time in silence with his hands clasped before him, his eyes are cast down and he rests perfectly still. During the time the victuals are being shared out and the kava preparing, the matabooles sometimes begin to consult him; sometimes he answers, and at other times not; in either case he remains with his eyes cast down. Frequently he will not utter a word till the repast is finished and the kava too. When he speaks he generally begins in a low and very altered tone of voice, which

[17] A kind of 'clients' in the Roman sense.

[18] It is worthy of remark that δαίμων among the Greeks, and *Deus* among the Romans, had the same wide signification. The *dii manes* were ghosts of ancestors = Atuas of the family.

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gradually rises to nearly its natural pitch, though sometimes a little above it. All that he says is supposed to be the declaration of the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first person, as if he were the god. All this is done generally without any apparent inward emotion or outward agitation; but, on some occasions, his countenance becomes fierce, and as it were inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling; he is seized with an universal trembling, the perspiration breaks out on his forehead, and his lips turning black are convulsed; at length tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside. Before this paroxysm comes on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as four hungry men under other circumstances could devour. The fit being now gone off, he remains for some time calm and then takes up a club that is placed by him for the purpose, turns it over and regards it attentively; he then looks up earnestly, now to the right, now to the left, and now again at the club; afterwards he looks up again and about him in like manner, and then again fixes his eyes on the club, and so on for several times. At length he suddenly raises the club, and, after a moment's pause, strikes the ground or the adjacent part of the house with considerable force; immediately the god leaves him, and he rises up and retires to the back of the ring among the people. (Vol. i. pp. 100–101.)

The phenomena thus described, in language which bears the stamp of fidelity to any one who is familiar with the manifestations of abnormal mental states among ourselves, furnish a most instructive commentary upon the story of the wise woman of Endor. As in the latter, we have the possession by the spirit or soul (Atua, Elohim), the strange voice, the speaking in the first person. Unfortunately nothing (beyond the loud cry) is mentioned as to the state of the wise woman of Endor. But what we learn from other sources (*e.g.* 1 Samuel x. 20–24) respecting the physical concomitants of inspiration among the old Israelites has its exact equivalent in this and other accounts of Polynesian prophetism. An excellent authority, Moerenhout, who lived among the people of the Society Islands many years and knew them well, says that, in Tahiti, the *rôle* of the prophet had very generally passed out of the hands of the priests into that of private persons who professed to represent the god, often assumed his name, and in this capacity prophesied. I will not run the risk of weakening the force of Moerenhout's description of the prophetic state by translating it.

Un individu, dans cet état, avait le bras gauche enveloppé d'un morceau d'étoffe, signe de la présence de la Divinité. Il ne parlait que d'un ton impérieux et véhément. Ses attaques, quand il allait prophétiser, étaient aussi effroyables qu'imposantes. Il tremblait d'abord de tous ses membres, la figure enflée, les yeux hagards, rouges et étincelants d'une expression sauvage. Il gesticulait, articulait des mots vides de sens, poussait des cris horribles qui faisaient tressaillir tous les assistans, et s'exaltait parfois au point qu'on n'osait pas l'approcher. Autour de lui, le silence de la terreur et du respect. . . . C'est alors qu'il répondait aux questions, annonçait l'avenir, le destin des batailles, la volonté des dieux; et, chose étonnante! au sein de ce délire, de cet enthousiasme religieux, son langage était grave, imposant, son éloquence noble et persuasive.[19]

Just so Saul strips off his clothes, 'prophesies' before Samuel, and lies down 'naked all that day and night.'

[19] *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, t. i. p. 482.

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Both Mariner and Moerenhout refuse to have recourse to the hypothesis of imposture in order to account for the inspired state of the Polynesian prophets. On the contrary, they fully believe in their sincerity. Mariner tells the story of a young chief, an acquaintance of his, who thought himself possessed by the Atua of a dead woman who had fallen in love with him, and who wished him to die that he might be near her in Bolotoo. And he died accordingly. But the most valuable evidence on this head is contained in what the same authority says about King Finow's son. The previous king, Toogoo Ahoo, had been assassinated by Finow, and his soul, become an Atua of divine rank in Bolotoo, had been pleased to visit and inspire Finow's son—with what particular object does not appear.

When this young chief returned to Hapai, Mr. Mariner, who was upon a footing of great friendship with him, one day asked him how he felt himself when the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo visited him; he replied that he could not well describe his feelings, but the best he could say of it was, that he felt himself all over in a glow of heat and quite restless and uncomfortable, and did not feel his own personal identity, as it were, but seemed to have a mind different from his own natural mind, his thoughts wandering upon strange and unusual subjects, although perfectly sensible of surrounding objects. He next asked him how he knew it was the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo? His answer was, 'There's a fool! How can I tell you *how* I knew it? I felt and knew it was so by a kind of consciousness; my *mind* told me that it was Toogoo Ahoo.' (Vol. i. pp. 104–105.)

Finow's son was evidently made for a theological disputant, and fell back at once on the inexpugnable stronghold of faith when other evidence was lacking. 'There's a fool: I know it is true, because I know it,' is the exemplar and epitome of the sceptic-crushing process in other places than the Tonga Islands.

The island of Bolotoo, to which all the souls (of the upper classes at any rate) repair after the death of the body, and from which they return at will to interfere for good or evil with the lives of those whom they have left behind, obviously answers to Sheol. In Tongan tradition, this place of souls is a sort of elysium above ground and pleasant enough to live in. But, in other parts of Polynesia, the corresponding locality, which is called Po, has to be reached by descending into the earth, and is represented as dark and gloomy as Sheol may have been. But it was not looked upon as a place of rewards and punishments in any sense. Whether in Bolotoo or in Po, the soul took the rank it had in the flesh; and, a shadow, lived among the shadows of the friends and houses and food of its previous life.

T. H. HUXLEY.

(*To be concluded.*)

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MR. GODKIN ON POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Godkin's observations on a portion of the volume which I have recently published under the name of 'Popular Government' are certainly not open to exception on the score of courtesy or candour, and the information which, as an American, he is able to contribute to the discussion of my subject seems to me to possess singular interest and value. But, while on a few points I am not confident that I understand his meaning, I am sure that on some others he has not understood mine; and I am glad to have an opportunity of pointing out what I did say, and what I intended to convey, in the parts of the book which he has criticised.

Mr. Godkin states that, after carefully perusing the volume, and especially the first chapter of it, on the 'Prospects of Popular Government,' he laid it down without getting a very clear idea of the lesson I undertook to teach. I have assuredly no reason to complain of the language in which this statement is made, but I own that it has disappointed me. I supposed that, at the beginning of the chapter in question, I had explained my undertaking with considerable distinctness, and that in the closing pages I had set forth with sufficient clearness the conclusion at which I had arrived. 'We, too,' I wrote, 'who belong to Western Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century, live under a set of institutions which all, except a small minority, regard as likely to be perpetual. Nine men out of ten, some hoping, some fearing, look upon the popular government which, ever widening its basis, has spread and is spreading over the world, as destined to last for ever; or, if it changes its form, to change it in one single direction. The democratic principle has gone forth, conquering and to conquer, and its gainsayers are few and feeble. . . . Nevertheless those who recollect the surprises which the future had in store for men equally confident in the perpetuity of the present will ask themselves whether it is really true that the expectation of virtual permanence for governments of the modern type rests upon solid grounds of historical experience as regards the past and rational probability as regards the time to come. I endeavour in these pages to examine the question.' I then proceeded to call attention to a number of facts which, important and significant as they are, are very seldom brought to notice. Except in England and the United States, the desire for popular government began in the admiration of the British Consti-

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tution which sprang up in France in the eighteenth century. A series of attempts to apply its principles commenced rather less than a hundred years ago, with the result that popular governments were established at various times in France, in Spain and Portugal, in the Austrian and German States, in South and Central America, and in Mexico. All these popular governments resembled one another in being provided with an apparatus of institutions intended to enable a more or less numerous electorate to control the Executive and the Legislature; and the countries in which they were set up virtually included the whole of the civilised western world, except Great Britain and the United States. Nevertheless, in a comparatively short space of time these governments have all been swept away by military or civil revolution, in some cases repeatedly; and one particular dictatorial tyranny, founded on the ruins of a popular government, was close to our shores till the other day. In the preface to my book, I expressed the facts in this way: 'Popular Government, since its reintroduction into the world,[1] has proved itself to be extremely fragile.' The conclusion which I drew, after closing the inquiry upon which I had entered, is given at the end of my first chapter, and it appears to me to err rather on the side of timidity than of temerity. 'My chief conclusion (p. 53), I said, can only be stated negatively. There is not at present sufficient evidence to warrant the common belief that popular governments are likely to be of indefinitely long duration.' But I added that the inquiry had suggested to me one positive conclusion. 'It is not too much to say that the only evidence worth mentioning for the duration of popular government is to be found in the success of the British Constitution during two centuries under special conditions, and in the success of the American Constitution during one century under conditions still more peculiar and more unlikely to recur.' With regard to the stability of the British Constitution, I hinted some misgiving, though my doubts fall far short of those of a great German authority on these subjects, Gneist, who has just expressed his belief that we shall come back to government by the 'King in Council,' so serious are the difficulties of our Parliamentary institutions. But my opinion respecting the American Federal Constitution was emphasised in a later part of my book (p. 197). 'The United States of America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canadian lakes to the Mexican border, appear destined to remain for an indefinite time under the same political institutions; and there is no evidence that these will not continue to belong to the popular type.'

[1] Mr. Godkin will excuse me from following him in a speculation as to what I can have meant by the 'reintroduction of Popular Government into the modern world.' The truth is that, by a *lapsus calami*, he has interpolated the word 'modern' in the passage quoted by him from my preface; the words really used are as above.

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The conclusion which I have expressed negatively appears for some reason or other to be very unacceptable to Mr. Godkin. He says that 'nothing is more delusive in the work of political speculation than short periods of observation.' He taxes me with abusive employment of what Mill calls the 'chemical method of reasoning.' These objections have so very remote a bearing on the result to which I actually conducted my inquiry, that I cannot but suspect him of having unconsciously substituted in his mind some other proposition, probably a less cautious proposition, for that which I maintain. I am quite aware that if my inference had been more unguarded than it is—if for instance, I had asserted that because popular government has perished in a considerable number of countries (significant as the fact is), it is destined to perish some day everywhere—I should have laid myself open to some part of Mr. Godkin's observations. But I refrained from drawing this conclusion exactly because I admit the time of observation to be too short for a very confident opinion. If popular government should last for another century, even for half a century, the evidence will strike the observer of that day in a very different light from that in which it appears at present. And even if there has been a wholesale destruction of popular governments, the success and apparent durability of the United States may still forbid either a very general or a very confident conclusion.

I maintain, however, that the facts which I have brought together, and the potency of the causes to which I have attributed a portion of these facts, amply justify me in disputing a particular belief, and an assertion implied in that belief. I still deny that there is 'at present sufficient evidence to warrant the common belief that popular governments are likely to be of indefinitely long duration.' It is not by way of a mere idle exercise of scepticism that I attempt to cast doubt on this persuasion. It is excessively prevalent. I see from my own observation that it has a strong hold on youthful minds, and gives them a political bias which in my judgment is not always healthy. The impression which it carries with it, that popular government is of so robust a fibre as to bear safely any wrench or strain, has much to do with the wild proposals of demagogues for the structural dislocation of constitutions, and with the facility of statesmen in buying off party difficulties by the sacrifice of constitutional safeguards. I seek to discredit it, not merely because it is false, but because like Mr. Godkin I hold 'politics to be an extremely practical kind of business.' I do not by any means think it beyond the powers of the human intellect to mitigate or even to remove the infirmities of popular government. I attribute much the greatest part of the success of the Government of the United States, first of all to the conviction (perhaps to some extent an overstrained conviction) of the framers of the Federal Constitution that democracies

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were naturally shortlived and difficult of management; and, next, to the foresight and sagacity with which they made express provision for neutralising the weaknesses of the government which they were establishing. But the statesman who believes that a popular government, and especially a wide popular government, is naturally a government of indefinitely long duration will at the utmost leave it to take care of itself.

It does not appear to me that the undertaking which I had in hand, and the conclusion to which it led me, raise properly any question of the employment, abusive or otherwise, of the 'chemical method of reasoning.' But I am bound to say that I do not subscribe to Mill's estimate of the value of appeals to the experience of States or societies of men. Mill, though not exclusively a deductive thinker, was mainly wedded to that method of reasoning, and he did not live long enough to have fully before his mind the more recent view of societies as organisms with a development and laws of their own. Immediately before the passage quoted from his 'Logic' by Mr. Godkin, Mill observes that 'human beings in society have no properties but those which are derived from, or may be resolved into, the laws of the nature of individual men.' I do not assent to this, but the present occasion would be so inconvenient for entering on the difficult question raised that I am glad to think it irrelevant to the subject before me.

The residue of Mr. Godkin's paper is a criticism and commentary on the opinion which I have expressed that democratic principles of legislation are likely 'to put an end to all social and political activities and arrest everything which has ever been associated with Liberalism.' I will begin by saying that Mr. Godkin gives me the impression that he is unaware how old are these apprehensions and how widely they are diffused. As Mill has been quoted against me, I may be pardoned for pointing out that his view of the probable future of democracy does not sensibly differ from mine. In the course of the admirable paper on Bentham which he published in 1838, he is led to consider that writer's theory of government. The foundation of Bentham's political doctrine is, he says, that the best government of a State is government by the numerical majority. This majority, he points out, must necessarily consist of persons all standing in the same position and having the same pursuits, that is, of unskilled manual labourers. Is this fundamental doctrine of Bentham's political philosophy, he asks, a universal truth? Is it, at all times and places, good for mankind to be under the absolute authority of the majority of themselves?' It is chimerical to suppose that whoever has absolute power over men's bodies will not arrogate it over men's minds—will not seek to control opinions and feelings which depart from its standard, and to extinguish all books, all schools, all combinations of individuals for joint action upon society,

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which may be attempted for keeping alive a spirit at variance with his own.[2] The result will be to make one narrow, mean type of human nature universal and perpetual, and to crush every influence which tends to the further improvement of man's intellectual and moral nature. Mill's conclusion is that it is on the whole right that the majority should be the paramount power in society, but that 'unless some centre of resistance can be found round which all the moral and social elements which the ruling power views with disfavour may cluster themselves,' the human race will degenerate, and the United States may become even as China. In his later life Mill appeared to find this 'centre of resistance' in the representation of minorities, but in 1838 he could only see the possibility of its discovery through the method of Montesquieu as it might be applied by De Tocqueville. Doubtless these opinions, which closely correspond to my own, were given to the world nearly fifty years ago. But I have much reason for believing that they are widely entertained at this moment by leaders of scientific thought and inquiry on the Continent who are sagacious enough to perceive that a common quarrel on certain points with the Church is not a sufficient basis for an alliance with democracy. In a book published only the other day, the *Nouvelles Lettres d'Italie* of M. Emile de Laveleye, I find the same misgivings most energetically expressed by an Italian man of letters and science who was also an experienced politician. The writer, who died quite recently, was Dr. Pantaleone, of Rome.

Our age (he says), which professes the worship of science everywhere, hands over power to the classes which are the antipodes of science and knowledge. Suppose, on the one hand, the masses were addressed by a superior and truly learned man, who appreciated the difficulties included in political and social questions and stated them clearly; and on the other, by an orator of low estate who was ignorant of the first principles of those questions but who flattered the instincts and appetites of the crowd, which of the two would be listened to and elected? . . Thus, in proportion as government becomes a more difficult art, you trust it to people who are more and more unintellectual and incapable. Is not this to prepare your own downfall? When I see our statesmen becoming apostles of universal suffrage, and throwing the treasures of civilisation, which the best men of our kind have accumulated through centuries of toil, as pabulum to this flock of bipeds who are . . . . in no state to discover even what is for their true interest, I am astonished at the extreme of blindness shown by men who are in some respects most enlightened. I can only ascribe it to the influence of an epidemic peculiar to our time, the *morbus democraticus*.

I have myself attempted to carry the argument a little further in a passage which Mr. Godkin has quoted, but which I am afraid I must quote again:—

Such a suffrage (a widely extended or universal suffrage) is commonly associated with Radicalism; no doubt, amid its most certain effects would be the extensive destruction of the existing institutions; but the chances are that in the long

[2] *Dissertations and Discussions*, vol. i. p. 378.

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run it would produce a mischievous form of Conservatism, and drug society with a potion compared with which Eldonine would be a salutary draught. For to what end, towards what ideal state, is the process of stamping upon law the average opinion of an entire community directed? The end arrived at is identical with that of the Roman Catholic Church, which attributes a similar sacredness to the average opinion of the Christian world. 'Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus' was the canon of Vincent of Lerins. 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum' were the words which rang in the ears of Newman and produced such marvellous effects on him. But did any one in his senses ever suppose that these were maxims of progress? The principles of legislation at which they point would put an end to all social and political activities, and arrest everything which has ever been associated with Liberalism. A moment's reflection will satisfy any competently instructed person that this is not too broad a proposition. Let him turn over in his mind the great epochs of scientific invention and social change during the last two centuries and consider what would have occurred if universal suffrage had been established at any one of them. Universal suffrage which to-day excludes free-trade from the United States would certainly have prohibited the spinning-jenny and the power-loom. It would certainly have forbidden the threshing-machine. It would have forbidden the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar, and would have restored the Stuarts (p. 36).[3]

Mr. Godkin calls these deductions extraordinary. He has searched as carefully as he could for their basis. He thinks they were arrived at by the *à priori* method 'with a vengeance.' He observes that in no place has universal suffrage done anything like prohibiting a spinning-jenny or the threshing machine, or preventing the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar. He has not understood the argument, possibly through my own fault, in making tacit, instead of explicit, reference to events which I supposed to be extensively known. It is of course quite possible that they are not as clearly present to the mind of a highly educated American as they would be to an Englishman. As a matter of fact, they are among the most striking occurrences of the eighteenth and of the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries. In 1716 the notorious Jacobitism of the English masses, and the danger with which it menaced the establishment of the House of Hanover, already shaken by a rebellion, led the English Parliament to take one of the most remarkable steps in its history by passing the Septennial Act and prolonging its own existence from three years to seven.[4] In 1751, the Act which introduced the Gregorian Calendar was passed. 'Great difficulty was found in appeasing the clamour of the people against it. . . . Years elapsed before

[3] The last words of this passage which might have given Mr. Godkin a clue to my meaning are not quoted by him. 'It would have proscribed the Roman Catholics with the mob which burned Lord Mansfield's house and library in 1780, and it would have proscribed the Dissenters with the mob which burned Dr. Priestley's house and library in 1791.'

[4] The Septennial Act (1 Geo. I. stat. 2, c. 38) recites in its preamble that Triennial Parliaments, if they should continue, may probably at this juncture, when a restless and popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom, be destructive of the peace and security of the government.

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the people were fully reconciled to the new regulation.'[5] In 1767, a series of destructive riots began, directed against the spinning-jenny which had just been invented by Hargreaves.[6] They lasted till 1779 and spread through the then manufacturing counties. Many mills were burnt; Peel's machinery was broken to pieces and thrown into the river; Arkwright's mills were wrecked and destroyed. The riots broke out again in 1812, now principally aimed at the lace-frames and stocking-knitting machinery which had been introduced into Nottinghamshire. Under an imaginary leader, General Ludd, they lasted till 1816, and were only put down by the unsparing severity of the criminal law. The terrible phantom, General Ludd, was before long succeeded by another, Captain Swing. The threshing-machine had been invented in the eighteenth century, but it did not come into common use till the earlier part of the nineteenth. The rick-burning and farm-burning, which began at about 1826 and lasted till after 1830, were believed by the most competent authorities to have been provoked by the earliest agricultural inventions, though their spread may be partly accounted for by the fact that incendiarism is one of the most contagious of crimes.

My argument, then, is that, if universal suffrage had been introduced into this country at the time when these violent prejudices existed--that is, if the classes who shared these prejudices had governed the country—they would have given effect to their opinions, not simply by rioting and violence, but by law. They would have found leaders who justified their hostility to machinery as unfairly competing with human labour, and they would have elected Parliaments in which their leaders would have been supreme. The new machines would have been treated just as a machine of another order, the bodily faculties of the immigrant Chinese labourer, has been treated in the Pacific States of the American Union. The argument, at all events, is perfectly simple and perfectly legitimate, and it has no affinity for *à priori* reasoning.

The few words which I have said on the subject of Population are criticised by Mr. Godkin, but I think that, if he will give them a little further attention, he will find that he has attached to them a meaning which they will not bear. The main part of the passage is as follows:—

> The central seat of all political economy was from the first occupied by the Theory of Population. This theory has now been generalised by Mr. Darwin and his followers, and, stated as the principle of the survival of the fittest, it has become the central truth of all biological science. Yet it is evidently disliked by the multitude and thrust into the background by those whom the multitude permits to lead it. It has long been intensely unpopular in France and on the Continent of Europe, and among ourselves proposals for recognising it through the relief of distress by emigration are visibly being supplanted by schemes founded on the assump-

[5] Coxe's *Pelham*, vol. ii. p. 26.

[6] Baine's *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, p. 150

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tion that, through legislative experiments on society, a given space of land may always be made to support in comfort the population which from historical causes has come to be settled on it.

Mr. Godkin supposes me to be complaining that the principle of the 'survival of the fittest,' that is, the Theory of Population in its highest scientific expression, is not preached to the multitude by its leaders, and he taxes the suggestion with something like brutality. But I have too keen a perception of 'the inequality of intelligences' to make any proposal of the kind. I know that the 'survival of the fittest' cannot be rendered generally endurable without an art which I do not possess; for I am unable to rise to the level of the declaimers against the tyranny of compulsory vaccination, who manage to give their doctrine an air of philanthropy and are not the less proposing that the ignorant and careless, and the children of the ignorant and careless, shall be left to die of a loathsome disease. But I was simply contrasting the enormous importance now belonging to the Theory of Population in scientific inquiry with the neglect and disfavour into which it has fallen with the masses and the teachers of the masses. I was referring to the theory in its humbler and less dignified applications. I meant to complain, and I still complain, of the silence on the subject observed by the modern English demagogue. I am quite aware that it is possible so to preach the doctrine as to violate morality and social decency; but in my judgment a man has no right to profess for such a class as the English agricultural labourers a love as intense as Rousseau professed to feel for the entire human race and yet to hide from them that there are forces at work among them which, if left unchecked, will defeat the most successful attempts to increase their comfort and well-being. If he cannot do this with propriety, the demagogue should abandon the profession he has adopted. At the very least, if he wishes to suggest an expedient for relieving the effects of the pressure of population when it has once set in, it ought to be adequate. Nevertheless in Ireland and the English agricultural counties, emigration is just as often attacked as seriously discussed, and even Mr. Godkin condescends to speak of sending the surplus population to till English moors. The present position of the subject seems to me a distinct mark of the degradation of opinion in our day. The very delusions which the author of the Theory of Population made an end of for a time are reviving and overwhelming his principles. Before he wrote, the deluge of loose and aimless humanitarianism was flowing from France over this country under the influence of Godwin. 'There will be no war,' says Godwin in his *Political Justice*, 'no crimes, no administration of justice, as it is called, and no government. Besides this, there will be neither disease, anguish, melancholy, nor resentment. Every man will seek with ineffable ardour the good of all.' But Malthus, whom Cobbett, the prototype of the modern demagogue,

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called a 'brute,' and who was at all times anything but a popular writer, completely disposed of these fancies by showing with unrivalled clearness what are the real causes which determine the comfort and happiness of the great majority of men in every society. 'Malthus,' said Sydney Smith, 'took the trouble of refuting Godwin, and we hear no more of Mr. Godwin.' If anybody seriously thinks that a great movement can neither be started nor arrested by a book written by a thinker in his closet, he should study Mr. Bonar's *Malthus and his Work*. The cardinal Malthusian doctrine laid strongly hold of the leaders of the people, of those who loved popular favour no less than those who cared little for it. It converted the flower of the Whigs no less than in the long run it converted William Pitt, and at a later date the foremost men of both parties hazarded their popularity, by joining in support of the New Poor Law Bill, the measure intended to abolish a system which Malthus had denounced, and which was in fact the negation of his principles.

The closing pages of Mr. Godkin's article are extremely remarkable. They supply information of the highest interest concerning the American voting class and its attitude towards new scientific inventions; and they also contain a number of admissions so candid as to leave me in doubt whether the writer seriously dissents from the argument which at first sight he appears to be criticising. He begins by strongly denying that the American people manifest any jealousy or dislike of new inventions and processes.

> I think (he writes) I might safely appeal to American men of science to say whether they do not suffer in reputation and influence with the people, for not making more and greater calls on their faith or credulity; or, in other words, for their slowness rather than for their haste in making and accepting discoveries. The fertility of Americans in inventions—that is, in the production of new machines and new processes—great as it is, is not so remarkable as the eagerness with which the people receive them and use them. The large number of medical quacks who infest the country, and their great success in the sale of their nostrums—the like of which I think can be seen nowhere else—is undoubtedly due to a sort of impatience with the caution and want of enterprise of the regular practitioners. The kind of fame which came to Edison after he had made some improvements in the electric light and invented the phonograph was a very good illustration of the respect of American people for the novel and the marvellous. For a good while he was hailed as a man to whom any problem in physics would be simple, and he was consulted on a variety of subjects to which he had given no attention, such as the means of diminishing the noise of the trains on the elevated railroads in the streets of this city. In fact, for a year or two, he held the position—doubtless to his own amusement—of a 'medicine man,' to whom any mystery was easy.

I have not the smallest right to deny any of these assertions, and I will add that, for various reasons, they seem to me eminently credible. In a country of which the natural resources, vast and formidable as they seem to us on this side of the Atlantic, have not been in all probability more than very superficially developed, a new labour-saving machine must promise fortune to the average American

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rather than injurious competition; in a country where domestic service is expensive and not good, some of the most ingenious of recent inventions must suggest nothing but increase of comfort. But this ready welcome of new inventions may have another cause not mentioned by Mr. Godkin. I have high authority for saying that the ordinary American citizen cannot help himself, even if they shocked his prejudices or menaced his industry. They are patented under laws of the United States made in virtue of a provision in the Federal Constitution. The patent can only be impeached in the Courts of the United States. This really means that, if a new American invention were as unpopular as was the spinning-jenny in England a hundred years ago, legislative interference to prohibit it would, in nearly all conceivable cases, be practically unattainable.

Yet there is one extreme case in which Mr. Godkin would hardly, I think, deny that the American labouring man has shown himself to be of the same spirit as the Englishmen of the same class in the last century. Sometimes these last were animated by simple prejudice. The repugnance to the new Calendar is said to have arisen from its being supposed to change the saints'-days and 'immoveable' feasts. But the spinning-jenny, the lace and stocking frames and the threshing machine were hated because they were likely to compete with hand-labour. Now there is one machine more delicate than all, the human body. The stupidest Irish hodman who ever climbed a ladder (to take an illustration of Mill's) can do some things which no machine could possibly do. And if the command of the faculties of the human body can be obtained cheaply and plentifully, there is at once a vast addition to economical forces and probably to domestic comfort. What then happened in the Pacific States of the American Union when the immigration of Chinese labourers threatened to lower the wages of American working men? First of all there were violent riots, in which the Chinese were brutally outraged. Next, the rioters, being voters, attempted to use their voting power against the immigrants. In order that they might employ it effectually in California, the Constitution of the State was changed and the notorious 'Kearney' Constitution substituted for it. Here, however, occurred a difficulty peculiar to the United States. The Kearney Constitution conflicted on some points with the Federal Constitution and with Federal law, and thus it could not be brought into force. Nothing could now help the enemies of the Chinese except the Congress of the United States,[7] and at length that high authority gave them legislative assistance, each set of dominant politicians having become alarmed lest the support of the Pacific States should be lost to its side. I am not contending that this movement, which has all but stopped Chinese immigration, was wholly selfish. Many Americans strongly assert that

[7] The principal law restricting Chinese immigration is chap. 126 of the Statutes of the United States (Sess. 2 of 1882).

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it was, but others justify it on the ground of legitimate objection to Chinese morality and Chinese habits of life. But that it was largely selfish, is not likely to be denied. The whole story manifestly goes a long way to support my hypothetical statement as to what might have been expected to occur in England if universal suffrage had existed here in the last century. The new machines were just as unpopular as the immigrant Chinaman on the American Pacific coast, and for the same reason. They were attacked and broken up just as the Chinaman was attacked and sought to be driven away. But they survived their unpopularity because their assailants did not belong to the class which had votes, whereas the Chinese immigrants have been expelled because their assailants were voters.

It must, however, be admitted that there is not at present any direct evidence of the existence among the American people of such feelings and passions as, during much of the last century and much of the present, roused the English masses against the spinning-jenny, the lace-frame, and the threshing-machine. In a community which enjoys the means of living and prospering in the greatest abundance, the question of the relation of democratic government to scientific invention and discovery will be a question of tendencies seen to be at work which have not yet produced their full effect, but which are sure to have it, if left unchecked, in the future. That such tendencies do exist 'in the direction which I predict or guess,' is allowed by Mr. Godkin. I will give his account of them in an abridged form; it is full, clear, and, I will add, most astonishing.

No observer of American politics can deny that, with regard to matters which can become the subject of legislation, the American voter listens with extreme impatience to anything which has the air of instruction. . . . Self-depreciation, even in the matter of knowledge, has become one of the ways of commending oneself to the multitude, which even the foremost men of both parties do not disdain. . . Nothing is more fatal to a stump orator than an air of superior wisdom on any subject. . . . Orators of a demagogic turn push this caution to its extreme, and often affect ignorance, and boast of the smallness of the educational opportunities enjoyed by them in their youth and of the extreme difficulty they had in acquiring even the little they know. . . . The truth seems to be that, with regard to all matters within the field of politics the new democracy is extremely sensitive about any doubts of its competency. It will not suffer any question or sign of question of its full capacity to deal with any matter which calls for legislation. It is ready enough to base legislation on investigations and reports, but these investigations and reports must be made in its name and by its authority through what it calls practical men as distinguished from scientific or professional men. By practical men, it means men engaged in some industrial or money-making pursuit, like the bulk of the community, and making no pretence to learning or theoretical knowledge. . . . It is rare indeed that an economic or other fallacy connected with legislation which has once taken hold of the popular mind in this country can be overthrown by the attacks of authority or of historical experience. In fact, the intervention of the professors to expose it is very apt to hasten its conversion into law, if only for the purpose of showing the literary men that they must not meddle in politics.

The gist of all this may fairly be said to be that the American

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people refuse all submission to intellectual authority, unless it either is, or is seconded by, the authority of persons who have made a fortune in business.

In order to bring clearly before the mind the prospect thus prefigured, it is necessary to call to recollection the nature of the advantages which mankind may expect to derive from advancing scientific knowledge. These advantages are not included in, nor are they measured by, the multiplication of machines so ingenious and striking that the multitude regards the inventor as a magician. The gift of invention is very valuable, but its connection with science is often slight and remote, whilst the highest triumphs of the trained scientific intellect are not always, and indeed are seldom, of such a kind that they may be made perfectly plain to the ignorant across a green baize table. As the greatest discoverers of our day track the subtler laws of nature and specially those of human life—and, with human life, of health—they learn not only what nature is but how nature may be directed and conquered. Nobody can venture to predict what are the full benefits which may be reaped by the human race from the immense advances recently made by biology. Modern medicine, the medicine on which we all depend, is not fifty years old. Modern surgery, within the memory of a generation, has made two extraordinary new departures, through the employment of anæsthetics, and through the adoption of the antiseptic process. It would be safe to say that the future progress of both arts will be vast and rapid, but it would be dangerous to lay down in what direction it will be made. At the same time, there are many signs that some part of these advances will be made by the processes of which compulsory vaccination is the type—that is, by the complete and organised co-operation of great masses of men, particularly in crowded societies, or, in other words, by common self-denial, by common submission to scientific authority and to common rules dictated by it; and, to secure these ends, so far as we can see, legislation will be needed. But, if Mr. Godkin be right, what prospect have men of science in democratic societies of obtaining legislative sanction for the arrangements which they deem essential to the well-being of mankind? They will have to bow before the sovereign multitude with as much humility as does the pushing demagogue, though doubtless with more pain. They will have to disclaim all authority and to assure their master that he knows naturally quite as much about the matter as they do. They will have to obtain a guarantee for their opinions from men who have made a fortune in business. And after all their efforts to get rid of any 'air of superior wisdom,' the ruler will perhaps find them too 'professorial,' and dismiss them to mind their own business. For the honour of human nature, there is one reason why this method of bringing over a sovereign multitude to a scientific opinion will never succeed. The combination of lying, cowardice, and hypocrisy which the process of

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persuasion involves is utterly inconsistent with the possession of the highest intellectual faculties.

I have very little reason to complain of Mr. Godkin's criticisms, but I must say that he has done me some injustice in taxing me more than once with having bestowed insufficient attention to the working of democratic institutions in the United States. He has, perhaps, not given as much attention to the last chapter of my book on the 'Constitution of the United States' as to its earlier portions, an opinion which I hazard because in one instance he has committed the singular inadvertence of charging me with 'singular ignorance' of the exact nature of the tariff controversy in his country, and then of giving what he considers to be the true view of it in words which are almost exactly my own (see *Popular Government*, p. 247). I am extremely sensible of the disadvantage in which I stand from having no personal knowledge of American democratic society, but I think I may claim to know something, perhaps I might even say not a little, of the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, and of American Federal and State legislation. Mr. Godkin will not, I hope, think me too audacious if I venture, on the strength of my legal studies, to differ from some of his statements about his own country. 'Nothing,' he writes in one place, 'is sacred in America, and nothing elicits so much ridicule as an attempt to put any thing or any person into the category of the unchangeable or unapproachable.' If this statement is intended to be applied to American Constitutions, I think they must cause much amusement to the communities subject to them. For the Constitution of the United States is certainly the most unchangeable in the world, and, though so strong an assertion cannot be made of the State Constitutions, yet even the most carefully guarded among them is hedged round with securities for mature consideration and deliberation before changing any part of it, which are wholly wanting in the British Constitution. As regards American legislation, what strikes me about it is the comparative infertility of the legislative bodies which create it, rather than the importance of their work. I admit that the State legislatures pass many laws and change them quickly, but many of them refer to subjects which, in the British Parliament, belong to 'private business;' there is a good deal of legislative activity, but it is confined within narrow limits. If I were allowed to omit from consideration the legislation of the revolutionary period following the close of the War of Secession, I should make the same statement concerning the Congress of the United States. Let us call to mind the tremendous legislation of the British Parliament in 1832 and the years succeeding it. What is there corresponding to it in America during the same period, except the discussions on the relations between the Federal Government and the Bank of the United States, discussions in which the greatest American orators exhausted every

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resource of argument and eloquence. Think again on the storm of legislation which has raged around us since 1868, promising at this moment to end in the greatest crisis in all our history. I can perceive nothing answering to it in the United States except the Bland Silver Act, which seems to fill the whole of Mr. Godkin's mind and to supply him with all his tests of political orthodoxy and heterodoxy. If these were mere impressions I might distrust them, but they seem to me to figure the direct consequences of the wise restrictions by which the fathers of the American Constitution have limited legislative audacity both in the United States and the several States, and, in a less degree, of the effect of their example on the Constitution-makers of every State in the Union. These restrictions are a high and close fender before the fire towards which the politicians and statesmen of Great Britain are ever fluttering, like so many moths.

I ought not to end without saying that, after carefully reading Mr. Godkin's paper, I have come to the conclusion that he does not widely differ from me. He seems to think that the only evidence worth mentioning for the duration of democracy is that furnished by the United States; and I think so too. He thinks—at least he gives reasons for thinking—that the prospects of scientific thought and discovery in democratic societies are very gloomy; and that also is my opinion. We have reached these results by different routes, but the results do not greatly differ.]

H. S. MAINE.

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THE FREE-TRADE IDOLATRY.

It is singular that many of those who call themselves Liberals, and who permit themselves to freely examine and question every principle of political or social economy hitherto accepted as sound by the Liberal party, should so stoutly refuse to examine 'Free Trade.' There is every reason for courting inquiry if our present system is a wise one. For there is a strong feeling growing up against it among the wage-earning classes, and the 'cheap loaf' that has done so much in the past will not for ever stand in the place of an intelligent inquiry into the working of a system now nearly forty years old, which, for good or evil, must largely influence our country's welfare in the future.

One can hardly fail to agree with Mr. Fawcett, when, in his temperate and careful treatise in favour of Free Trade, he says:—

> It is unfortunate that in discussing the subject English Free Traders frequently adopt a tone which is not calculated to convince those who differ from them. When Protectionists are spoken of as if they were either solely prompted by a desire to sacrifice the welfare of the community in order to promote their own selfish ends, or when they are derided as the victims of economic fallacies so transparent that they ought not to mislead a child, it should be remembered that it is not many years since the great majority of the English people were ardent Protectionists, and the fallacies for which we now feel so much contempt were unhesitatingly accepted by many of the most eminent of our countrymen.

In the ten years between 1870 and 1880 the industries of all nations, says Mr. Mulhall, in his *Balance Sheet of the World*, show an advance of 22½ per cent. since 1870, and he goes on:—

> At present Great Britain holds the foremost place, but the United States will probably pass us in the next decade. Europe in the meantime is losing weight in the balance of labour. This is due not only to the rise of the United States, but also to that of the British Colonies, which are already assuming the importance of kingdoms.

Surely here is food for reflection—Who is it that overtakes and threatens to pass us in the race? Why, the very community that has carried the principle of Protection twice as far as any other nation—I mean the United States—while our own Colonies are fast following in her footsteps. Canada indeed almost rivals America. 'It is thoroughly protective,' says Mr. Farrar, in his pamphlet entitled *Free Trade and Fair Trade.*

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It was expressly intended so by its authors, and bids fair, if the spirit in which it was proposed continues to prevail there, to rival the monstrous tariff of the United States.

That we stand alone in the wide world after forty years' display of the benefits of 'Free Trade,' as we call it, gives us also food for reflection. The French, the Germans, the Italians, not to mention our own keen-witted cousins the Americans—races that have produced philosophers, calculators and reasoners second to none—have heard our arguments, watched our celebrated system of 'Free Imports' for nearly half a century, and deliberately decline to adopt it. Are we really, then, so much wiser than the rest of the world? Surely here again is food for reflection! The reason given by the writers for the Cobden Club for this conduct on the part of foreign nations is not complimentary to them and can hardly satisfy us.

In Mr. Medley's pamphlet entitled *England under Free Trade* I find it thus explained. After stating that it is the cost of wars which necessitates heavy taxation in these countries, he goes on thus:—

The persons who impose that taxation are for the most part ignorant of political economy. They take the first impost which occurs to them, and they lay it on the people they misgovern. They know nothing of the possible consequences, in an economic point of view, of what they do.

And now we have to brace ourselves, it seems, for a struggle to maintain our supremacy in trade. When it is coming on to blow, a sailor looks to his tackle, and I venture to think we should do no harm in looking to ours.

These considerations have led me to ask myself whether we can safely rely upon this abstract principle, under the domination of which we are not even at liberty to discuss any proposal for the imposition of an import duty upon any article the like of which we make in this country. Those who uphold the system of 'Free Imports,' the so-called 'Free Traders' of the present day, assert this principle in its plainest and boldest form. I shall refer here, and indeed throughout the observations I desire to make, to the pamphlets issued either by or under the patronage of the Cobden Club; and upon them I feel justified in relying, not only for the statement of principles, but for the facts and figures to which it is necessary to have recourse. In the pamphlet entitled *Pleas for Protection Examined* (at p. 1) is the following:—

The test that shall draw the line between true 'Free Traders' and sham 'Free Traders' is simple and easy of application. *'Free Trade' does not allow of any import duties being imposed on such articles as are likewise produced at home.*

It is this abstract principle, I may at once say, held so sacred and so devoutly acted upon, which I wish to discuss; not its application to corn or any other species of goods whatever. It is of incalculable

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value to the nation that the truth concerning it should be ascertained.

The intelligence of the country has been awakened to a discussion of the causes and possible remedies for the present depression, not only in agriculture, but in many departments of trade—a depression from which they seem unable, as on all former occasions, to emerge. It is a natural consequence that all sorts of plans and remedies should be proposed, and there is no lack of them. Many of the proposed remedies involve some fresh arrangement of our import duties. It is here that the imperative principles of what is called 'Free Trade' play a serious part—they forbid discussion. An expansion of trade, and an enlarged market for our manufactures, and the products, in all forms, of our industries (hitherto more stringently excluded every year from the markets of the foreigner), is the obvious desideratum. But no new arrangement of duties, designed to foster trade with our Colonies, can be even considered on its merits without infringing the sacred principle of 'Free Imports.' All plans for opening or widening the market for our manufactures, in concert with foreign countries, or by making it less their interest to keep their markets closed to us, must, in like manner, be abandoned without discussion, if they involve a duty, however slight, upon imported goods of any kind. No matter whether the consumers of these goods are the poor and many, or the rich and few; whether they minister to need or luxury, the principle of 'Free Imports' is imperative, and any such duty must be condemned unheard. If the above principle of 'Free Imports' is a sound one, it is right enough to sweep on one side all proposals that conflict with it; but we ought to be very sure that it is sound, and that we are right, and all the rest of the world wrong, before we yield it so blind and so far-reaching an obedience. I know not whether any of these plans are feasible, still less whether they would be beneficial, but in the interests of the community, it is, I think, a pity that they should not be discussed upon their merits. I have myself no plan to offer, no system of taxation to advocate, but if it were otherwise I should hardly feel that I had any such experience in matters of commerce as to justify me in coming before the public as a Mentor in such matters. But abstract principles and the fair result of facts and arguments are within the reach of all, and may be discussed without special knowledge or experience, and if after a long and careful consideration of them, I have come to the conclusion that the principle in question is unsound, and erroneous, I may perhaps be pardoned for stating in what manner this conclusion has been reached.

I feel assured that it will be found on reflection that no general or universal rule applicable to all importing countries, and applicable to all species of goods without reference to their nature or the classes that consume them, or the classes that produce similar goods in this country, can be safely laid down.

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The question of duty or no duty is a separate question for each article of import, to be determined by the Legislature in each instance upon a review of all the circumstances of the case, and decided according as the balance of advantage to the whole of the community may be found to lie in taxation or freedom from duty. And I proceed to state why. But before doing so, let me remove an obstruction from my way. I know it is said that this question was finally settled and the principle under discussion was finally accepted by the national judgment in 1846, when the Corn Laws were repealed; but I cannot so regard it. At that time, and during the long contest which preceded it, there was not a speaker or writer, from Mr. Cobden and Sir Robert Peel down to the least instructed of the paid lecturers who laboured to inform public opinion, who did not count with absolute certainty upon the following by foreign countries of our example. Over and over again they asserted, with the certainty of conviction, rather than the modest reserve of prophecy, that once the example set by us, other nations could not fail to follow it. It was only a question of time, they said. Mr. Cobden, I think, put the time at ten years at the furthest. Others were more sanguine, but as to the ultimate result all were equally positive; the only difficulty was to find language strong enough to express the certainty of it. One or two quotations will be sufficient.

Mr. Fawcett, in his pamphlet entitled *Free Trade and Protection*, says:—

> Nothing could exceed the confidence with which it was predicted that when England had once enjoyed the advantages of unrestricted commerce, other countries would be led to follow her example by the irresistible force of self-interest. During the memorable debates which took place thirty years since, when the financial reforms of Sir Robert Peel were before Parliament, it was again and again unhesitatingly asserted that all commercial countries would soon be eagerly striving to share with England the advantage of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. Even as recently as 1860, when the French commercial treaty was on the eve of ratification, its author declared that 'nothing would be able to withstand the moral contagion of the example of England and France acting together on the principles of Free Trade;' and he predicted that the stimulus thus given to Free Trade 'would extend far beyond the limits of the two countries.'

Mr. Cobden went even further. Speaking in 1844, he is reported to have said: 'You have no more right to doubt that the sun will rise to-morrow than you have to doubt that in less than ten years from the time when England inaugurates the glorious era of commercial freedom every civilised community will be Free Traders to the backbone.'

Upon this conviction indeed the whole fabric of the new system rested. It was a grand conception, and broadly stated it came to this. In place of each nation selfishly striving to foster within the limits of its own population every manufacture and industry without discrimination, let each nation, they said, devote the labours of its

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people to the work to which soil, climate, mineral resources, and the genius of its inhabitants naturally incline it—let the selfishness of individual protection be swept away, and an interchange of commerce absolutely free take its place—thus will the economy of production throughout the world be exalted to its highest level, and in the general welfare of all will the highest prosperity of each be secured. Forty years have passed away, the sun has continued to rise, but the peoples of the earth, including our own brethren in America, and our children in the Colonies, have absolutely refused to accept our views or adopt our practice, and the beneficent project of 1845 reveals itself in 1885 as little better than a baseless dream. This is no reproach to those who framed the system—for the system has not failed—it has never been tried. It could not be tried without the co-operation of other nations—and they have refused to co-operate. And so we still stand alone—having performed, and still performing, our part of the general interchange, to no purpose as far as the original ends and objects of the system are concerned, and to the advantage only, I am afraid, of those who have refused to join us. It is as though a man had learnt his part in a concerted piece of music and were to insist on performing it though the other performers had obstinately refused their co-operation.

It is natural that those who laboured to erect this system, which both in its direct and indirect effects would have been a priceless blessing to mankind, should be loth to retrace their steps—loth to resign hope under the pitiless pressure of experience. But the Nation cannot be content to do this. It is fatuity to shut our eyes to the fact that what we accepted in 1845 was Free Trade—that is, a free interchange of commodities unfettered by fiscal laws—and that what we are living under in 1885 is 'Free Imports' in our own country and a commerce loaded with fetters abroad. The difference between the two is well and plainly stated by Mr. Medley, writing under the patronage of the Cobden Club (in *England under Free Trade*, p. 1), as follows:—

> In the abstract, Free Trade may be defined as that state of affairs in which the nations exchange with each other their various products, untrammelled by hostile prohibitory tariffs. Well, we know that 'Free Trade' thus defined does not exist. We are said to be living under 'Free Trade,' but in a strict sense that is not so. We are living under a system in which our imports alone are free, our exports for some of the principal markets not being free.

This system of 'Free Imports,' then, may be a good thing or it may not, but it is not *the* thing that the national judgment approved when the Corn Laws were repealed. It is a new and very different thing. That distribution of production among the nations of the earth which was to be guided only by national aptitudes, is now regulated in all countries but our own by laws made in the interest of each. The very essence, therefore, of the system which was promulgated by

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Cobden under the name of 'Free Trade' is wanting, in the practice of 'Free Imports.' And so far from each nation devoting itself to the production of what it could produce cheapest and best, to the general ease of all, every nation but our own is striving to find employment for its population by keeping their own markets to themselves, whilst enjoying the benefits of selling freely in ours. If the system of 'Free Imports,' therefore, is a good thing, it must be so upon very different grounds, and must be upheld by very different reasoning from that upon which the doctrine of Free Trade was preached and accepted.

I have endeavoured, I hope not without success, to ascertain what these grounds are, and to appreciate the reasoning by which the new system of 'Free Imports' is now maintained. But I confess it has not always been easy to obtain reasoning from those who are most in favour of it. In the mouths of many the arguments offered are simply the arguments upon which 'Free Trade' was originally based, which, for the reason just given, are inapplicable to 'Free Imports'—while others are so entirely convinced that 'Free Trade,' with all its benefits of reciprocal interchange, is identically the same thing as 'Free Imports,' with no interchange at all, that they put down all controversy with the remark that the question was settled by the Nation at the repeal of the Corn Laws, and with as free a suggestion as courtesy will permit, that those who doubt the wisdom of their principles are—well—below the usual standard in intelligence.

I recur, therefore, to what I will call the 'Cobden Club pamphlets,' as being likely to contain the most authoritative statements of the arguments by which the system of 'Free Imports' is to be upheld. I will venture to quote again the passage above referred to, from the pamphlet *Pleas for Protection Examined*, in order to fix attention upon the exact definition of 'Free Trade' as there given:—

> The test that shall draw the line between true 'Free Traders' and sham 'Free Traders' is simple and easy of application. *'Free Trade' does not allow of any import duties being imposed on such articles as are likewise produced at home.*

If this principle be sound, it settles the question for all species of goods. If it be not sound, then, and not till then, will arise the question whether any, and if any, which of our imports should be taxed?—a question the discussion of which I leave to others.

Now, at first sight, it is obvious enough that, if the people of this country, instead of consuming the products of 'home' labour, consume the goods made by the foreigner, they withdraw in the same degree from the 'home' markets the demand for goods of English origin, and directly injure the 'home' producer by decreasing the demand for his goods.

On the other hand, it is equally obvious that by admitting the

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successful competition of the foreigner the price of the article is likely to be maintained at its lowest point, which is a direct benefit to the consumer.

In a national point of view, the question will be which of these two results is of the higher concern to the community—to benefit the producer by securing him a market, or the consumer by securing for him a low price.

The doctrine of 'Free Imports' settles the question in favour of the consumer, and that without any distinction as to the nature of the goods, the classes that consume them, or the character of the wants which they supply. Upon the question of duty or no duty, it ignores the claims of the home-producer to any consideration whatever. This, however, is denied by the 'Free Importers:' it is here indeed that the main argument in favour of 'Free Imports' arises, an argument most specious and attractive, and which has been repeated over and over again in all the writings and speeches to which I have had access.

The argument is this, and I cannot do better than quote it from the writings of Mr. Mongredien, who has published so much on the subject for the Cobden Club; he says:—

> The trade of a country consists of the aggregate operations of individual traders, which are always equal, co-ordinate and self-balancing, and which *necessitate to a mathematical certainty (excepting bad debts) an import to every export, and vice versâ.*

And again:—

> Now if the country imports articles X, Y, Z, it necessarily exports in exchange for them (*for every increase of imports necessitates an increase of exports*) other articles of native production, which we may call A, B, C; and thus further channels of employment are created.

I need quote no more; the argument in various forms of expression is in the mouth of everyone who is called upon to justify the injury done to 'home' production and to the employment of our dense population, by the successful competition of the foreigner. It must be admitted that this proposition, if sound, does indeed justify a system of free imports to the full—for the interest of both producer and consumer, instead of being opposed to one another, are both served by the same system; and though the production at 'home' of any particular class of goods may be checked by the import of foreign goods, an impetus is given to 'home' production in the same degree for other classes of goods in order to pay for them. If complaint is made that a particular industry of this country has received a fatal check by its produce being thrust out of the market, the ready answer of the 'Free Importers' is found in the suggestion that those who followed it should turn their hands to 'something else.' It is not denied that the dislocation of trained workers from their work, and the enforced acquirement of new aptitudes, is an evil, but this is

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represented as the inevitable friction only that attends the shifting needs of trade. Because, say they, the imports which have injured some one of our 'home' manufactures, have at the same moment, and in the very act, given birth to a foreign demand of equal value for some other manufacture equally of English production. And this, they add, is 'mathematically certain.' The foreigner who imports into this country does not make us a present of his goods—he must be paid; it is certain that gold or silver is not exported to pay him—therefore he must be paid in English goods. All, therefore, that the English worker has to do, if the trade he was brought up to has been injured or stifled, is to transfer his energies to the production of the particular class of goods which the foreigner wants, and which he must have, as the only means of receiving payment for the goods which he has sold. So runs the argument—I believe I have stated it fully and fairly; I have endeavoured to do so, for I look upon it as containing the substance of the theory upon which the system of 'Free Imports' is upheld. If foreign nations mean to continue to reap the advantage of importing their produce and manufactures into this country, these imports must be paid for; and they can only be paid in goods, and British goods, therefore, of some kind they must inevitably take. So say the advocates of 'Free Imports.' But are they right? Is it true that the foreigner must be paid, and is in fact paid, by receiving British goods? I fear not. Indeed, in thinking the subject out, I am only surprised that anyone could ever have thought that it was.

For what is it that determines whether a particular country, say France, shall import half a million or a million or five millions' worth of any British produce? Surely nothing else than the wants of its population for the thing imported, and the comparative attractions in merit and price of the British article over those of other countries. The trade of a country consists of the aggregate operations of its individual traders, as Mr. Mongredien truly says. Let us take, therefore, the case of some individual trader in France who is in the habit of importing from England a given class of goods, say iron manufactures. Now, in any given year, what is it that determines whether he shall import much or little British iron? Does he inquire how much silk, or wine, or other produce is being exported to this country from France, and has got to be paid for, and regulate his purchases accordingly? Has he the means of entering upon such a calculation? and if he had, how can he tell how far the operations of others in France have already supplied the needful payment? The bare statement of such a thing on paper looks foolish, and I cannot suppose for a moment that anyone, however keen in this controversy, will suggest that the Frenchman's purchases are really regulated in the smallest degree by anything but the one consideration of his own interests, or that he asks himself any other question than this; whether he can sell at a profit the amount of iron, great or small,

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which he is about to order from England. The purchase of British produce in any given year, or in other words British exports, is the aggregate result of the volitions of millions of foreign purchasers, each acting independently, and each in his own interests alone. And these volitions are again guided by the volitions of tens of millions of consumers, each acting independently, and producing collectively that demand for British produce which set the importers of it in motion. How is it possible that a result so brought about can be caused by, or regulated in its amount by, the quantity of foreign goods which are at the same time being imported by others into this country? An import of French goods into this country cannot of itself, therefore, as it seems to me, bring about an export from this country of the like value or of any value at all. The one thing cannot be the cause of the other. On the contrary, the causes which regulate the amount of either are absolutely independent of one another —the Englishman ordering just so many French goods as there is a demand for here, and the foreigner ordering such English goods as meet the demands of his own market on the other side.

But here comes the most extraordinary part of this controversy. For forty years this doctrine of every import 'necessitating' an equal export has held its ground, and yet during the whole of this forty years the exports in no single year have equalled, or anything like equalled, the value of the imports. The difference yearly and every year is enormous; it has only to be stated, to dispel all suggestions of error and all possibilities of mistake. In the year 1880 the imports were in round numbers 411 millions and the exports were 286 millions: the difference between them amounting to the vast sum of 124 millions. And so it has been, though of course in a less degree, ever since the system of free imports was adopted, and for long before that.

Is it true, then, as a matter of fact, that every import necessitates an equal export? It is all very well to argue and show by argument that it *must* be so, that it is a mathematical certainty that it should be so. But calculations, even if they be mathematical, must give way to facts. It is facts that must govern the prosperity of the kingdom, and not calculations or mathematics, however exact: and however the fact may be accounted for or its existence explained, it remains a fact that every import is *not* balanced and paid for by an export of equal value. How then do those who rely so constantly upon this argument explain the fact, or reconcile it to their contention? I will quote the same writer, Mr. Mongredien. He says (*Pleas for Protection Examined*, p. 15):—

> Beside the normal commercial profits which naturally contribute to make what comes in of greater value than what goes out, wealthy nations which have lent money to foreign States, or otherwise invested money in foreign countries, have annually to receive large amounts for dividends on those loans and investments.

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These amounts are periodically remitted to them in goods (not in specie), which figure in their statistical returns as excess of imports. Let us take the case of England. She has yearly to receive about 60,000,000*l.* from abroad for interest on foreign investments. She has also to receive some 40,000,000*l.* to 50,000,000*l.* more for ocean freight (gross) and charges, because two-thirds of the entire ocean-carrying trade of the world is conducted by her mercantile navy. Now, since England has to receive about 100,000,000*l.* per annum from abroad in goods, for which, as they constitute a payment to her and not a sale, she has to make no return, it is clear that these will figure in the Board of Trade returns as imports without any corresponding amount of exports. They will appear as an excess of imports over exports to the extent of 100,000,000*l.*

This advances the investigation a considerable stage, for it is clear that the difference between imports and exports in the opinion of the writer is a real one; and so far from its being accounted for by any difficulty in the mode of calculating their respective values, it shows that the excess is not only real, but that it requires the sum of a hundred millions every year of money due to England to pay for it. In other words, what the writer says is that of our total imports at least one hundred millions' worth on the average are in every year sent to this country in payment of existing obligations by foreign countries. But how then can any portion of this hundred million pounds' worth of goods cause an export of equal value, or indeed of any value, to pay for them? As regards these hundred millions at least, not a single pound's worth of British goods is exported in connection with them: and the dictum that every import necessitates an equal export must be largely modified —it must run thus: Every import, over and above one hundred millions, necessitates an equal export. This is, surely, a very notable deduction, and those who complain of the injury done to 'home' products by the importation of foreign goods free of duty cannot look for any compensation in the stimulation of exports of equal value until that hundred millions' worth have been imported *without* any such compensating effect. It is very far from true, therefore, to say that every import leads by an unerring law to an export of similar value.

One might well stop here perhaps. The above considerations show that, whatever benefits the nation obtains in the direction of cheapness to the consumer by free imports, it cannot be said in addition that the interests of the producer are advanced in a similar degree by these imports, by reason of the exports to which they inevitably lead. On the contrary, such a proposition is subject to the enormous deduction of a hundred millions annually. It is just, in passing, however, to say that in some of the publications by the Cobden Club, the existence of this large sum of money coming to this country annually by way of debt or obligation is acknowledged and deducted, as it were, beforehand, in the statement of the proposition. Thus in the pamphlet entitled *Free Trade and English Commerce*, by Mr. Mongredien, I find his second chapter headed thus: 'Exports (unless in payment of debt) necessitate imports to the same amount.'

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Now, if the debt here spoken of was a constant and never varying quantity, the argument as thus modified might stand thus:—We receive every year say a hundred millions' worth of goods in payment of the debt due to us, and every 100*l.* worth of goods that we import *beyond that* must inevitably lead to an export of equal value; so that every such import, besides benefiting the consumer, also benefits the producer. But the debts due to us as interest on our investments abroad, and from other causes, are not, and cannot be, a constant quantity—they are the direct results of individuals acting independently of each other, and are derived from investments perpetually changing hands from the Englishman to the foreigner, and *vice versâ*, thereby increasing or diminishing the total sum invested by our countrymen in any given year abroad. The needs of mercantile business—the distribution of property brought about by death—the attractions of fresh and more lucrative fields of enterprise—the enhancement or fall of prices, sometimes real, sometimes artificially brought about by the operations in the stock and share market of speculators—all co-operate to forbid anything like uniformity in the amount due to this country from foreigners from year to year. So that the argument is really reduced to this:—Imports are every year balanced by exports, coupled with the obligations of the foreigner, both of which are fluctuating in amount. If our imports then are in any year increased in amount, either our exports must be increased, or the debts owing to us must be increased, if the balance is to be maintained. The resulting balance may be produced either way. It is quite as just, therefore, to say that every fresh import leads necessarily to a fresh foreign investment as it is to say that it leads to a fresh export—and yet such a proposition would, I fancy, find few supporters. Of course, in speaking of putting English money into foreign investments, it must be understood that the first effect of doing so is to produce, not a debt coming to this country, but the reverse; and it is the interest or dividend or other form of profits which bring about the debt by foreign countries which is now under discussion.

So far in the direction of abstract argument; but the actual results of a system of 'Free Imports' are recorded for us by the Board of Trade. We have the means of knowing whether, in point of fact, an increase of imports in any given year is, or is not, accompanied by an equal increase or indeed by *any* increase of exports in the same year from this country—and surely a reference to these recorded results is more trustworthy than any argument that can be used! I will refer to the imports and exports year by year, as stated in the 'Statistical Abstract' presented to Parliament for the 15 years between 1866 and 1880. The figures are curious and interesting; they will be found in table 13 of the 28th number. I will state a few of them. Between 1866 and 1867 the imports fell off by 20 millions, and the exports fell off by only 8 millions—between 1867

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and 1868 the imports increased by 19 millions, and the exports, instead of increasing as they ought to have done, fell off by 1 million —between 1868 and 1869 the imports increased by 1 million, but the exports increased by 10 millions—between 1869 and 1870 the imports increased by 8 millions, and the exports by 10—and between 1870 and 1871 the imports increased by 28 millions, and the exports by 24. These last two years present, perhaps, the nearest approach to a concordance between the two which is to be found in the fifteen years. Between 1872 and 1873 the imports increased by 17 millions, but the exports fell off by 1 million—between 1873 and 1874 the imports fell off by 1 million, and the exports fell off by 16 millions —between 1874 and 1875 the imports increased by 3 millions, but the exports, instead of increasing, fell off by 16 millions—between 1875 and 1876 the imports increased 2 millions, and the exports fell off 23—and lastly between 1876 and 1877 the imports increased by 21 millions, but the exports fell off by 2. I think it will be difficult in these figures to trace the action of any constant law under which any addition to our imports leads inevitably to a similar increase, or to *any* increase, in our exports. The contrast between hardly any two successive years appears to exhibit the action of such a law, while in some years the divergence points the other way, and is so marked that an additional import of 17 millions is actually accompanied by a decrease of exports, and an addition of 21 millions to the imports takes place side by side with a decrease in the exports of 2 millions. The total result of the 15 years shows an increase in imports of 163 millions, with an increase of exports of only 35.

In the face of these facts, whether mathematics prove that for every additional import there must be a corresponding export or not, is a question immaterial to the nation; for, whatever it is that interferes with the operation of such a law, the nation does not get the benefit of its action.

But this belief, that by importing largely we are by some mysterious law inevitably securing to ourselves an outlet for our manufactures by an increase of our exports, lies so universally at the root of the faith in 'Free Imports,' and, as it seems to me, constitutes so entirely the basis of all reasoning in favour of that belief, that I may be pardoned if I pursue the subject a little further.

All imports must be paid for: we do not pay for them in bullion; therefore we must pay for them in goods; therefore our export of goods must increase with any increase of imports. This is the chain of reasoning—where is it that it fails? as fail it must if it comes into collision with a contrary result in fact. I think it fails in this. Is it true that we do not pay for our purchases in money? It is plain that we do not pay by sending bullion abroad; the export of bullion is always, I think, under ten millions in any given year, and oftentimes the balance is the other way. How then *do* we pay?

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I know how the actual importer in any case pays. He *does* pay in money—that is, he gives his acceptance at two or three months or whatever 'prompt' is customary in the trade, and when the bill falls due he pays it. When and how is it, then, that this money payment, before it arrives in the foreigner's hands, is converted into goods, as the 'Free Importers' say that it is? What becomes of the acceptance? We know that it is, or may be, transferred from hand to hand by endorsement in this country, or sold and sent abroad. It is impossible to conjecture into whose hands it may have found its way whilst running, or to whom it may ultimately be paid. But whoever may be the holder (unless the purchaser becomes insolvent, in which case the foreigner's goods are never paid for at all, either in goods or money or anything else), the price of the foreign goods is *paid in actual money* when the bill falls due. Surely this closes the transaction, and if all foreign imports are paid for in this way (saving, as I have said, the case of bad debts) what room is there for the assertion that they are paid for in goods, and goods of British manufacture?

What, then, is the difficulty in paying the foreigner for the goods which we have imported? and paying him in a manner which leaves no record in the Custom House? The actual importer, as I have said, no doubt pays in money and not goods, for he pays his acceptance when it falls due. The foreigner who receives this acceptance may, as I have just pointed out, be paid at once in money, for he may turn the bill into money here, or may sell the bill abroad to anyone who wants to remit money to London, either in payment of a debt due here, or for the purpose of investment in the English Funds or the innumerable shares of industrial enterprise, or to meet any of the requirements of his business or the needs of his private life. In either case the foreigner receives payment for his goods in money.

It will, perhaps, be said—indeed I see it has been said—that though we may pay for our imports in the first instance with money, or bills, or securities, that in the end, if a hundred millions of value (so to speak) have been poured into this country in the shape of imported goods, something of substantial value, to the same or approximately the same amount, must go out of it in return; and that bills or notes only represent goods, which must in the end constitute the real payment which we have to make.

The first half of this statement is true enough—deducting the profits of trade, the value of imported goods into this country is no doubt met by a return of substantial value in some shape from this country—but that substantial value need not take the form of goods at all, and still less need the goods be goods of English production. Surely I transfer to a foreigner substantial value in return for his goods, if I give him the right to receive the price in gold either in London, when my bill is payable, or in any country in the world where he

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prefers to receive it! For he has only to turn my acceptance into money by discounting it or selling it, and he can, with the money, buy a bill payable in any country where he wishes to receive it. And as for securities, such as the bonds and obligations of foreign governments which pass by delivery from hand to hand, they are as much things of real—and not representative—value as gold or goods themselves. There is really no difficulty to deal with in this direction and nothing worth an extended explanation, but there has been set afloat a sort of hazy notion, founded upon the statement that all trade is in substance only barter, that if you hunt down a purchase of goods through the intricacies of modern commercial expedients, you will come in the end to goods as the real means of payment. This is not in the least true, unless in *goods* you include all things of substantial value. A hundred pounds' worth of English Consols, or the obligations of any admittedly solvent government or corporation, is as much a thing of value as a hundred pounds' worth of French silk, or German hops, or English iron. Anything, in short, that is readily saleable for a hundred pounds in gold, is as valuable and constitutes as substantial a payment as goods of that value, for the very simple reason that it will purchase goods of that value.

It is by the reciprocal transfer and set-off of obligations between nations and individuals that the vast and complicated dealings of the world move forward in harmony from day to day, while goods and the precious metals alike find their way where they are wanted, as articles of merchandise, and pass from country to country obedient to the law of supply and demand in satisfaction of wants—not in discharge of debts, though they may have that effect when they take their place in the adjustment of the general balance.

The only wonder is that the complicated dealings of different countries should reciprocally adjust themselves from day to day, without the intervention and transfer of more of the precious metals than is actually the case. A parallel state of things in miniature is to be found in the City of London, which, if it does not explain, at least illustrates the extent to which obligations *do*, as a matter of daily experience, balance one another without passing gold or valuables of any sort from hand to hand, except to an incredibly small extent. I allude to the Bankers' Clearing House. There, as is well known, the representatives of the City bankers meet daily and compare the cheques drawn upon each other and payable to each other, and, by setting them off one against another, arrive at a balance incredibly small to be adjusted by a money payment. A payment in gold or notes amounting to, I believe, hundreds, serves to adjust obligations amounting to many millions of pounds. I refer to this, not only for the purpose just mentioned, but because it offers a singular and decisive refutation, as it seems to me, of the species of argument by which it is maintained that an export of goods from

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this or any other country can be caused by importing into it goods of the like amount. For, surely, it would be just as reasonable to say that because the cheques drawn on bank A and payable to the customers of bank B did, in fact, at the end of the day, balance, or nearly balance, the cheques drawn on B and payable to the customers of A, therefore the customers of B must have drawn these cheques for the purpose of adjusting the balance; or, in other words, that the fact of 10,000*l.* being on any given day drawn upon bank A and payable to bank B caused the customers of bank B to draw for 10,000*l.* in favour of the customers of bank A in order to balance the account.

For these reasons I find great difficulty in accepting the very inviting proposition that we need not vex ourselves about the employment of our people, or be anxious lest in the pursuit of cheapness we allow the foreigner to take our place in producing what used to give employment to our people when we made it for ourselves, seeing that a great principle, self-acting, working with mathematical exactitude and unerring result, is always safeguarding us—working, it may be, with a show of hardship on the surface by extinguishing production in one direction, but only to stimulate it in an equal or greater degree in some other—and in the meanwhile securing to us the happy results of cheapness and the profits of transport and trade.

This, I say, is a most inviting proposition: no wonder that it has been accepted—it has the ineffable charm of saving the trouble of thinking, and the mental labour of working out principles from facts. It offers to the true believer the reposeful certainty that all is going well, without the labour of investigating whether it is so or not. If the news of an old and lucrative industry suppressed by foreign competition should give rise at times to an occasional twinge of doubt—doubt whether it is likely that we are the only wise nation on the face of the globe—or if the vast progress of other nations under a tariff which we repudiate as positively ruinous to those who impose it, should sometimes awaken us for a moment from our dream of security and rouse us to the terrible trouble of thinking; this great principle is at hand to our comfort, and we are fain to sink back again into our complacent repose, soothed by the conviction of superior wisdom.

The very foundation, therefore, of this theory that we are able, with mathematical certainty, to increase our exports by increasing our imports, seems to be cut from under it. To use an American expression, the 'bottom of the argument tumbles out' when you come to handle it; and with its disappearance must also disappear all hope of benefit by way of additional exports, from a system under which the import of foreign manufactures is cherished by relieving them of all taxation, however useful to the revenue that taxation might be.

I have, in the foregoing remarks, discussed what I believe to be

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the main support of the system of 'Free Imports' in the minds of those who have thought much upon the subject.

But there remains an argument far more potent with those who have *not* thought much upon the subject—and they are the majority. I mean the argument derived from the great increase in trade and commerce which this country has experienced since the system of 'Free Imports' was adopted.

I believe the reasoning which refers this prosperity to that system to be unsound and misleading, and will endeavour to show where it fails on another occasion.

PENZANCE.

(To be concluded.)

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TURNER'S DRAWINGS AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

THE collection of drawings now on view at Burlington House, though not extensive, is undoubtedly the most important display of Turner's work in water-colour which has yet been seen by the public.[1] The number placed at the disposal of the Royal Academy was so large that it was determined to divide them into successive Exhibitions, and it was arranged that this, the first, should contain only examples of the highest excellence, and mainly of the central period of Turner's art, ranging chiefly from 1815 to 1835, although not wholly excluding earlier and later works. In subsequent years his career will be treated more from the chronological point of view. The whole range of his art will be shown, beginning with the simple 'washed' or 'tinted' drawings of his boyhood, passing onward through the stages of sober browns and greys, emerging gradually, but surely, into strength and colour, and ending finally in the poetical, if impossible, rainbow visions of his old age.

Concurrently with the Royal Academy's Exhibition of Turner's Drawings, there are to be seen at the Burlington Fine Arts Club engravings of those of them which have been translated into black and white; and, the number being considerable, the opportunity of studying his art from the two sides is especially valuable.

The work of Turner, like that of many other great painters, may, as is well known, be broadly and conveniently divided into an early, a middle, and a late manner; and although these distinctions are necessarily arbitrary, yet they answer their purpose, and it is not often that the style of one time is found overlapping that of another. The first period, excluding his boyhood, may be placed from about 1795 to 1815, the second from 1815 to 1835, and the third from 1835 to his death in 1851.

In the Exhibition at the Royal Academy there are comparatively few drawings of the early period, but those few are fine and characteris-

[1] Its excellence is owing almost entirely to the untiring zeal and industry of Mr. Horsley, R.A.

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tic. Most of them are large in size as well as in treatment, and a study of English water-colour art, of the origin and development of which I shall say more hereafter, leads me to the conviction that the same relation of strength to size has very generally held good. The art, I believe, has lost much by the continued tendency to smallness of scale, and no man's more than Turner's.

The earliest drawing, *Llangollen* (No. 43), executed before 1800, though painted almost entirely in the sombre browns and greys which tradition still imposed on all landscape art, has nevertheless a breadth and force new to Water Colour. Of the same broad yet sober style is the *Snowdon* (No. 25) of a few years later, about 1805. This grand and solemn work, the impressiveness of which would be more readily perceived were it differently mounted and framed, is remarkable for the singular *unity* in time, thought, and effect which it conveys. The moment at which the moon appears above the hills has been seized by the painter, and this is the keynote of the whole composition. For a long time the technical means to which was due the peculiar glow of the halo round the moon here was a puzzle to artists. A few years ago the drawing had to be remounted, and the mystery was solved. Turner had soaked away the paper behind at this part to an extremely thin film, and had affixed at the back a cake of orange-vermilion, which, showing through the wash of colour he had given to the front, produced the effect he desired.

Drawings such as these, and as the *Kirkstall Abbey* now in the Soane Museum, the *Warkworth* at South Kensington, the *Ewenny Priory*, *Salisbury* and *Ely Cathedrals*, and *Caernarvon*, *Norham*, and *Harlech Castles*—all painted about this time—were to exert a powerful effect on the development of English water-colour art, just then (1800) rising into notice. Turner was intimately connected with this, which appears to me the only original, if not indeed the only *School* of painting, strictly speaking, which England has produced, and which deserves I think, more attention than it has yet received. For, original as were our three great painters, Hogarth, Reynolds, and Gainsborough, it was inevitable that they should have been influenced, and to a considerable extent even inspired, by the masters of Italy, France, and the Netherlands who had preceded them. And, although their influence in turn was felt by English artists immediately succeeding them, yet I fail to see that to either of the three can be ascribed the formation of a distinct school in painting, or anything approaching such a new development of art as that of which I am now speaking. Bonington and Constable also, who may be said to have been the founders of modern French and Dutch landscape, had few followers in England; and the influence of Crome, the only other great landscape painter of the time, was confined to a

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small, though highly interesting group of men, all more or less centred round Norwich.

It is often supposed that because colours soluble in water were used by the mediæval missal-painters, and after them by the artists of Italy, Germany, France, and Holland, in the studies for their pictures, that English water-colour art was merely an expansion or outgrowth of this practice. Mr. Redgrave,[2] however, has conclusively shown that it had an entirely different and an entirely national origin. It arose at the end of the last century, out of the development in England of a taste for antiquarian and therefore for architectural and topographical studies. The first English water-colourists were not so much painters as architectural draughtsmen, who, commissioned by the publishers, travelled over the country, making sketches of castles, abbeys, country seats, and places of historical interest. These sketches, usually carefully outlined with the pen and then lightly 'tinted' in monochrome, were to be issued as engravings in the numerous illustrated books, chiefly of a serial character, then coming into vogue.

From mere architectural detail to attractive backgrounds of parks, trees and hills was only a step, and the more artistic among the draughtsmen, such as Paul Sandby, Hearne, Rooker, Dayes (Turner's master), and others, soon distinguished themselves by the charm of their treatment of the landscape features of the composition. Turner himself gained his first introduction to Art through this portal, and it was his drawings of London and of the surrounding counties, executed as commissions for Walker and other publishers, and exhibited on the walls of the Royal Academy, that first brought him into notice. The extraordinary breadth and force of his work were quickly recognised as a new departure in English Art.

As early as 1797 the *St. James's Chronicle* says of Turner's *Ewenny Priory* in the Royal Academy Exhibition of that year: 'In point of colour and effect this is one of the grandest drawings we have ever seen, and equal to the best picture of Rembrandt.' It also praises for 'its true sublimity and grandeur of effect' his *Choir of Salisbury Cathedral* of the same year. In 1798 the same newspaper describes his *Norham Castle on the Tweed* as 'having the force and harmony of an oil-painting,' and characterises it as, 'in short, the best landscape in the present Exhibition.' In 1799 the *True Briton*, speaking of *Harlech Castle* says: 'This landscape, though it combines the style of Claude and of our excellent Wilson, yet wears an aspect of originality that shows the painter looks at Nature with his own eyes; we expect Mr. Turner to gain the highest distinction in his province.' Other newspapers and reviews

[2] *Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Collection of English Water-Colour Paintings in the South Kensington Museum*, 1877.

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concur in the general praise of Turner's work; one of them concluding a eulogistic article with the odd remark: 'The drawings are, on the whole, among the best productions, and, *allowing for the peculiar circumstances of the country*, are very respectable.'[3]

This ready and universal admiration of Turner's genius was shared by the Royal Academicians, and in 1799 they elected him an Associate member of their body, mainly on the strength of his works in water-colour, the majority of which had appeared on their walls. At that time they freely admitted to their highest honours the best water-colour painters.

The influence of Turner and of his close friend and fellow-student, Girtin (the latter soon to be cut off by an early death), made itself speedily felt on the other water-colourists of the time, who a little later, 1804, formed themselves into a Society, the parent of the two well-known institutions of our own day. A breadth, force, and naturalness of treatment unknown before was introduced into their work, and a number of gifted artists rose quickly into notice, whose taste and skill carried English water-colour painting to a point which had never before been touched or attempted in any other country or century. Cozens, Edridge, Girtin, Glover, John Varley, Barrett, Robson, De Wint, Cotman, Copley Fielding, and David Cox, have left a record in art of which any country might be proud.

If I am asked to describe the main feature which, with all their differences of manner, marks the work of these distinguished men, and to which, it appears to me, is mainly owing its unrivalled excellence, I should, speaking on matters of technique as an amateur only, ascribe it to their nearly invariable use of *transparent* colours. By no other vehicle—oil, fresco, pastel, or body-colours—have the passing phases of nature, light and shade, sunshine and storm, wind and weather—all of the very essence of the landscape painter's art—ever been so effectually rendered.

But unfortunately it is now difficult to obtain for the early English water-colourists the appreciation due to the originality and excellence of their work. For time has dealt hardly with the majority of their pictures, and few of even the important drawings that now come into the market but have faded more or less. I do not hesitate to say that only those who have the good fortune to know collections such as that of Dr. Percy and the one in the Print Room of the British Museum (which are habitually guarded from light and kept in portfolios) can form an adequate idea of the delicacy, force, and beauty of colour which were attained by the artists

[3] An examination of the art criticisms of the newspapers and reviews from 1800 and onwards is sufficient to refute the notion—if it still survives—that Turner was not appreciated in his own day.

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I have named, and by others of their less-known contemporaries. A large proportion of the splendid Ellison and Townshend bequests permanently exhibited at South Kensington have greatly deteriorated, and we have only to look at several of Turner's drawings in the present Exhibition to see the havoc which undue exposure to light has made with them. Yet the fine condition of so large a number proves that with due care the duration of water-colour drawings is practically unlimited. Probably few owners would be contented to keep their possessions always in portfolios, nor is that needful or even expedient; but the fewer hours of exposure to light the better, and the avoidance of anything like direct sunlight is an absolute necessity to the preservation of their freshness and charm of colour. I venture here to suggest to the owners of yet unspoiled treasures their responsibility in this matter, not only to future generations, but also to the fame of painters.

To return to the pictures at the Royal Academy—The large picture of *Chryses* (No. 4) merits attention, not only from its fine drawing of rocks, trees, and above all of waves (his complete mastery of the sea was one of the most striking as well as one of the earliest of Turner's achievements), but also from its departure from the conventional brown landscape manner of the time. We have here warm and noble colour; the golden light of sunset suffuses the whole scene and turns from blue to green the sea around the path of the sun. The drawing has faded perhaps, slightly but harmoniously, the sea and the sky ageing together.

The close of the first period of Turner's art is represented at the Royal Academy by three drawings of singular power and charm from the famous collection at Farnley Hall, the owner of which, Mr. Fawkes, was one of Turner's earliest and most liberal patrons, at whose hospitable house he was a frequent guest. The *Falls of the Reichenbach* (No. 34), the *Devil's Bridge* (No. 36), and the *Lucerne* (No. 35) constitute a trio which alone would place their painter in the highest rank of landscape art.

May I be permitted here to remark that their present frames (Turner's original ones, it is true) dwarf and circumscribe these noble pictures? They are also surely hung much too low. The question of framing water-colour drawings, and especially those of the early artists, is as difficult as it is important to their effect, and I desire to speak with due diffidence on the subject. I am convinced however, that the purer and the more transparent in colour the drawing, the less, as a rule, will it bear that close contact with the gold frame which is so essential to the impasto and the relief of an oil picture. There are several small drawings of Turner's in the present Exhibition greatly injured by the very modern-looking deep gold 'flats' brought close up to them. There are others in which

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the crude white mounts wholly or partially destroy the value of those 'high lights' always so carefully placed by Turner, and which were with him so integral a part of every composition. I believe that the margin which the eye nearly always requires in a transparent water-colour drawing, is best obtained by a mount of roughish paper or board, of light neutral grey or brown, the tone varying according to the subject, and harmonising with the *general* effect of the colour of the picture itself.

The Middle period is represented at Burlington House by a large number of drawings of high merit, the majority of which are also in fine condition. Yet I cannot but feel that, although they represent the work of a time when the painter's knowledge, force, skill in composition, and mastery of colour were at their highest point, and when his poetic imagination was still sane and under due control—yet, as a whole, they are surely not as grand as might have been expected from the earlier promise. The reason, I believe, lies in the fact that they were almost exclusively made for engraving, and they bear on them the limitations which that condition imposed. The 'largeness of the earlier time' was no longer possible on the scale to which the publishers bound Turner down—a scale which, indeed, the conditions under which they themselves worked rendered unavoidable. And not only had drawings for engraving to be of moderate dimensions, but Turner found that picture-buyers would give far more for an oil-painting than for a water-colour of equal size and merit. Consequently we have in water-colour no more works of the size and style which had characterised the beginning of his art, and had exercised so marked an influence on the art of his contemporaries.

They begin with the well-known series undertaken for Dr. Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, of which there are four examples—*Egglestone* and *Marrick Abbeys* (Nos. 13 and 36), *Heysham* (No. 11), and the *Crook of Lune* (No. 14). The first three are much faded, and can now be better seen in the fine engravings from them, but the last is perfect in condition and colour, and, despite the probably faulty perspective of the river, it ranks among the most attractive pictures in the room. There are also the beautiful drawings of the *Vales of Pevensey* (No. 30) and *Ashburnham* (No. 40), belonging to a series of fifteen commissioned by Mr. Fuller, of Rose Hill, about 1816, and engraved at his expense. Of the same time, more delicate and refined in execution, as suited to the scale on which they were to be engraved, are the four charming subjects from *Cooke's Southern Coast—Plymouth, Torbay, Rye, and Poole* (Nos. 16, 29, 41, 42). In all the foregoing works Turner's expansion in the direction of colour, as yet soberly used, is apparent; but it is not until we reach the famous engraved *England and Wales* series, commenced about 1825 and laid aside in 1838, that we find the painter at his highest

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point of drawing, colour, and composition. Ten of these *England and Wales* drawings are in the present Exhibition. Among the most noticeable are *Knaresborough* (No. 15), conspicuous for refined splendour of colour and for poetic feeling; *The Chain Bridge over the Tees* (No 9), boldly original and romantic in its rendering of wild North of England scenery; *Cowes* (No. 19), extraordinarily skilful in composition, perfect in harmony of sober twilight hues, and strong and dramatic in effect. *Rivaulx* (No. 23) deserves attention not only for general beauty, but for the skill with which the mists are thrown into the shadow of the hills, thereby concentrating the light, as was Turner's intention, on the Abbey, the central point of interest in the picture. The pose of the angler (who, with his tall rod, is of such value to the composition) will be recognised as eminently true to life. Turner, a keen fisherman himself, drew fishermen as well as he drew most other human beings badly.

But I give the palm to the first drawing on entering the room—*Llanthony Abbey* (No. 1). This, like a great portrait by a great master, is, as it were, a vision seen for a moment, and *breathed* upon the paper. It has all Turner's force in his grasp of Nature's changing moods of storm and sunshine; its drawing shows his knowledge of the forms of the hills, the cleavage of the rocks, and the movement of running water. The lonely tower and the mouldering walls of the Abbey gleaming wet through the shower give it that charm which association with the past always conveys; and the figures which so often mar his finest works are here (thanks to the rain) safely bestowed under a hedge. The whole work has that quality of 'inevitableness' which is the mark of only the highest art.

Turner had painted *Llanthony* some twenty-five years before (about 1795), and the earlier drawing is now at the Burlington Club. It is interesting to trace in the resemblances and the differences of the two drawings, the change which those twenty-five years had made in his art. Among the other works of this period may be briefly named *Hawthornden* (No 45), unfortunately circumscribed by its framing, noticeable for sylvan beauty and exquisite drawing; *Linlithgow* (No. 45), with a dainty grace of sunset colouring; *Folly Hill* (No. 10), the foreground of which is most skilfully composed, and the whole drawing a series of varying planes, each in a differing tone of green, thoroughly English in its whole effect; *Virginia Water* (No. 23), with a rare opalescent charm of colour and a singular stateliness befitting the spot, largely due to the recurring lines on the still water, and the measured stroke of the oars of the state barge.

Of the last manner of Turner there are but few examples. The *Righi at Sunrise* (No. 3) and the *Righi at Sunset* (No. 4) cannot fail to arrest attention. The story of these solemn and noble companion drawings, and of the *Splugen* (No. 22), another of the same series,

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painted about 1845, is told with a charm which is Mr. Ruskin's own in his *Notes on his Turner Drawings*, 1878. More characteristic of the period which, speaking generally, is rightly regarded as one of decline, are the *Lucerne* (No. 6)—which should be contrasted with the earlier and far finer *Lucerne* (No. 35) opposite it—and the *Constance* (No. 18). In these are apparent the crudeness and unnaturalness in colour, and the striving after forced effect, to which Turner in his later years was prone. I do not, however, think that the ingenious theory propounded a few years ago by the eminent surgeon, Mr. Liebreich, need necessarily be adopted. He attributed the tendency to the excessive use of yellow in the pictures of Turner's later life to physical changes in the lenses of the eye producing a distorted colour-sense always tending to yellow. No doubt in many oil-pictures of this time yellow does largely predominate, but at the same time he was producing drawings, simple, sober, and pure in colour as the two *Righis* just noticed, as the magnificent *Coblentz* exhibited by Mr. Ruskin in 1878, and many others known to all Turner students—in which yellow, if present, plays no undue part. It would rather seem to me that the fault in question, as also his over-use of scarlet in the shadows, arose from the uncurbed license he gave to his imagination, and from his continued attempts, undeterred by failures and by the attacks from all sides which those failures provoked, to paint those visions of pure sunlight which, even to such a Titan as he, was impossible.

Thackeray, writing on this subject, has said: 'As one can only look at the sun through a blackened glass, it has seemed to us that the most dazzling of Turner's fancies have often been improved by the sobering influences of the graver; and in nothing has his style proved more triumphant than in withstanding this test.' It will be interesting to pass from the drawings to the engravings from them now to be seen on the walls of the Burlington Club.

It should be remembered that Turner's first connection with art proper (following his employment as a mere colourist of plans and studies in the office of Mr. Hardwick, the architect) was in the service of the publishers by whom, in 1793, he was commissioned to travel through England and Wales, making sketches for engravings in books. And although none of his works of that early period are now on view at the Royal Academy, no less than thirty-nine out of the fifty-three drawings there were intended for translation into black and white. A connection with engravers, lasting over fifty years, together with considerable practice of his own hand in various methods, made him a master of all the arts and methods of the craft. His early work was engraved by the humbler members of the profession who were employed on the Magazines, 'Pocket Annuals,' and 'Views of Country Seats,' in vogue at the end of the last century, and

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he first met an engraver worthy of him in James Basire, whose strong and masterly handling of Turner's pictorial headings to the 'Oxford Almanacks' from 1799 to 1811, has made the latter so well known and so much prized.[4] On the margin of a 'trial proof' of one of these in my possession (*Christ Church Cathedral*) I find the first instance I know of those detailed instructions to the engraver which Turner afterwards so continuously practised. Whether Basire considered himself too important to defer to the painter's suggestions I do not know, but they were not carried out.[5]

In 1807, inspired especially by emulation of the *Liber Veritatis* of Claude, a new volume of which had just been successfully issued by a firm of printsellers, Turner started his own great venture of the *Liber Studiorum*, a work which, though at the time pecuniarily a failure, is now, as is well known, of high value, and rightly regarded as one of the most enduring monuments of his fame. In it he not only himself etched on the copper the leading outlines of every plate, but in eleven out of the seventy-one published he also mezzotinted the whole plate himself. The *Liber* was laid aside in 1819, and before that time he had begun again to work for various publishers. About 1814 he commenced his connection with W. B. Cooke, the publisher of the *Southern Coast*, himself an engraver, whose brilliant and decisive touch so ably rendered Turner's drawings for that work, and who, in conjunction with his brother, G. Cooke, also engraved the *Views in Sussex* and other single and serial plates. Dr. Whitaker, the eminent antiquarian and historian of Yorkshire, employed Turner to illustrate his *Parish of Whalley*, *History of Craven*, and later on his now celebrated *History of Richmondshire*. Of several drawings for the latter work I have already spoken. Most of them are now more or less faded; but the engravings remain, a monument alike of Turner's knowledge and taste, and of his engravers' skill. In the *Southern Coast*, the *Richmondshire*, *Hakewills' Italy*, and later in the *England and Wales*, Turner was brought into contact with a band of young engravers, who, under his influence and guidance, carried landscape engraving to a pitch of excellence unsurpassed by our own Woollett or even by the greatest men of the Italian and French schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The two Cookes, Heath, Pye, Le Keux, and W. R. Smith were followed by Miller (the ablest perhaps of all), Jeavons, Goodall, Wallis, Brandard, and Willmore, names known to every student of Turner, as is their work to every

[4] It is interesting to see the Oxford Almanack still flourishing and preserving the quaint forms which it has retained from the seventeenth century.

[5] He required the addition of some crockets to the spire, and further advised Basire to look at certain engravings, after M. A. Rooker and others, of the same subject. This from a young artist, Basire, who was a man of high standing in his profession, may not unlikely have resented.

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reader of the voluminous illustrated literature of the first half of this century. Its excellence was almost entirely due to the watchful care, the untiring industry, and the consummate skill with which Turner directed every detail of every plate. Trial-proof after trial-proof was submitted to him, to be returned drawn upon in pencil or crayon, and with the margins often covered with minute instructions as to the additions or alterations needed, such instructions being accompanied in most instances *with the reasons for the alterations*, couched in laconic and sometimes even caustic terms. The study of these terse, if often ungrammatical, remarks is of the greatest value in understanding Turner's aims and methods, and enables us to see how he educated his engravers to the high point to which they attained.

From the fine *England and Wales* plates, ten of which are to be seen at the Burlington Club, Turner passed to his series of small engravings of scenes on the Seine and the Loire, generally known as his *Rivers of France*, and to the exquisite vignettes which have immortalised Rogers's *Poems* and *Italy*, and which, including the prices paid to the painter and the engravers, cost the poet over ten thousand pounds. Turner was also commissioned to illustrate the poems and prose works of Sir Walter Scott. He stayed at Abbotsford while engaged on this task, and in the charming vignette of *Melrose* he has introduced Sir Walter's figure as well as his own in the group in the foreground. The engravings from Turner in Byron's, Campbell's, and Moore's poems, Finden's *Illustrations of the Bible*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, are well known, as are also the large subscription plates, such as the *Ancient* and *Modern Italy*, the *Carthage*, the *Approach to Venice*, and others too numerous to mention, which were published at intervals during his life, and executed after his death by the engravers whom he had trained.

After having tried aquatint, mezzotint, etching, and a mixture of all these methods, as well as many experiments of his own devising, Turner was, I think, unquestionably right in his final adoption of Engraving in Line as the best method of translating his pictures into black and white. Fashion and photography have led to its disuse in our day; two veterans only of the band who worked under Turner now survive, and the race of line engravers is nearly extinct. But for the reproduction of landscape art no other method appears to me to be comparable with it. Aquatint requires colour, which is too costly. Mezzotint, so valuable in portraiture and in rendering light and shade, is apt to be heavy in landscape, and has moreover the disadvantage of yielding but few impressions. Etching, now so much in vogue, is admirably adapted for giving, as in Rembrandt's and Van Dyck's hands, the subtleties of character and the play of expression in the human face; Hollar has shown how it can render the textures of furs and stuffs and the delicate intricacies of shells;

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and Meryon (not to mention living etchers) has displayed its resources in architecture; but in landscape, etching is scratchy, black, and totally wanting in that *luminousness* which is the very soul of landscape art, and which, combined with force, delicacy, and brilliance, characterises the work of that great school of engravers of which I have here briefly spoken.

W. G. RAWLINSON.

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IN FRENCH PRISONS.

THE St. Paul prison at Lyons, where I spent the first three months of my incarceration, is not one of those old, dilapidated, and damp dungeons which are still resorted to in many French provincial towns for lodging prisoners. It is a modern prison, and pretends to rank among the best *prisons départementales*. It covers a wide area enclosed by a double girdle of high walls; its buildings are spacious, of modern architecture, and clean in aspect; and in its general arrangement the modern ideas in penitentiary matters have been taken into account, as well as all necessary precautions for making it a stronghold in the case of a revolt. Like other departmental prisons, its destination is to receive those prisoners who are awaiting their trial, as also those of the condemned whose penalty does not exceed one year of imprisonment. A subterraneous gallery connects it with another spacious prison for women—the St. Joseph.

It was on a December night that I arrived there from Thonon, accompanied by three gendarmes. After the usual questions, I was introduced into a *pistole* which had been cleaned and heated for receiving me, and this *pistole* became my abode until the following March. On a payment of six francs per month and three francs to the waiter, each prisoner incarcerated for the first time may hire a *pistole* for the time of his preventive incarceration, and thus avoid living in the cells. The *pistole* is also a cell, but it is somewhat wider and much cleaner than the cells proper. A deep window under the ceiling gives enough of light, and six or seven paces may be measured on its stone pavement, from one corner to the opposite one. It has a clean bed and a small iron stove heated with coke, and for one who is occupied and is accustomed to solitude it is a tolerably comfortable dwelling-place—provided the incarceration does not last too long.

Not so the cells which occupy a separate wing of the prison. Their arrangement is the same as everywhere now in Europe: you enter a broad and high gallery, on both sides of which you see two or three storeys of iron balconies; all along these balconies are the doors of the cells, each of which is ten feet long and six or seven feet wide, and has an iron bed, a small table, and a small bench—all three made fast to the walls. These cells are very dirty at Lyons,

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full of bugs, and never heated, notwithstanding the wetness of the climate and the fogs which rival in density, if not in colour, those of London. The gas-burner is never lighted, and so the prisoner remains in an absolute obscurity and idleness from five, or even four on a winter night, until the next morning. Each prisoner himself cleans his cell; that is, he descends every morning to the yard to empty and wash his bucket with dirty water, and he enjoys its exhalations during the day. Even the simplest accommodation for avoiding this inconvenience, which we found later on at Clairvaux, has not been introduced at Lyons. Of course, no occupation is given to the prisoners during the preventive incarceration, and they mostly remain in perfect idleness throughout the day. The prison begins to exercise its demoralising influence as soon as the prisoner has entered within its walls.

Happily enough, the imprisonment before the trial is not so dreadfully protracted as in my own mother-country. If the affair is not too complicated, it is brought before the next assizes, which sit every three months, or before the following ones; and cases where the preventive incarceration lasts for more than ten or twelve months are exceptional. As to those affairs which are disposed of by the *Police Correctionnelle* Courts, they are usually terminated—always by a condemnation—in the course of one month, or even a fortnight. A few prisoners, already condemned, are also kept in the cells—there being a recent law which permits the counting of three months of cellular imprisonment as four months of the penalty. This category, however, is not numerous, a special permission of the Ministry being necessary in each separate case.

Small yards, paved with asphalte, and one of them subdivided into three narrow compartments for the inmates of the cellular department, occupy the spaces between the high wing of the prison. There the prisoners take some exercise, or spend several hours in such work as may be done out-doors. Every morning I could see from my window some fifty men descending into the yard; there, taking seats on the asphalte pavement, they were beating the wound-off cocoons from which the floss silk is obtained. Through my window, or while occasionally passing by, I sometimes saw also swarms of boys invading one of the yards; and at a three years' distance I cannot remember these boys without a sad feeling and heartburn. The condemnations pronounced against children by the always condemning *Police Correctionnelle* Courts are, in fact, much more ferocious than those pronounced against adults. The adult may be condemned to a few months or a few years of imprisonment; the boy is invariably sent for the same crime to a 'House of Correction,' to be kept there until his eighteenth or twenty-first year. When the prosecutions against the Anarchists at Lyons had reached their culminating point, a boy of fifteen, Cirier, was condemned by the Lyons Court of Appeal to be

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kept in prison until the age of twenty-one, for having abused the police in a speech pronounced at a public meeting. The president of the same meeting, for exactly the same offence, was condemned to one year of imprisonment, and he is long since at liberty, while the boy Cirier will remain for several years more in prison. Similar condemnations are quite usual in French Courts. I do not exactly know what the French penitentiary colonies for children may be, the opinions which I have heard being very contradictory. Thus I was told that the children are there taught agriculture, and that they are treated not very badly, especially since several improvements which have been introduced of late; but I was told also, on the other side, that a few years ago, in a penitentiary colony in the environs of Clairvaux, the children were unscrupulously overworked by a person to whom they were intrusted, or rather rented by the State, and that they were abused. At any rate, we saw at Lyons numbers of boys—mostly runaways and 'incorrigible ones' from the penitentiary colonies; and to see the demoralisation developed among these boys was really awful. Brutalised as they are by the warders, and left without any honest and moralising influence, they are foredoomed to become permanent inmates of prisons, and to die in a central prison, or in New Caledonia. The warders and the priest of the St. Paul prison were unanimous in saying that the only desire which day and night haunts these young people is that of satisfying the most abject passions. In the dormitories, in the church, in the yards, they are always perpetrating the same shameful deeds. When we see the formidable numbers of the *attentats à la pudeur* brought before the Courts every year, let us always remember that the State itself maintains, at Lyons and in fact in all its prisons, special nurseries for preparing people for those abject crimes. I seriously invite, therefore, those who elaborate schemes for the legal extermination of old offenders in New Guinea, to hire, for a fortnight or so, a *pistole* at Lyons, and to re-examine there their foolish schemes. They would perceive that they begin their reforms from the wrong end, and that the real cause of the old offender lies in the perversion due to such infection-nests as the Lyons prison is. As for myself, I suppose that to lock up hundreds of boys in such infection-nests is surely to commit a crime much worse than any of those committed by any of the old offenders themselves.

On the whole, the prisons are not places for teaching much honesty, and the St. Paul prison makes no exception to the rule. The lessons in honesty given from above are not much better than those imparted from below, as will be seen from what follows. Two different systems are in use in French prisons for supplying the inmates with food, dress, and other necessaries. In some of them the State is the undertaker who supplies both food and dress, as also the few other things which the prisoner can purchase at the canteen with

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his own money (bread, cheese, some meat; wine and tobacco for those who are not yet condemned; prison-knives, combs, brushes, paper, and so on). In this case, it is the State which raises a certain percentage, varying from three to nine-tenths on the payment due to the prisoner for the work he has done in prison, either for the State, or for private undertakers; three-tenths of the wages are retained if the prisoner is under preventive incarceration; five-tenths if he is condemned for the first time; and six, seven, eight, or nine-tenths if he has had one, two, three, four, or more previous condemnations; one-tenth of the salary always remaining for the prisoner, whatever the number of condemnations. In other prisons the whole is rented to a private undertaker, who is bound to supply everything due in accordance with regulations. The undertaker in this case raises the just named tenths on the salaries of the prisoner, and he is paid, moreover, by the State a few centimes per day for each prisoner. As to those inmates who find it more advantageous to labour for the trade outside (skilled shoemakers, tailors, and scribes are often in this case), they are bound to pay to the undertaker a certain redemption money—mostly 10*d.* per day—and then they are dispensed from compulsory labour. Now, the St. Paul prison is established on the second system; everything is supplied by a private undertaker, and I must confess that everything is of the worst quality. The undertaker unscrupulously robs the prisoners. Of course the food is far from being as bad as it is in Russian prisons, but still it is very bad, especially if compared with what it is at Clairvaux. The bread is of a low quality, and the soup and *ration* of boiled rice, or kidney-beans, are often execrable. As to the canteen, everything is dear and of the lowest kind; while the Clairvaux administration supplied us for threepence a piece of good steak with potatoes, we paid at Lyons sixpence for a slice of very bad boiled meat, and in the same proportion for everything.

How the works are conducted and paid at Lyons I cannot judge from my own experience, but the above account does not inspire much confidence in the honesty of the enterprise. As to the dress, it is of the worst kind, and also much inferior to what we saw at Clairvaux, where also it leaves very much to desire. When taking my daily walk in one of the yards at Lyons, I often saw the recently condemned people going to change their own dress for that of the prisoners, supplied by the undertakers. They were mostly workmen, poorly but still decently dressed—as French workmen, even the poorest, usually are. When they had, however, put on the uniform of the prison—the brown jacket, all covered with multicoloured rags roughly sewn to cover the holes, and the patched-up trousers six inches too short to reach the immense wooden shoes—they came out quite abashed with the ridiculous dress they had assumed. The very first step of the prisoner within the prison walls was thus to be wrapped up in a dress which is in itself a story of degradation.

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I did not see much of the relations between the administration and the common-law prisoners at Lyons. But I saw enough to perceive that the warders—mostly old police-soldiers—maintained all the well-known brutal features of the late Imperial police. As to the higher administration, it is pervaded with the hypocrisy which characterises the ruling classes at Lyons. To quote but one example. The Director of the prison had reiterated to me on many occasions the formal promise of never sequestrating any of my letters, without letting me know that such letters had been confiscated. It was all I claimed. Notwithstanding that, several of my letters were confiscated, without any notice, and my wife, ill at that time, remained anxious without news from me. One of my letters, stolen in this way, was even transmitted to the Procureur Fabreguettes, who read it before the Court of Appeal. I might quote several other examples, but this one will do.

There is in our system of prisons a feature well worthy of notice, but completely lost sight of, and which I would earnestly commend to the attention of all interested in penal matters. The leading idea of our penal system is obviously to punish those who have been recognised as 'criminals;' while in reality the penalty of several years of imprisonment hurts much less the 'criminal' than people quite innocent—that is, his wife and children. However hard the conditions of prison-life, man is so made that he finally accommodates himself to these conditions, and considers them as an unavoidable evil, as soon as he cannot modify them. But there are people who never can nor will accommodate themselves to the imprisonment of the man who was their only support in life. Such are the prisoner's wife and his children. The judges and lawyers who so freely pronounce sentences of two, three, and five years of imprisonment—have they ever reasoned about the fate they are preparing for the prisoner's wife? Do they know how few are the women who can earn more than six or seven shillings per week? And do they know that to live with a family on such a salary means sheer misery with all its dreadful consequences? Have they ever reflected also about the moral sufferings which they are inflicting on the prisoner's wife—the scorn of her neighbours, the sufferings of the woman who naturally exaggerates those of her husband, the preoccupations for the present and the future? . . . Who can measure all these sufferings, and count the tears shed by a prisoner's wife? He who could, would certainly say that the law hits far less the man considered as a criminal than his family which it considers as innocent.

If the slightest attention were ever given to the sufferings of the prisoner's kinsfolk, surely the inventors of schemes of civilised prisons would not have invented the reception-halls of the modern dungeons. They would have said to themselves that the only consolation of the prisoner's wife is to see her husband, and they would not

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have inflicted on her new and quite useless sufferings, and planned those halls where everything has been taken into account—everything excepting the wife who comes once a week to cast a glance on her husband, and to exchange a few words with him.

Imagine a circular vaulted hall, miserably lighted from above. If you enter it at the reception-hours, you are literally stunned. A clamour of some hundred voices speaking, or rather crying all at once, rises from all parts of it towards the vault, which sends them back and mingles them into an infernal noise, together with the piercing whistles of the warders, the grating of the locks, and the clashing of the keys. Your eyes must be first accustomed to the darkness before you recognise that the clamour of voices comes from six separate groups of women, children, and men, crying all at once to be heard by those whom they address. Behind these groups, you perceive along the walls six other groups of human faces, hardly distinguishable in the darkness behind iron-wire networks and iron bars. You cannot divine at once what is going on in these groups. The fact is, that to have an interview with his kinsfolk the prisoner is introduced, together with four other prisoners, into a small dark coop, the face of which is covered with a thick network of iron bars. His kinsfolk are introduced into another coop opposite, also covered with iron bars, and separated from the former by a passage three feet wide, where a warder is posted. Each coop receives at once five prisoners; while in the opposite coop some fifteen men, women, and children—the kinsfolk of the five prisoners—are squeezed. The interviews hardly last for more than fifteen or twenty minutes, all speak at once, louder and louder, and amidst the clamour of voices, each of which is raised louder and louder, one soon must cry with all his strength to be heard. After a few minutes of such exercise, my wife and myself were voiceless, and were compelled simply to look at each other without speaking, while I climbed like a tiger on the iron bars of my coop to raise my face to the height of a small window which feebly lighted the coop from behind; and then my wife could perceive in the darkness my profile on the grey ground of the window. She used to leave the reception-hall saying that such a visit is a real torture.

I ought to say a few words about the *Palais de Justice* of Lyons, where we were kept for ten days during our trial. But I should be compelled to enter into such disgusting details that I prefer to go on to another subject. Suffice it to say that I have seen rooms where the arrested people were awaiting their turn to be called before the examining magistrate, amidst ponds of the most disgusting liquids; and that there are within this 'Palace' several dark cells which have alternately a double destination: sometimes they are literally covered with human excretions; and a few days later, after a hasty sweep, they are resorted to for locking up newly arrested

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people. Never in my life had I seen anything so dirty as this Palace, which will always remain in my recollections as a palace of filth of all descriptions. It was with a real feeling of relief that I returned from thence to my *pistole*, where I remained for two months more, while most of my comrades addressed the Court of Appeal. This last confirmed, of course, the sentences pronounced by order of Government in the Police Correctionnelle Court; and a few days later, on March 17, 1883, we were brought in the night, in great secrecy, and with a ridiculous display of police force, to the railway-station. There we were packed up in cellular waggons to be transported to the 'Maison Centrale' of Clairvaux.

It is remarkable how so many improvements in the penitentiary system, although made with excellent intentions of doing away with some evils, always create, in their turn, new evils, and become a new source of pain for the prisoners. Such were the reflections which I made when locked up in a cell of the cellular waggon which was slowly moving towards Clairvaux. A French cellular waggon is an ordinary empty waggon, in the interior of which a light frame-work consisting of two rows of cells, with a passage between, has been constructed. But I am afraid of conveying a false and exaggerated impression to my readers when I write 'two rows of cells.' 'Two rows of cupboards' would be more correct, for the cells are just of the size of small cupboards, where one may sit down on a narrow bench, touching the door with his knees and the sides with his elbows. One need not be very fat to find it difficult to move within this narrow space; and he need not be too much accustomed to the fresh breezes of the sea-side to find difficulties in breathing therein. A small window protected by iron bars, which is cut through the door of the cupboard, would admit enough air; but to prevent the prisoners from seeing one another and talking, there is an additional little instrument of torture in the shape of a Venetian blind, which the warders close as soon as they have locked up somebody in the cupboard. Another instrument of torture is an iron stove, especially when it runs at full speed to boil the potatoes and roast the meat for the warders' dinner. My fellow-prisoners, all workmen of a great city, accustomed to the want of fresh air in their small workshops, did not actually suffocate, but two of us were prevented from fainting only by being allowed to step out of our respective cupboards and to breathe some air in the passage between. Happily enough, our journey lasted only fifteen hours; but I have Russian friends, who were expelled from France, and who have spent more than forty-eight hours in a cellular waggon on their way from Paris to the Swiss frontier, the waggon being left in the night at some station, while the warders called at the Mâcon and other prisons.

The worst is, however, that the prisoners are completely given up

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to the mercy of the two warders; if the warders like, they put the cuffs on the hands of the prisoners already locked up in the cupboards, and they do that without any reason whatever; and if they like better, they, moreover, chain the prisoners' feet by means of irons riveted to the floor of the cupboards. All depends upon the good or bad humour of the warders, and the depth of their psychological deductions. On the whole, the fifteen hours which we spent in the cellular waggon remain among the worst reminiscences of all my comrades, and we were quite happy to enter at last the cells at Clairvaux.

The central prison of Clairvaux occupies the site of what formerly was the Abbey of St. Bernard. The great monk of the twelfth century, whose statue, carved in stone, still rises on a neighbouring hill, stretching its arms towards the prison, had well chosen his residence at the mouth of a fine little dale supplied with excellent water from a fountain, and at the entrance to a wide and fertile plain watered by the Aube. Wide forests cover still the gentle slopes of the hills, whose flanks supply good building-stone. Several lime-kilns and forges are scattered round about, and the Paris and Belfort railway runs now within a mile from the prison. During the great Revolution the abbey was confiscated by the State, and its then extensive and solid buildings became, in the earlier years of our century, a *Dépôt de Mendicité*. Later on, their destination was changed, and now the former abbey is a 'Maison de Détention et de Correction,' which shelters about 1,400 and occasionally 2,000 inmates. It is one of the largest in France; its outer wall—the *mur d'enceinte*—a formidable masonry some twenty feet high, incloses, besides the prison proper, a wide area occupied by the buildings of the administration, barracks of the soldiers, orchards, and even cornfields, and has an aggregate length of nearly three miles. The buildings of the prison proper, with its numerous workshops, cover a square about 400 yards wide, inclosed by another still higher wall—the *mur de ronde*. With its lofty chimneys, which day and night send their smoke towards a mostly cloudy sky, and the rhythmical throbbing of its machinery, which is heard late in the night, it has the aspect of a little manufacturing town. In fact, there are within its walls more manufactures than in many small towns. There are a big manufacture of iron beds and iron furniture, lighted by electricity, and employing more than 400 men; workshops for weaving velvet, cloth, and linen; for making frames to pictures, looking-glasses, and meters; for cutting glass and fabricating all kinds of ladies' attire in pearl-shell; yards for cutting stone; flour mills, and a variety of smaller workshops; all dress for the inmates being made by the men themselves. The whole machinery is set in motion by four powerful steam-engines and one turbine. An immense orchard and a corn-field, as also small orchards allotted to each warder and

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employé, are also comprised within the outer wall and cultivated by the prisoners.

Without seeing it, one could hardly imagine what an immense fitting up and expenditure are necessary for lodging and giving occupation to some 1,400 prisoners. Surely the State never would have undertaken this immense expenditure, had it not found at Clairvaux, St. Michel, and elsewhere, ready-made buildings of old abbeys. And it never would have organised so wide a system of productive work, had it not attracted private undertakers by renting to them the prisoners' labour at a very low price, to the disadvantage of free private industry. And still, the current expenses of the State for keeping up the Clairvaux prison and the like must be very heavy. A numerous and costly administration, seventy warders, nourished, lodged, and paid from 45*l.* to 56*l.* per year, and a company of soldiers which are kept at Clairvaux, bear hard on the budget—not to speak of the expenses of the central administration, the transport of prisoners, the infirmary, and so on. It is obvious that the above-mentioned percentage, raised on the salaries of the prisoners, which does not exceed an average of 7*d.* per day and per head of employed men, falls very short of defraying all these heavy expenses.

Leaving aside the political prisoners who are occasionally sent thither, there are at Clairvaux two different categories of inmates. The great number are common-law prisoners condemned to more than one year of imprisonment but not to hard labour (these last being transported to New Caledonia); and there are, besides, a few dozen of soldiers condemned by martial courts—the so-called *détentionnaires*. These last are a sad product of our system of militarism. A soldier who has assaulted his corporal, or officer, is usually condemned to death; but if he has been provoked—which is mostly the case—the penalty is commuted into a twenty years' imprisonment, and he is sent to Clairvaux. I cannot explain how it happens, but there are *détentionnaires* who have to undergo two or three like condemnations—probably for assaults committed during their imprisonment. There was much talk, during our stay at Clairvaux, of a man, about forty years old, who had cumulated an aggregate penalty reaching sixty-five years of imprisonment; he could fulfil his sentence only if he could prolong his life beyond his hundredth year. On the 14th of July, twenty-five years of his term were taken off by a decree of the President of the Republic; but still the man had some forty years more to remain imprisoned. It may seem incredible, but it is true.

Everybody recognises the absurdity of such condemnations, and therefore the *détentionnaires* are not submitted to the usual regimen of the common-law prisoners. They are not constrained to compulsory labour, and they enter a workshop only if they like. They wear a better grey dress than other prisoners, and are permitted to take

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wine at the canteen. Those who do not go to the workshops occupy a separate quarter, and spend years and years in doing absolutely nothing. It is easy to conceive what some thirty soldiers, who have spent several years in barracks, may do when they are locked up for twenty years or so in a prison, and have no occupation of any kind, either intellectual or physical. Their quarter has so bad a reputation that the rains of brimstone which destroyed the two Biblical towns are invoked upon it by the administration.

As to the common-law prisoners, they are submitted to a regimen of compulsory labour, and of absolute silence. This last, however, is so adverse to human nature that it has in fact been given up. It is simply impossible to prevent people from speaking when at work in the workshops; and, without trebling the number of warders and resorting to ferocious punishments, it is not easy to prevent prisoners from exchanging words during the hours of rest, or from chattering in dormitories. During our stay at Clairvaux we saw the system abandoned more and more, and I suppose that the watchword is now merely to prohibit loud speaking and quarrels.

Early in the morning—at five in the summer, and at six in the winter—a bell rings. The prisoners must immediately rise, roll up their beds, and descend into the yards, where they stand in ranks, the men of each workshop separately under the command of a warder. On his order, they march in Indian file, at a slow pace, towards their respective workshops, the warder loudly crying out, *un, deux! un, deux!* and the heavy wooden shoes answering in cadence to the word of command. A few minutes later, the steam-engines sound their call, and the machines run at full speed. At nine (half-past eight in the summer) the work is stopped for an hour, and the prisoners are marched to the refectories. There they are seated on benches, all faces turned in one direction, so as to see only the backs of the men on the next bench, and they take their breakfast. At ten they return to the workshops, and the work is interrupted only at twelve, for ten minutes, and at half-past two, when all men less than thirty-five years old, and having received no instruction, are sent for an hour to the school.

At four the prisoners go to take their dinner; it lasts for half-an-hour, and a walk in the yards follows. The same Indian files are made up, and they slowly march in a circle, the warder always crying his cadenced *un, deux!* They call that *faire la queue de saucissons*. At five the work begins again and lasts until eight in the winter, and until nightfall during the other seasons.

As soon as the machinery is stopped—which is done at six, or even earlier in September or March—the prisoners are locked up in the dormitories. There they must lie in their beds from half-past six until six the next morning, and I suppose that these hours of enforced rest must be the most painful hours of the day. Certainly, they are permitted to read in their beds until nine, but the permission

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is effective only for those whose beds are close to the gas-burners. At nine the lights are diminished. During the night each dormitory remains under the supervision of *prévôts* who are nominated from among the prisoners and who have the more red lace on their sleeves, as they are the more assiduous in spying and denouncing their comrades.

On Sundays the work is suspended. The prisoners spend the day in the yards, if the weather permits, or in the workshops, where they may read, or talk—but not too loud—or in the school-rooms, where they write letters. A band composed of some thirty prisoners plays in the yard, and for half-an-hour goes out of the interior walls to play in the *cour d'honneur*—a yard occupied by the lodgings of the administration—while the fire-brigade takes some exercise. At six all must be in their beds.

Besides the men who are at work in the workshops, there is also a *brigade extérieure*, the men of which do various work outside the prison proper, but still within its outer wall—such as repairs, painting, sawing wood, and so on. They also cultivate the orchards of the house and those of the warders, for salaries reaching but a few pence per day. Some of them are also sent to the forest for cutting wood, cleaning a canal, and so on. No escape is to be feared, because only such men are admitted to the exterior brigade as have but one or two months more to remain at Clairvaux.

Such is the regular life of the prison—a life running for years without the least modification, and which acts depressingly on man by its monotony and its want of impressions—a life which a man can endure for years, but which he cannot endure—if he has no aim beyond this life itself—without being depressed and reduced to the state of a machine which obeys, but has no will of its own—a life which results in an atrophy of the best qualities of man and a development of the worst of them, and, if much prolonged, renders him quite unfit to live afterwards in a society of free fellow-creatures.

As to us, the 'politicals,' we had a special regimen—namely, that of prisoners submitted to preventive incarceration. We kept our own dress; we were not compelled to be shaved, and we could smoke. We occupied three spacious rooms, with a separate small room for myself, and had a little garden, some fifty yards long and ten yards wide, where we did some gardening on a narrow strip of earth along the wall, and could appreciate, from our own experience, the benefits of an 'intensive culture.' One would suspect me of exaggeration if I enumerated all crops of vegetables we made in our kitchen-garden, less than fifty square yards. No compulsory work was imposed upon us; and my comrades—all workmen who had left at home their families without support—never could obtain any regular employment. They tried to sew ladies' stays for an undertaker of Clairvaux, but soon abandoned the work, seeing that with the deduction of three-

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tenths of their salaries for the State they could not earn more than from three to four pence a day. They gladly accepted the work in pearl-shell, although it was paid but a little better than the former, but the orders came only occasionally, for a few days. Over-production had occasioned stagnation in this trade, and other work could not be done in our rooms, while any intercourse with the common-law prisoners was severely prohibited.

Reading and the study of languages were thus the chief occupations of my comrades. A workman can study only when he has the chance of being imprisoned—and they studied earnestly. The study of languages was very successful, and I was glad to find at Clairvaux a practical proof of what I formerly maintained on theoretical grounds—namely, that the Russians are not the only people who easily learn foreign languages. My French comrades learned, with great ease, English, German, Italian, and Spanish; some of them mastered two languages during a two years' stay at Clairvaux. Bookbinding was among us the most beloved occupation. Some instruments were made out of pieces of iron and wood, heavy stones and small carpenters' presses were resorted to; and as we finally obtained—about the end of the second year—some tools worth this name, all learned bookbinding with the facility with which an intelligent workman learns a new profession, and most of us reached a great perfection in the art.

A special warder was always kept in our quarter, and as soon as some of us were in the yard, he regularly took his seat on the steps at the door. In the night we were locked up under at least six or seven locks, and, moreover, a round of warders passed each two hours, and approached each bed in order to ascertain that nobody had vanished. A rigorous supervision, never relaxed, and maintained by the mutual help of all warders, is exercised on the prisoners as soon as they have left the dormitories. During the last two years I met with my wife in a little room within the walls, and, together with some one of our sick comrades, we took a walk in the solitary little garden of the Director, or in the great orchard of the prison; and never during these two years was I left out of sight of the warder who accompanied us, for so much as five minutes.

No newspapers penetrated into our rooms, excepting scientific periodicals or illustrated weekly papers. Only in the second year of our imprisonment were we permitted to receive a halfpenny colourless daily paper, and a Governmental paper published at Lyons. No socialist literature was admitted, and I could not introduce even a book of my own authorship dealing with socialist literature. As to writing, the most severe control was exercised on the manuscripts I intended to send out of the prison. Nothing dealing with social questions, and still less with Russian affairs, was permitted to issue from the prison-walls. The common-law prisoners are permitted to write letters only once a month, and only to their nearest rela-

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tives. As to us, we could correspond with friends as much as we liked, but all letters sent or received were submitted to a severe censorship, which was the cause of repeated conflicts with the administration.

The food of the prisoners is, in my opinion, quite insufficient. The daily allowance consists chiefly of bread, 850 grammes per day (one pound and nine-tenths). It is grey, but very good, and if a prisoner complains of having not enough of it, one loaf, or two, per week are added to the above. The breakfast consists of a soup which is made with a few vegetables, water, and American lard—this last very often rancid and bitter. At dinner the same soup is given, and a plate of two ounces of kidney-beans, rice, lentils, or potatoes is added. Twice a week the soup is made with meat, and then it is served only at breakfast, two ounces of boiled meat being given instead of it at dinner. The men are thus compelled to purchase additional food at the canteen, where they have, for very honest prices varying from three-farthings to twopence, small rations of cheese, or sausage, pork-meat, and sometimes tripe, as also milk, and small rations of figs, jams, or fruits in the summer. Without this supplementary food the men obviously could not maintain their strength; but many of them, and especially old people, earn so little that, after deducting the percentage money raised by the State, they cannot spend at the canteen even twopence per day. I really wonder how they manage to keep body and soul together.

Two different kinds of work are made by the prisoners at Clairvaux. Some of them are employed, by the State, either in its manufactures of linen, cloth, and dress for the prisoners, or in various capacities in the house itself (joiners, painters, man-nurses in the infirmary, accountants, &c.). They are mostly paid from 8*d.* to 10*d.* a day. Many, however, are employed in the above-mentioned workshops by private undertakers. Their salaries, established by the *Chambre de Commerce* at Troyes, vary very much, and are mostly very low, especially in those trades where no safe scale of salaries can be established on account of the great variety of patterns fabricated and of the great subdivision of labour. Very many men earn but from 6*d.* to 8*d.* per day; and it is only in the iron bed manufacture that the salaries reach 1*s.* 8*d.* and occasionally more; while I found that the average salaries of 125 men employed in various capacities reached only 11*d.* (1 franc 17 centimes) per day. This figure is, however, perhaps above the average, there being a great number of prisoners who earn but 7*d.* or even 5*d.*, especially in the workshop for the fabrication of socks, where old people are sent to die from the dust and exhaustion.

Several reasons might be adduced as an apology for these small salaries; the low quality of prison-work, the fluctuations of trade, and several other considerations ought no doubt to be taken into account.

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But the fact is that undertakers who have rapidly made big fortunes in the prisons are not rare; while the prisoners consider with full reason that they are robbed when they are paid only a few pence for twelve hours' work. Such a payment is the more insufficient, as one half, or more, of the salaries is taken by the State, and the regular food supplied by the State is quite inadequate, especially for a man who is doing work.

If the prisoner has had a previous condemnation before being sent to a central prison—and this is very often the case—and if his salary is 10*d.* per day, 6*d.* are taken by the State, and the remaining 4*d.* are divided into two equal parts, one of which goes to the prisoner's reserve-fund and is handed over to him only on the day of his delivery; while the other part—that is, 2*d.* only—is inscribed on his 'disposable' account and may be spent for his daily expenses at the canteen. With 2*d.* per day for supplementary food a workman obviously cannot live and labour. In consequence of that a system of *gratifications* has been introduced; they mostly vary from two to five shillings, and they are inscribed in full on the prisoner's 'disposable' account. It is certain that this system of *gratifications* has given rise to many abuses. Suppose a skilled workman who is condemned for the third time and of whose salary the State retains seven-tenths. Suppose further that the work he has made during the month is valued at 40*s.* The State taking from this salary 28*s.*, there will remain only 6*s.* to be inscribed on his 'disposable' account. He proposes then to the undertaker to value his work only at 20*s.* and to add a gratification of 10*s.* The undertaker accepts, and so the State has only 14*s.*; the undertaker disburses 30*s.* instead of 40*s.*; and the prisoner has on his disposable account 3*s.*, as also the whole of the *gratification*—that is, 13*s.*; all are thus satisfied, and if the State is at loss of 14*s.*—*ma foi, tant pis!*

Things look still worse if the great tempter of mankind—tobacco—be taken into account. Smoking is severely prohibited in prisons, and the smokers are fined from 5*d.* to 4*s.* every time they are discovered smoking. And yet everybody smokes or chews in the prisons. Tobacco is the current money, but a money so highly prized that a cigarette—a nothing for an accomplished smoker—is paid 2*d.*, and the 5*d. paquet* of tobacco has a currency worth 4*s.* or even more in times of scarcity. This precious merchandise is so highly esteemed that each pinch of tobacco is first chewed, then dried and smoked, and finally taken as snuff, although reduced to mere ash. Useless to say that there are undertakers who know how to exploit this human weakness and who pay half of the work done with tobacco valued at the above prices, and that there are also warders who carry on this lucrative trade. Altogether, the prohibition of smoking is a source of so many evils that the French Administration probably will be compelled soon to follow the example of Germany and to sell tobacco

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at the canteens of the prisons. This would be also the surest means for diminishing the number of smokers.

We came to Clairvaux at a propitious moment. All the old administration had been recently dismissed, and a new departure taken in the treatment of prisoners. A year or two before our arrival a prisoner was killed in his cell by the keys of the warders. The official report was to the effect that he had hanged himself; but the surgeon did not sign this report, and made another report of his own, stating the assassination. This circumstance led to a thorough reform in the treatment of prisoners, and I am glad to say that the relations between the prisoners and the warders at Clairvaux were without comparison better than at Lyons. In fact, I saw much less brutality and more human relations than I was prepared to see—and yet the system itself is so bad that it brings about most horrible results.

Of course the relatively better wind which now blows over Clairvaux may change in a day or two. The smallest rebellion in the prison would bring about a rapid change for the worse, as there are enough warders and inspectors who sigh for 'the old system,' which is still in use in other French prisons. Thus, while we were at Clairvaux, a man was brought thither from Poissy—a central prison close by Paris. He considered his condemnation as unjust, and cried loudly day after day in his cell. In fact, he already had the symptoms of a commencing madness. Now to silence him the Poissy authorities invented the following plan. They brought a fire-engine and pumped water on the man through the opening in the door of his cell; they then left him quite wet in his cell, notwithstanding the winter's frost. The intervention of the Press was necessary to bring about the dismissal of the Director. As to the numerous revolts which have broken out during the last two months in several French prisons, they seem to show that 'the old system' is in full force still.

And now, what are these better relations between warders and prisoners which I saw at Clairvaux? Many chapters could be written about them, but I shall try to be as short as possible, and point out only their leading features. It is obvious that a long life of the warders in common and the very necessities of their service have developed among them a certain brotherhood, or rather *esprit de corps*, which causes them to act with a remarkable uniformity in their relations with the prisoners. In consequence of that *esprit de corps*, as soon as a prisoner is brought to the prison, the first question of the warders is whether he is a *soumis* or an *insoumis*—a submissive fellow, or an insubordinate. If the answer is favourable, the prisoner's life may be a tolerable one; if not, he will not soon leave the prison; and if he happens ever to leave it, he will do it with broken health, and so exasperated against society at large that he will be soon re-interned in a prison and finish his days there, if not in New Cale-

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donia. If the prisoner is described as an insubordinate, he will be punished again and again. If he speaks in the ranks, although not louder than the others, a remonstrance will be made in such terms that he will reply and be punished. And each punishment will be so disproportionate that he will object again, and the punishment be doubled. 'A man who has been once sent to the punishment quarter, is sure to return thither a few days after he has been released from it,' say the warders, even the mildest ones. And this punishment is not a light one. The man is not beaten; he is not knocked down. No, we are civilised people, and the punished man is merely brought to the cellular quarter, and locked up in a cell. The cell is quite empty: it has neither bed nor bench. For the night a mattress is given, and the prisoner must lay his dress outside his cell, at the door. Bread and water are his food. As soon as the prison-bell rings in the morning, he is taken to a small covered yard, and there he must—walk. Nothing more; but our refined civilisation has learned how to make a torture even of this natural exercise. At a formal slow pace, under the cries of *un, deux*, the patients must walk all the day long, round the building. They walk for twenty minutes; then a rest follows. For ten minutes they must sit down immovable, each of them on his numbered stone, and walk again for twenty minutes; and so on through all the day, as long as the engines of the workshops are running; and the punishment does not last one day, or two; it lasts for whole months. It is so cruel that the prisoner implores but one thing: 'Let me return to the workshops.'—'Well, we shall see that in a fortnight or two,' is the usual answer. But the fortnight goes over, and the next one too, and the patient still continues to walk for twelve hours every day. Then he revolts. He begins to cry in his cell, to insult the warders. Then he becomes 'a rebel'—a dreadful qualification for any one who is in the hands of the brotherhood of warders—and as such he will rot in the cells, and walk throughout his life. If he assaults a warder, he will not be sent to New Caledonia: he will still remain in his cell, and ever walk and walk in the small building. One man, a peasant, seeing no issue from this horrible situation, preferred to poison himself rather than live such a life—a terrible story which I shall some day tell in full.

As we were walking with my wife in the garden, more than two hundred yards distant from the cellular quarter, we heard sometimes horrible, desperate cries coming from that building. My wife, terrified and trembling, seized my arm, and I told her that it was the man whom they had watered with the fire-pump at Poissy, and now, quite contrary to the law, had brought here, to Clairvaux. Day after day—two, three days without interruption, he cried: '*Vaches, gredins, assassins!*' (*vache* is the name of the warders in the prison language), or loudly called out his story, until he fell, exhausted, on

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the floor of his cell. He considered as unjust his detention at Clairvaux in the punishment quarter, and he declared loudly that he would kill a warder rather than remain all his life in a cell. For the next two months he remained quiet. An inspector had vaguely promised him that he might be sent into the workshops on the 14th of July. But the 'Fête National' came, and the man was not released. His exasperation then had no limits; he cried, insulted, and assaulted the warders, destroyed the wooden parts of his cell, and finally was sent to the black-hole, where heavy irons were laid upon his hands and feet. I have not seen these irons, but when he reappeared again in the cellular quarter, he loudly cried out that he was kept in the black-hole for two months, with irons on his hands and feet so heavy that he could not move. He already *is* half mad, and he will be kept in the cell until he becomes a complete lunatic, and then . . . then he will be submitted to all those tortures which lunatics have to endure in prisons and asylums. . . .

And the immense problem of suppressing these atrocities rises at its full size before us. The relations between the administration and the prisoners are not imbued at Clairvaux with the brutality which I often have spoken of on former occasions. And yet our penitentiary system fatally brings about such horrible results as the above—the more horrible as they must be considered a necessary consequence of the system itself. But why are these sufferings inflicted on human creatures? What are the moral results achieved at the cost of such sufferings and of so heavy an expenditure of human labour as that implied by our prisons? In what direction lies the solution of the immense problem raised by our system of punishments and prisons? Such are the grave questions which necessarily rise before the observer. To these questions I shall return on another occasion.

P. KROPOTKIN.

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HOME RULE.

I.

PRECEDENTS.

The problem which Parliament has been suddenly called upon to discuss and to solve, at the instance of its most experienced statesman—namely, the framing of an autonomous Government for Ireland, without impairing the unity and strength of the central government of the empire—difficult and momentous as it is, is scarcely more so than what has been frequently presented to statesmen in other countries and has been solved by them. The cases therefore where it has been found necessary to grant autonomous institutions to dependent kingdoms or provinces, for the purpose of giving content by assuaging historical, national, ethnographical or geographical conditions, opposed to a more complete union, are full of instruction for those who are prepared on principle, or on the ground of expediency, to make concessions to Irish opinion.

In the many constitutional changes of the last hundred years, we can recognise two distinct movements leading to results not dissimilar in kind. The one is a centripetal movement—the union of states previously independent of one another, but with more or less of common race, language and interests. Their union has for the most part been effected on the Federal principle; the states or provinces have retained to a large extent their autonomy, legislative and administrative, but have combined together on equal terms for certain definite common purposes, for defence or for commercial or administrative objects. The other is a centrifugal movement, where the centralisation of the previous century under despotic rule had been found irksome and intolerable, and it was necessary to make large concessions in the direction of autonomy, in order to cause content and to prevent rebellion and secession. The movement towards decentralisation has doubtless been in a great measure due to the advance of democracy, and to the awakening of national aspirations with which it was accompanied. The centralisation of various distinct communities could only be maintained by a rigorous despotism; democracy weakened the central power and gave opportunity to the dependent provinces to reassert their national claims. In a similar

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manner, where the main movement has been towards union and greater centralisation, the tendency has been controlled by democracy; it was felt wiser and safer to leave many of the powers of government, administrative and legislative, to be exercised by the local authorities, and to concede to the new central authority only so much of the functions of government as were absolutely necessary for the common safety or common utility. We may, then, I think, deduce from the general principles of democracy, and we may verify our conclusion by examination of the many cases now before us, that democracy is safest and most easily regulated, when its powers are broken up and divided between many centres of local government, and where as little as is consistent with safety and public utility, is reserved for the central authority which controls or combines the whole.

As the result of the changes in these two directions in Europe and America we find every form of union of states, and every degree of variation between the relations of the central authority of an empire or state and its dependent states or provinces, which can well be conceived, and we have no lack of precedents for procedure in such matters, or of illustrations and examples, from which to make choice in the changes we may propose to make in the constitution of Ireland.

Beginning with those states or dependencies where the union is of the loosest kind, we have the case of Sweden and Norway, united under the same sovereign, but where the union is otherwise nominal only, where there is complete autonomy for both in every respect, and where even the army and navy and the system of taxation are entirely separate and distinct. Even this slender bond of union does not appear to work badly: it secures peace and harmony between two kindred nations; it combines them together for purposes of defence against possible enemies. Again, we have the union of Finland and Russia and of Luxemburg and Holland. The former is one of considerable interest, for while the superior power is under a system of pure and unrestrained despotism, Finland has a liberal constitution with representative institutions; it has administrative autonomy superintended by a Russian governor; its recruits are enlisted for separate Finnish regiments of the Russian army. On the other hand, it has no foreign or commercial policy distinct from that of its pre-eminent superior power.

Under the same head may be treated the relations of Austria to Hungary (which I shall refer to again later), and those of Great Britain to her numerous Anglo-Saxon colonies. Within the present century free constitutions have been granted to all of these colonies. They have now complete autonomy as regards all internal affairs, including even the right to levy customs duties on the manufactures

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of the mother country. On the other hand, they have no representation in the Imperial Legislature and no voice in the determination of foreign or other imperial questions. They contribute nothing to the maintenance of the forces necessary for the general support and defence of the empire; and it is only recently that some of them have undertaken to a small extent the cost of their own defence. Much has recently been written of Federation of the Empire; its advocates, however, have not yet agreed in defining the common objects which any central representative body would undertake. Whether the relations of these colonies to Great Britain would stand the strain and friction of a serious European war, in which the former may have no real interest or concern, is yet to be tested, and it is to be hoped the test will long be deferred.

Turning, then, from these examples of union, where the main if not the only connecting link is the Sovereign, and where autonomy of the fullest kind is reserved, we come to the other and far more numerous class of cases based more or less on the Federal principle. The most important of these is that of the United States of America, the details of whose Constitution are so well known that it is scarcely necessary to refer to them. The main principle of the Union was the maintenance of the separate existence of the States, which had previously been distinct political communities dependent on the English crown. The founders of the Union proposed to delegate so much of the sovereign powers of these separate States to a central authority as were necessary for the common safety and for other definite purposes then agreed upon; but whatever was not expressly thus delegated by the Constitution was reserved for the States. For the interpretation of this written Constitution it was necessary to provide a Supreme Court of Law, independent of the legislatures and of the civil authorities of the Union and of the separate States. No reversal of the decision of this court is possible by the Legislature, and no amendments can be made in the Constitution except in the manner pointed out by the Articles of Union: namely, by a majority of two-thirds of Congress, and of three-fourths of the State Legislatures. One of the most important provisions of the Constitution is that which declares that any law passed by a separate State impairing the obligation of contracts is null and void.

Closely analogous to the American Federal Constitution is that which was in 1867 freely conceded to our Canadian dependencies, differing, however, in some most important respects. It should be noted, especially in view of the course we may find it necessary to take with Ireland, that the Confederation of these provinces partook both of the centrifugal and of the centripetal movement. Upper and Lower Canada had been united together under one government and one legislature in 1840, upon terms of equality of the two provinces:

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that is, in spite of the great and constantly growing superiority of Upper Canada in population, wealth and intelligence, it was to have equal representation only with Lower Canada in the united Legislature. This yoking together of two communities so unequal, and with many distinct institutions and laws, led inevitably to grave difficulties. Upper Canada pressed continually more and more for a share of representation in proportion to its population. This was bitterly opposed by Lower Canada, fearful lest its separate institutions should be attacked and destroyed if a greater share of power were given to its partner.

The condition is well described by Sir John Macdonald in his able speech on moving the resolutions for Confederation in the Legislative Assembly of Canada in 1865: a speech which is well worthy of attention by those who regard with concern the present relations of England and Ireland.

> Men of all parties (he said) and all shades of politics became alarmed at the aspect of affairs. They found that such was the danger of impending anarchy in consequence of the irreconcileable differences of opinion between Upper and Lower Canada, that unless some solution of the difficulty was arrived at we should suffer under a succession of weak Governments—weak in numerical support, weak in tone, weak in power of doing good. All were alarmed at this state of things. We had election after election; we had ministry after ministry, with the same result. Parties were so equally balanced that the vote of one member might decide the fate of the administration and the course of legislation for a year or a series of years. None were more impressed by this momentous state of affairs, and the grave apprehensions that existed of a state of anarchy, destroying our credit, destroying our prosperity, destroying our progress, than were the members of this House, and the leading statesmen of both sides seemed to have come to the common conclusion that some step must be taken to relieve the country from the deadlock and impending anarchy that hung over them.

To find an issue out of this deadlock, it was determined by the leading men of both parties in Canada to invite a union of the other Colonies, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, upon the principle of a Federation. Sir John Macdonald stated that 'it was the policy of his Government, if they could not succeed in forming a union with the other provinces, to attempt to free the country from the deadlock in which they were placed in Upper and Lower Canada in consequence of the difference of opinion between the two sections, by having a severance to a certain extent of the union between the two provinces and the substitution of a Federal Union between them.' This, however, became unnecessary when it was found that the maritime provinces were prepared to unite. The question then arose whether such Union should be a legislative or complete one, or a federal one. Sir John Macdonald stated his own personal preference for a legislative union—that one Government and one Parliament legislating for the whole of the people of British North America would be the best, the

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cheapest, the most vigorous and the strongest system. But on looking at the subject in conference with the other provinces, they found that such a system was impracticable.

It would not meet with the assent of Lower Canada, because they felt 'that in their peculiar position—being in a minority, with a different language, nationality, and religion from the majority—in case of a junction with the other provinces, their institutions and their laws might be assailed, and their ancestral associations, on which they prided themselves, attacked and prejudiced.' There was also as great a disinclination on the part of the maritime provinces to lose their individuality as separate political organisations. Accordingly it was decided to proceed on the basis of a federal union. Sir John Macdonald pointed out that although they had nominally a legislative union in Canada, yet as a matter of fact they had a federal union: that in matters affecting Upper Canada solely, members for that section claimed and generally exercised the right of exclusive legislation; while members from Lower Canada legislated on matters affecting only their own section. In this respect, he said, the relations of England and Scotland were very similar, for the Act of Union between them provided that the law of Scotland could not be altered except for the manifest advantage of Scotland; and the stipulation had been held to be so obligatory on the Legislature of Great Britain, that no measure affecting the law of Scotland is passed unless it receives the sanction of a majority of the Scottish members in Parliament.

The scheme of constitution adopted by the Premier of Canada was based, then, on the federal principle. It bore on its face the marks of a compromise. There was much mutual concession. It was framed largely on the model of the United States Constitution, but differed in some very important respects.

The constitutional relation of the province to the central Government of Canada is the reverse of that of the American States to the Union. The Canadian statesmen avoided what they considered the errors into which the framers of the American Constitution had fallen. Instead of defining strictly the powers and functions of the central Government, and reserving all others to the separate States, the Canadian Constitution defines and limits the powers of the provincial Governments, and reserves all others for the central Dominion Government, so as to make it impossible for any local Parliament to interfere with the central power in a manner detrimental to the interests of the whole. The interpretation of the provisions giving power to the provincial Governments rests necessarily with the courts of law, from which there is an appeal to the Privy Council of England.

In the American Union, the separate States elect their own

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governors, in whom is vested all administrative power and authority not reserved to the President of the Union, the maintenance of order, the control of the police. In the Canadian Dominion, the governors of provinces are nominated by the central Government for five years, a provision which was intended to establish connection of authority between the central power and the different provinces.

A most important provision of the Canadian Constitution is that which reserves a veto to the Dominion Government in respect of legislation of the local Parliaments. This power is not reserved to the President or Government of the United States in respect of State legislation. The State Governor has the right to veto the legislation of the State; but he derives his authority from the same electors of the State as do the State Legislatures; and the only effective power over State legislation is the Supreme Court of Justice, and then only in respect of matters where legislation is unconstitutional. On the other hand, there is no such provision in the Canadian Constitution as that forbidding interference with contracts. The veto of the central Government is apparently a substitute for it.

Among the subjects reserved for the provincial legislatures are: direct taxation within the limits of the province, loans on the credit of the province, administration of public lands belonging to the province, prisons, hospitals, licensing laws, municipal institutions within the provinces, local works, marriage laws, property and civil rights, the administration of justice, the organisation of courts of law with civil and criminal jurisdiction, the infliction of penalties for the purpose of compelling the execution of provincial laws, and generally all matters of a purely local and private nature. Education is also confided to the local Legislatures. Apparently, the claims of minorities to schools of a denominational kind were the cause of great difficulty; and the Constitution accordingly contains a compromise on this point, to the effect that nothing shall prejudice any right or privilege confirmed pending the Union by the laws to any particular class of persons for denominational schools, and further that all privileges given in Upper Canada to separate schools and Catholic schools shall be extended to the Protestants and Catholics in the province of Quebec. Everything not thus specified is reserved for the central Government—including public debt and customs, postal service, the militia, trade and navigation, fisheries, currency, patents, copyright, &c. &c.

The local Legislatures were not constituted on the same model in all the provinces. In Upper Canada, one assembly only was established, consisting of eighty-two members. In Quebec two chambers were instituted: a Legislative Council or Upper House, consisting of twenty-four members, to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor for life;

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and a Lower House or Legislative Assembly, to consist of sixty-five members.

It is not necessary to describe further this Constitution. It derives its authority from the Imperial Parliament, to whom whatever powers are not expressly conceded are reserved. It is scarcely necessary to add that the Constitution has been an eminent success. The deadlock which existed between Upper and Lower Canada, which was the main cause of the movement in favour of federation, has been completely removed. The separate national and historical traditions of the French population of Lower Canada have been conciliated by the concession of autonomy within limits which include whatever they value most in their separate institutions; while the central Government has most important functions, and is not wanting in control over the provinces.

Reverting to Europe, the chief exemplar of Federal union is that of the German Empire, constituted in 1871, immediately after the great military defeat of France. By this Constitution the various Germanic States, 27 in number, formerly forming part of the very weak and loosely connected Confederation, where there was no central authority and no real power or control, were united together in a federal system under the presidency of the King of Prussia, as Emperor. The Emperor represents the Federation in all its international relations, has alone the power of declaring war and of making alliances and other conventions with foreign states, and of accrediting and receiving diplomatic envoys. The legislative power of the empire is exercised by a Federal Council, consisting of fifty-eight members, nominated in a fixed proportion by the different states, Prussia, including Hanover, Hesse, and Holstein, having seventeen members; and by the Reichstag, consisting of 397 members, elected by universal suffrage. The administrative powers of the Empire are vested in the Federal Council, which is divided into seven permanent commissions for this purpose, dealing with the various subjects reserved for it: namely, the army, navy, customs, commerce, railways, postal and telegraph service, justice, &c. There is, however, nothing in the nature of ministerial responsibility to the Reichstag. Cabinet Government such as we have is unknown. The Federal Council is practically under the control of the King of Prussia, and his personal will, guided by Prince Bismarck, is the guiding spirit of the Federation.

It will be seen that the various states—whose autonomy is preserved for many important purposes, and whose separate Courts and representative institutions are retained—are reduced to the position of members of a federation, not dissimilar to that of the United States of America. Their reserved powers are not more important than those of the separate States of the Union; while

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the Emperor may be properly described as occupying a position not different from that of the President of the United States, save that his position is permanent and hereditary, in lieu of being elected every four years.

Prussia, it will be seen, largely predominates in the Empire. It is many times larger than any of the other states. It is composed itself of many *disjecta membra* of the old Germanic Confederation, having formerly a separate existence, with the addition of provinces obtained by conquest or fraud, such as Silesia, Posen, and Holstein. It has found it necessary to concede local representative institutions to these provinces: to the Rhine provinces, to Westphalia, to Hanover, and to others. No such local institutions, however, have been accorded to the Polish province of Posen. The Poles are represented in the Prussian Landtag, where in the popular chamber their members form a discordant element, not dissimilar, in their spirit of hostility to the Prussian Government, to the Irish Nationalist members in the British House of Commons. The power of the Prussian Government over its Polish province, and its methods of dealing with a dependent nationality, are best evidenced by its recent measures, banishing from the territory many thousands of Poles who were not actually natives of the province, and replacing them by Germans who are under the obligation to intermarry only with people of their own race. Since the plantation of Ulster, there has been nothing in Europe to which such action can be compared.

The position of Alsace and Lorraine is a somewhat peculiar one. Since their conquest from France they have formed a part of the German Empire, and are represented in the Reichstag, but not in the Federal Council. The government, administrative and legislative, of this province was committed to the Emperor, controlled, however, in respect of matters reserved by the Constitution of the Empire, by the Federal Council. In 1877 and 1879 an attempt was made to give something of autonomy to the province. The Emperor was empowered to delegate his authority to a governor. A local Council of State was instituted, consisting of certain State functionaries, and of eight or ten other members, three of whom are elected by the delegates of the province, and the others nominated by the Emperor. The Delegation, consisting of fifty-eight members elected by the people, is limited to the right of suggesting legislation for the province which does not infringe on the powers of the Federal Council, and of forwarding to the Ministers any petitions which may be addressed to it. A certain advance has therefore been made to autonomy, which, considering the hostile attitude of its population to Germany, is significant. The position of the province seems to be not dissimilar to that of Ireland before 1782.

When we turn to Austria we find the same practical results arrived

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at from a different starting-point. The movement of the present century has been of a centrifugal character. The Austro-Hungarian Empire consists, it need scarcely be remarked, of the most varied and heterogeneous collection of nationalities and populations, of different races, religions, habits, and traditions, which could possibly be gathered together. This composite empire, held together so long by force, was aggregated not so much by conquest as by the fortunate alliances of the Hapsburg family and by skilful diplomacy. The titles of the Emperor indicate the many sources of his sovereignty. He is King of Hungary, and as such King of Croatia and Transylvania; he is King of Bohemia, Dalmatia and Galicia; Archduke of Austria and Cracow; Duke of Styria, Silesia, Carinthia, Saltzburg and Bukowine; Margrave of Moravia and Istria; Count of the Tyrol, Gortz and Gradevia; and each of these titles represents some merged or suppressed state formerly independent, and with separate traditions, and often of distinct race.

The natural impulse of a power thus constituted and held together by military force, controlled and guided by a dominant race such as the Germans, was towards despotism and centralisation. The various component parts of the Empire had, previous to their incorporation, separate and generally national administrations, and distinctive laws. Where the union was effected by conquest the separate administration was naturally incompatible with the new condition. In all, the separate institutions were discouraged, and were allowed to fall into decay; and every effort was made by the central power, with the best of motives, to assimilate the laws of the various provinces, to centralise powers, and to suppress national and indigenous institutions, which were held to be opposed to the existence and safety of the empire. This method was only in accord with the tendencies which everywhere existed in Europe at the time, and for which the example had been set by the centralising policy through centuries of the French monarchy. The Empress Maria Theresa and Joseph the Second pursued these objects with great activity. The Austrian statesmen hoped to force the union of their dependent Czechs, Sclovaks, Ruthenes, Poles, Magyars, Croats, Roumanians, and Italians, in the same manner as the French had done in the case of Normans, Bretons, Burgundians, and Provençals.

From the union of Hungary with Austria, in 1526, a continuous effort was made to reduce the former to the position of a mere province of the empire. The Hungarian Constitution was one of the most ancient in Europe, dating back from 1222, six years later only than the Magna Charta of England. In support of this Constitution and of their national institutions the Hungarians opposed a stubborn resistance, which in 1848 broke out into open rebellion against the empire.

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This, with the aid of Russia, was put down, and for twenty years Hungary was subjected to the despotic rule of Austria. In 1860 it was attempted by the Emperor to carry constitutional reforms for the whole empire, and to preserve its administrative and legislative integrity, by conceding to it one representative assembly, in which all the component parts of the empire should be represented. Hungary refused this concession and declined to send its representatives to this Imperial Diet. Other parts of the empire followed this example, and the Emperor was at last compelled to abandon the attempt at unification of his various states, and finally conceded to Hungary the utmost of its demands, and established what is known as the dualism of the empire. For Hungary this change involved a restitution of its ancient Constitution—the re-establishment of its autonomy as a kingdom, united to Austria only by the Sovereign. Its laws and administration are entirely distinct. Its system of taxation is a separate one. Certain specified objects, however, of an imperial character, such as the army, navy, foreign affairs and finance, are withdrawn from the consideration of both the Austrian and Hungarian Diets, and are submitted to delegations of both of these bodies, each of which consists of sixty members, and which sit separately, meeting together only for the purpose of voting and not of discussion, when they find it impossible to come to previous agreement. There is, therefore, absolute equality between Hungary and Austria, in spite of their unequal population and wealth. The delegations have no power of voting money, and every important act of the empire is consequently dependent on the joint action and agreement of the two kingdoms. Such an arrangement differs from any other known constitution. It has inherent weakness, which must at some critical time show itself and lead perhaps to disaster. It is obvious that such a relation cannot be a model for any other power, least of all for countries so unequal in population and strength as Great Britain and Ireland.

More reason is there to draw analogy and experience from the relations of Austria proper and her dependent provinces in the Cisleithan Empire, and of Hungary and her dependencies. The fifteen different provinces of Austria, each of them representing some ancient state with historic traditions, and often different race, have been accorded since 1861 provincial representative institutions of a wide character. The principal of these are Bohemia with a population of 5,560,000, Galicia 5,958,000, Lower Austria 2,300,000, Moravia 2,150,000, Styria 912,000, Upper Austria 750,000. It will be observed that these provinces are of very unequal size and importance. They are not formed on the principle of equal areas for administrative convenience, but have followed ancient landmarks.

The Landtags of these provinces are composed partly of members

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nominated from the class of large proprietors and of Catholic archbishops and bishops, and partly of elected members.

There can be no doubt that these local assemblies have done much to give contentment to the people and to appease their national sentiments. In some parts, and especially in Bohemia, there is agitation for the concession of greater autonomy. It is interesting, however, to compare the condition of Austrian Poland (Galicia), with this amount of local representation based on nationality, with that of Prussian Poland, where no local institutions are tolerated, and where an exception is made against that province as compared with other Prussian provinces. Galicia, while retaining some national aspirations, is fairly content and is loyal to the Austrian rule, while Posen is thoroughly disaffected to its Prussian masters.

More interesting still and more worthy of attention is the Constitution which has been conceded by Hungary to its Slav dependency Croatia; and especially interesting is it as the most recent experiment in this direction, and as the work of one of the greatest of modern statesmen, namely Deák. Croatia bears to Hungary about the same relative proportions as Ireland to England, its population being two millions, while that of Hungary is fifteen millions. It was from very ancient times united to Hungary under the crown of St. Stephen, but as a separate kingdom with complete autonomy. In the centralising tendencies of the Austrian and Hungarian rulers every effort was made to merge its national existence, sometimes in that of Hungary and sometimes in that of the Austrian empire. So bitter was the feeling of its people against Hungary on this score that in the Hungarian rebellion of 1848, they joined with the Austrians against the Hungarians, and marched an army to Pesth. They gained little by this action, for the Austrians as little respected their autonomy as had the Hungarians, and for twenty years they were governed despotically from Vienna, without regard to their local liberties and ancient rights. When in 1867 a settlement was made between Austria and Hungary, it was recognised by the former that Croatia was a dependency of Hungary; and Deák and the statesmen who had achieved the practical independence of their own country were prepared to make large concessions to Croatia. A Constitution conceding autonomy was given to Croatia and was legalised by the Hungarian and Croatian Diets—one which is well worthy of study with a view to the Irish question. The Constitution takes the form of an agreement or compromise between the people of the two countries.

It provides that the common affairs of Hungary and Croatia shall be managed by the Hungarian Diet, to which the Croatian Diets shall send a delegation of thirteen members to the Chamber of Magnates, and forty deputies to the Chamber of Deputies. Croatia

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is provided with a separate Diet for local affairs. As the Hungarian Diet deals not only with the common affairs of the two kingdoms, but also with the separate internal affairs of Hungary, it is provided that the common affairs shall as far as possible be treated before and after all others; and that in all cases arrangement shall be made that the Deputies of Croatia shall have an interval of three months in which to deal with their internal affairs within their own separate Diet at Agram. The common affairs are defined as including among other things legislation relative to recruiting the army, the system of defence and military service, and all the measures necessary for the disposition of troops, the general organisation of taxes, the vote of taxes direct and indirect, loans, public lands, monopolies, royalties, and generally all that attaches to financial affairs common to the two countries, the monetary system, treaties of commerce, banks and credit, weights and measures, posts, telegraphs, railways. With respect to the revenues of the province, it is provided

That, as the total of the ordinary revenue of Croatia would not cover its share of common expenses without devoting the greater part of the sums necessary to its interior administration, Hungary, in consideration of the renewal of fraternal relations which have existed for centuries between her and Croatia, consents voluntarily that a certain portion of the revenues of Croatia, which shall be determined from time to time by common accord, shall be reserved for the internal expenses of the country, and that the residue shall be devoted to the common expenses. The portion of the revenues of Croatia to be appropriated to the expense of internal affairs is fixed at 45 per cent. If the 55 per cent. exceeds the demands, the surplus shall be to the profit of Croatia.

With respect to the internal affairs of Croatia it is provided that 'its autonomy extends, as well from the point of view of legislation as of government, to all that concerns interior administration, religion, education and justice, including procedure.'

At the head of the autonomous government is the Ban, nominated by the King on the recommendation of the Hungarian Prime Minister. The Diet is composed partly of deputies and partly of ecclesiastical functionaries and hereditary barons. By act of the Croatian Diet the administration is divided into three departments, (1) for home affairs, (2) for religion and education, (3) for justice. The heads of these are appointed by the Ban. It is also provided by the principal Constitution, that to represent the interests of Croatia there shall be nominated at the central Government at Buda Pesth a special Minister for Croatia without portfolio, and that this minister shall be a member of the common council of ministers, with deliberative voice and responsible to the common Diet. He is to act as intermediary between the King and the national Government of Croatia. Another important provision is that

The central Government will make efforts to act in accord with the Government of Croatia; but as it is responsible for its acts to the common Diet, where Croatia

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is also represented, the national Government and the municipalities of Croatia must lend their assistance to the execution of its decisions, or even execute them directly whenever the central Government has no agent.

It is guaranteed to Croatia that the central Government will name national Croats to the Slavo-Croat sections of the central administration, and to the posts in the government of this country. For all the objects which are not reserved by virtue of the present compromise to the common Diet or to the central Government Croatia shall enjoy, both in respect of legislative and executive power, complete autonomy. Croatia is permitted, within its limits for its own affairs, to use its national colours and arms, surmounting, however, the arms with the crown of St Stephen. Finally it is provided that

This compromise, after receiving the sovereign sanction, shall be inserted among the particular laws of Hungary and Croatia as a common fundamental law. This compromise cannot be the subject of special legislation of either contracting party, and no modification of it can be made without following the method employed for concluding it, and with the agreement of all the powers concerned.

The weak point of these arrangements has in practice proved to be the absence of direct responsibility of the Ban and his Government to the Diet of Croatia. The Ban is nominated by the Hungarian Premier. He appoints on his part the three principal ministers. The appointments have of recent years been made with the object of promoting the Magyar policy in this country, and without regard to the views and wishes of the people of Croatia. There is a not inconsiderable Magyar party in Croatia, though a minority, in whose interests and policy the administration has been carried on, and hence the recent discontent in Croatia, and the disputes between the Ban and his ministers and the Diet.

The Constitution in other respects is so reasonable, so framed with respect and care for the national feeling and historic traditions of the people, that it is a misfortune that difficulties should have been experienced in working it. On this point it is a warning to those who have to frame the constitutional changes in Ireland.

Generally it may be said that immense advance has been made in central and eastern Europe towards popular institutions. Autonomous institutions or local representative institutions have been largely, and on the whole successfully, conceded to dependent provinces with distinctive populations or with traditions of ancient independence; a certain loss of central power for administrative purposes has resulted, but it cannot be denied that this has been for the benefit of the people concerned, nor is there evidence that there has been any weakening of the central Government for external purposes, or even for the purpose of holding together the autonomous dependencies. A federation is not necessarily weak either for internal or external

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purposes. The United States Government was able to put down with a strong hand the secession of the Southern States of the Union, and to readmit them to the Union immediately after upon terms of equality and without infringing upon their autonomy. The federal power of Germany under the hegemony of Prussia is the strongest military force which modern Europe has known since the days of Napoleon in the plenitude of his fame. The army of the Austro-Hungarian empire, with all the traditions of the Hapsburg family, is still a most powerful force.

As distinguished from these movements we have the union of the Italian states under the House of Savoy, where every vestige of their autonomy has been destroyed, and where the object has been to form a centralised Government on the model of those of France and Spain. It may well be doubted whether a looser formation, with autonomous institutions for provinces so different as Naples and Milan, and with dependencies so distinct as Sicily and Sardinia, and with traditions so conspicuous as those of Venice and Florence, would not have been a wiser and better solution of the Italian problem. In France the centralising despotism through centuries of the Bourbon kings destroyed nearly all that had previously existed of autonomy and separatism, and what little remained was extinguished by the French Republic in the Revolutionary period; but here again it may be doubted whether, under a democracy, France would not be safer and happier with more of local institutions, and with greater variety in its laws, to suit local habits and traditions. The same may be said of Spain, where the spirit of provincial independence, once so strong, has within the last two centuries been almost crushed out of existence by the Bourbon rulers, and where democracy seems inclined to follow the same system, rather than to encourage local institutions.

From this brief historical record of the tendency of modern Constitutions many deductions, it seems to me, may be drawn of interest and import in the problem before us. The first is, that there is no inherent impossibility in framing the constitutional relations between a superior power and a dependent one, so as to secure the unity of the two for external purposes, for the common safety and othe purposes essential to the wellbeing of both, and at the same time to concede so much of autonomy as will conciliate national sentiments and afford opportunity for the development of distinct ideas.

Two essentially different methods of effecting this may be deduced from the examples I have given: the one that of 'autonomous dependency,' where the dependent state has complete autonomy for its own internal affairs, but is not permitted to have any voice in the external policy of the superior state. The best example of this relation is to be found in the relation of the British colonies

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to the parent country, where there is no representation accorded in the Imperial Parliament.

If Ireland were placed in this position, its local Parliament would have full control over its administration and executive; it might have full power of taxation, subject to a customs' convention insuring free trade; but it would have no power to deal with imperial questions or raise a military force. The position would be that of a reformed Grattan's Parliament, *plus* what was wanting in those days—a native administration responsible to it, and with strictly defined limits of power. What conditions or reservations it would be possible to insist upon for the protection of the minority or to make the Union more secure I will not now enter upon. It is obvious that the tie in such case would not be a strong one; the danger, however, would be, not so much the desire of the assembly thus constituted for complete separation, but that it would still claim a voice in imperial matters and endeavour to influence decisions in important matters, in questions of foreign and colonial policy, from which it had been excluded by the Constitution. It is obvious that it would be impossible to call upon a subject state thus constituted to contribute to the costs of a policy in which it has no voice. It would be possible, indeed, to decide in advance for a fixed contribution to imperial purposes. The financial aspects of the subject, however, become less material and important when we consider the very altered proportions of Ireland to Great Britain as compared with what they were at the Union in 1800. The population of Ireland was then one-third of that of the United Kingdom; and its wealth was probably not less than one-seventh. At the last census, in 1881, the population of Ireland was only one-seventh that of the United Kingdom; its wealth was certainly not more than one-twentieth. Its civil administration, in spite of this great disproportion in wealth, is carried on at a relatively much higher cost, and it needs for the maintenance of order and in support of the imperial rule a very large police and military force. The financial result is that the cost of the administration and control of Ireland, civil and military, is greater than its payment in taxes to the Exchequer, and that consequently it does not really contribute anything either to the payment of the national debt, or to the support of the imperial forces, which are required for the maintenance generally of our colonial empire and the protection of our vast trade and commerce.

This financial position of Ireland relatively to Great Britain will fairly raise the question whether, if local autonomy be conceded to the former, it will be necessary and expedient to maintain its representation in the Imperial Parliament, or its voice in the determination of a policy to the cost of which it makes no contribution. The possibility of relieving the British House of Commons from the presence of Irish members may, when the alternative is presented to them, induce

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many to prefer an arrangement, even though it should entail some greater risk, and is more open to theoretical objection.

The other method is that based on the federal principle; where Ireland, while receiving large powers of autonomy, would still retain a representation in the Imperial Parliament. If this method were adopted in principle, it is probable that the best solution of it would be found in the precedents afforded by the relations of the Dominion of Canada to its provinces, and of Hungary to Croatia. In the first of these the powers of government are distributed and balanced with very great skill, and, as experience has shown, with the happiest results. There can be no essentially greater differences between the Catholic population of Ireland, with its separatist feelings, and its national sentiments, and incompatibility of temper, with reference to the people of Great Britain, than in the case of the French Catholics of Canada and the Anglo-Saxon Protestants of the other provinces. The working out in detail of such an arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland would present difficulties, not indeed insuperable, but numerous and serious. Unless we assume that Scotland and perhaps Wales are, without any demand on their part having arisen, to be dealt with in the same manner, we should have Ireland alone with a special local Government, and yet represented in the Parliament of Great Britain for common and imperial purposes. Are its members in this Parliament to be excluded from taking part in purely English and Scotch questions? and if so, by what process? by legal enactment or by the regulation of Parliament itself? How would their presence affect the position of ministries? Suppose a Government with a majority when the Irish members were present, and in a minority when they were absent, how would its responsibility to Parliament be determined?

Assuming that this solution is the preferable one, the questions arise, What shall be the relation of the central Government and the Imperial Parliament to the local administration and local Parliament of Ireland? Are we to adopt the Canadian or the American method? Is the central Government to retain a veto over the local legislation of Ireland? How is the connection between the two Governments to be maintained? With respect to the Irish local Government and administration, what is to be its relation to the local Parliament? Are the heads of the local administration to be responsible to the local Parliament and members of it? Is, in fact, responsible government and Cabinet government on the English model to be carried out, or are we to adopt the American system of a governor elected by universal suffrage with the right to appoint ministers independent of the Legislature? Is the local Parliament to be composed of one or of two chambers; and if of one only, are any of its members to be nominated by the Crown? Is the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament to be maintained at its present number? and if reduced, on

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what principle with respect to the wealth and the contribution of Ireland?

These and many other important questions necessarily arise; and above all we have the question whether we should make it a part of the operation that the landlords should have the right to claim compensation for their land, and whether English credit should be used for this purpose. I do not propose, however, to frame a plan for settling this grave matter; my present object is rather to point out the questions that must arise, and to show that in their solution we may learn much from the examples I have referred to.

Another lesson we may learn, quite as important, is that such arrangements are best arrived at, and perhaps can alone be safely arrived at, if a permanent settlement is desired, by agreement with the chiefs or representatives of the people to be dealt with. The settlement should take the form of a solemn compact; it must necessarily be a compromise where much is conceded on both sides; but the compromise should be made by the leaders of the two people and should be presented with all their authority to the people they represent.

It was thus that the Canadian Confederation was carried. It was in the same way that a settlement was effected between Austria and Hungary, and between Hungary and Croatia. For all these objects the authority which Mr. Parnell has acquired over his followers and over the Irish people is of the utmost importance and value. Without such agreement no settlement would be a permanent one, and for this reason many minor forms of local government which have been suggested would be useless, as they would not only not settle the question, but would only make it easier to raise further demands.

The illustrations further show how greatly the weight and authority of the statesmen charged with such a task would be increased, if they had the support of the whole of Parliament, and not only that of their own party. It is to be feared that this will be wanting to any arrangement now to be made, or to any negotiations which may be entered upon. Yet there is some reason to believe that many of the leaders of the Tory party do not substantially differ from their great rival in their views as to what should now be done. Many recent statements of Lord Salisbury tend to show that he, at least, appreciated the importance of concession, and that he would not object to borrow much from the American Constitution (which he never alludes to without special commendation) if he could thereby settle the Irish question. It is difficult to believe that the late Government, when they refused to renew the clauses of the Coercion Act, which Lord Spencer considered to be necessary to

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preserve order, and when they sent as Lord Lieutenant the statesman who had carried through Parliament the Act for the Canadian Confederation, and the more recent but abortive scheme for South African Confederation, had not some intention of moving in this direction for Ireland, if the new Parliament should contain a majority sufficient to enable them to act boldly and independently. It cannot be supposed that Lord Carnarvon went to Ireland with the intention of being a mere stopgap, and of running away at the moment of difficulty, when the necessity for action or legislation, and for deciding between such momentous alternatives as Coercion or Conciliation, should arise. It will be interesting to know his views, and the result of his inquiries as to the government of Ireland.

One other argument may perhaps have some avail with those who are about to rush into a party conflict, and to do their best to ruin and prevent a policy of conciliation; it is this: that if once a great scheme for giving autonomy to Ireland is propounded to Parliament by the leader of the Liberal party, supported by the bulk of his party, even allowing for many defections, and if this scheme meets with the approval of the Irish people, it is absolutely certain—as certain as anything can be in political affairs—that no alternative policy of coercion will ever again be possible to the opposing party, even if they should succeed in defeating the measure and the Government. The Irish, when they have the moral support of one of the great parties of state to their claims, would thenceforward be justified in going to lengths, which I should be sorry to hint at, in resisting the alternative policy of coercive laws. The only effect, then, of defeating such a measure would be to entail upon the victors the responsibility of producing an alternative measure with the same object, or perhaps a wider and more thorough one. If I were to venture to predict what will happen in the event of the Tories succeeding in defeating a scheme founded on one of the two methods of dealing with the question to which I have referred, it would be that the Tory party, when again in office and responsible for the government of Ireland, would find itself compelled to propose and carry a scheme founded on the other method. If the federal scheme should be adopted by Mr. Gladstone, the Tories would probably find that when once the principle of autonomy is adopted they would prefer the other and more advanced scheme, under which the Irish members would no longer be represented in the Imperial Parliament, and they would make this a special merit of their settlement. If, on the other hand, Mr. Gladstone should propose a scheme based on the colonial principle, it would be more open to attack as interfering with the unity of the Empire, and when defeated its opponents would make a merit of proposing a plan based on federation.

This suggestion is made in no spirit of party cynicism, but is based on the conviction that when once a scheme is launched by

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either of the two great parties of England for conceding autonomy to Ireland, the other will by force of circumstances be compelled eventually to admit the principle, and the question will then become one of form only, and one of degree, on which there may still be differences of opinion and difference of methods. The English mind moves slowly at the commencement of such questions; it is not imaginative or speculative; it embraces with reluctance a new idea; but when once it begins to move, it acquires momentum rapidly; and solutions become possible to statesmen, which but a short time previously appeared remote or impossible.

The highest quality of statesmanship is that which enables a leader to appreciate the moment when this first impulse can be given. Nothing in the past half-century has been more remarkable than the manner in which the great Liberal chief, rising to the necessities of the hour, at a time when his political career must be approaching its end, came to the conclusion almost alone that this great question must be solved; having done so, he set about to convert to his views his colleagues, his party, and his countrymen, with a result already most surprising, and which is pregnant of success in the future.

G. Shaw Lefevre.

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II.

IN AUSTRIA.

THE lands situate to the east of the Elbe and of the junction of the Enns and the Danube were occupied in the ninth century by Sclavonic tribes, and formed the Great Moravian Empire, where Christianity was preached by the Eastern apostles, Cyril and Methodius: the two apostles whom the Roman Curia—not satisfied with the canonisation of Dr. Fisher and Sir Thomas More—has recently sought to add to the Calendar of the Saints of the Church. Between the pressure of the Teutonic population eastward—the first beginning of the *Drang nach Osten*—and the westward invasion of the Magyars, this Moravian Empire in the tenth century went to pieces. Like two thunderstorms, the Magyar and the Teuton met. The great battle fought near Augsburg in 955 convinced the Magyar that he had found an antagonist before whom even his own fierce chivalry and consummate obstinacy must pause. The rival races then became fixed along the lines where, upon the whole, they are still to be found to-day, and sundered the Sclavonic peoples, who had been united in the Moravian Empire, into two divisions, separated by the solid wall formed by the German population of Austria, Styria and Carniola, by the Magyar population of Hungary, and by the Wallach or Rouman population, which at an uncertain period of history occupied the countries between the Maros and the Black Sea—the territories now known as Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia—and constituted a further bar to the union of all the Sclaves in one great geographical area. This separation of the Sclaves into two isolated masses is the first great fact which at the present day lies at the root of the difficulties which trouble the East. The peculiar characteristics of the Magyar population added a second. Being essentially a pastoral people, they were content to occupy the great central plain between the Carpathian Mountains and the Alps, leaving the Sclavonic population on the higher lands around them. Consequently the Magyar population of Hungary has no good geographical frontiers. Imagine a white saucer with a broad coloured rim, and the reader will have no unfair idea of the distribution of the Magyar and non-Magyar populations in the lands of the crown of St. Stephen. But the geographical separation of the Sclaves into two masses had itself also an important result. The northern Sclaves,

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the Poles, and Czechs of Moravia and Bohemia, became subject to the influence of the Church of Rome; the southern Sclaves, with the exception of the Slovenes and a majority of the Croats, remained in communion with the Greek Orthodox Church. These ethnographic and religious difficulties were further increased as time went on. A Magyar colony of the toughest description, known as the Szeklers, planted itself on the extreme limits of Transylvania, where to this day it has successfully withstood, even in the matter of language, the attempts of the surrounding Rouman population to absorb it. The settlement of large bodies of German industrial settlers in the towns of the same province, while it brought civilisation and culture amongst the rudest of the Christian populations of the East, thereby added one more element to the confusion of race and language, which was further increased by the coast towns of Istria, Dalmatia, and Croatia becoming Italianised through the influence of commerce. The contests of the Reformation had the consequence of introducing a strong Catholic German element into Bohemia, a country which in the days of Huss had seemed likely to become a Sclavonic Protestant power, and of creating a considerable Protestant body in Hungary, while the long struggle with the Turks had, amongst other results, the effect of driving considerable bodies of Sclaves, belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church, into Croatia, where they are still settled along the southern frontier. Each deluge, in fact, added something to the political strata.

History at any early date finds the German, the Sclav, and the Magyar, engaged in a series of struggles, to terminate which nothing less than the existence of an overwhelming common danger was necessary. But the preliminary question had first to be settled, which of the contending races was best entitled to the hegemony in the hour of danger, and the answer to this question carries with it the explanation of how Austria was invented.

The name of Austria—Oesterreich—the Empire of the East, is said to be found for the first time in a document bearing the signature of the Emperor Otho the Third towards the close of the tenth century. But the territory thereby designated had no certain limits, nor any history distinct from that of the great Teutonic kingdom of which it formed the Eastern March; till after the tide of the Magyar invasion had been definitively checked, it was reconstituted under the Counts of Babenberg, the name of whose family still survives in the Bavarian town of Bamberg. Their territory comprised the lands lying on the Danube now known as Upper and Lower Austria and situated between Bohemia and Moravia on the north, Bavaria on the west, Carinthia on the south, and Hungary on the east. This margraviate was raised into a duchy by Frederic Barbarossa in the time of Henry Jasomirgott, and freed from the suzerainty it had till then owed to Bavaria, at whose expense it received a considerable territorial enlargement. The

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Babenberg dynasty lasted till 1246. But before it terminated it had, in 1192, made an acquisition of immense importance by getting possession of the duchy of Styria, together with a portion of Carniola. The acquisition was not by conquest, but by inheritance, and the first step was thereby taken in that long career of peaceful acquisition whereby the Austrian State, as distinct from the duchy of Austria, has gradually taken shape. A century earlier the house of Arpad, which ruled Hungary, had made an equally important addition to the limits of its sway, through the election of the king of Hungary to the crown of Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia. Hungary thereby obtained access to the sea. But there was this difference between the two acquisitions: Styria was German, Croatia was Sclavonic. The first therefore was the addition of a homogeneous territory; the second was the reverse, while the circumstances under which the former crown of the Sclavonic kings was finally fixed on the brow of their Hungarian rivals were so full of dissension and strife, that it was an open question how far the acquisition was the result of conquest or of compact; and to this day the dispute whether the kingdom of Croatia is *pars adnexa* or *regnum socium* is the groundwork of an endless controversy of which the last has not yet been heard either at Pesth or at Agram, though the question is eight centuries old.

On the death of Frederic the Warlike, the Duke of Austria, who imprisoned King Richard Cœur de Lion in the castle of Dürrenstein on his return from the Holy Land, the Austrian dominions passed by marriage to Ottokar Premsyl the Second, the greatest of the native race of Bohemian kings, whose elder brother Vladislas had married Gertrude, the daughter of Frederic. But the union of Austria and Bohemia at this period was momentary only, for the struggle for supremacy in Germany which ensued between Ottokar and the Emperor Rodolph of Hapsburg led to their separation. The vast plains on the north of the Danube near Kressenbrunn, where in modern days Napoleon first found an adversary worthy of his skill in the Archduke Charles, became the scene of the shock of contending nations. The German, allied to the Magyar, triumphed over the Czech, and Rodolph obtained the Austrian dominions as the price of victory. Under his successors the course of territorial aggrandisement was pushed forward and steadily continued, even though at times the different lands themselves were for a time divided among more than one member of the ducal house. The duchy of Carinthia and the rest of Carniola, the counties of Tyrol and Goritz, and the lordship of the city of Trieste, were successively acquired, with numerous minor districts, which one by one fell like so many flies into the mouth of a spider, and gave the dukes of Austria a continuous territory from Vienna to the Istrian sea. These acquisitions were nearly all made in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The weight and influence thereby acquired made the House of Austria the natural champion of Europe against

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the Turks, of Catholicism against the Reformation, and of Germany against the encroaching policy of the French kings; and, by a succession of events which it does not come within the limits of this article to describe, rendered the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary hereditary in it upon certain conditions, after the battle of Mohacz against the Turks, in which Louis the Second, king of both those countries, had perished, with nearly all that was great and illustrious in the two kingdoms.

War—long, fierce, and determined—against the infidel without and the Protestant within, is the leading feature of the succeeding period. No fact seems more generally to have dropped out of historical recollection than the immense hold which the Reformation obtained in its earlier stages on the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria. As in every European country, the Reformed religion and political liberty were inseparable companions,[1] and the new tenets found many of their strongest supporters among the members of the Provincial Estates or Diets, which met in each of the Hereditary Provinces or Crown Lands, and were composed in the main of the holders of knightly fees, with the addition of a certain number of representatives from the principal municipal towns and of the high ecclesiastics. When the Reformed religion had everywhere, except in Hungary, been stamped out by the success of the counter-reformation, devised by the Jesuits and directed by Ferdinand the Second, it became the settled policy of the House of Hapsburg to curtail, and if possible to destroy, the privileges of the Diets, and thereby prevent their development into real popular assemblies, of which, under the influence of the Reformed doctrines, there had been so many inconvenient symptoms. Deprived of all political backbone by the ruin of the Protestant nobles and towns, the Diets gradually became the docile instruments of Leopold and Joseph the First, and, losing all power of self-reform, finally degenerated into the last refuge of antiquated abuses. In this condition of affairs, the keen eye of the Empress Maria Theresa, anxious to weld her provinces into a centralised State like France, detected her advantage. She accordingly commenced a steady course of warfare against them, first limiting, then destroying their privileges. Hitherto they had possessed the right of making the laws imposing indirect taxation. This right was now denied them. The budgets which had been under their own exclusive control were ordered to be submitted to the approval of the Board of Account and Audit, at Vienna. The standing committees chosen out of their own number, by means of the appointment of which they had possessed the right of controlling the administration within the province, if not of actually keeping it in their own hands, were suppressed. Lieutenants and intendants were sent to replace the local treasurers and collectors from Vienna; the Diets were strictly confined to voting the taxes asked for by the

[1] See Ranke, vol. ii., pp. 10–28, 415–430; Miss Austin's translation, ed. 1840.

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government; and the taxes so imposed were collected by the Imperial Civil Service, and paid directly into the Imperial Exchequer at Vienna, which became a department of the Imperial Chancellery, into which even the independent Chancellery of Bohemia, hitherto a separate office, was merged. The old local courts of justice were also abolished, and an incorporated body of magistrates, with its head-quarters at Vienna, was organised to replace it. On all these questions the opposition of the members of the local Diets was paralysed by the identification of the members with the maintenance of the abuses of the feudal land system and other unpopular privileges. Armed with the formidable weapon given to her by her adversaries, the energetic Empress was able to proclaim herself a popular reformer, and, backed by public opinion, she in a few brief years swept away a whole mass of cumbrous and antiquated customs. A new land law freed the peasantry from at least the worst of the abuses in their tenure, and a criminal code was passed, which, barbarous as many of its provisions may appear at the present day, was nevertheless an immense step in advance, as it abolished torture, put a practical end to prosecutions for witchcraft, limited the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, rendered penal the interference of the clergy with the making of wills, and, though not interfering with the educational activity of the Jesuits, placed it under State control. 'Das Schulwesen ist und bleibt ein Politicum.' Such is the language of an Imperial order of the 24th of September, 1770, and in these words lies the key to the whole policy of the Empress. There were very few things which in her view were not to be 'politica'—in other words, within the sphere of the central Government. The same objects were held in view by the Emperor Joseph the Second, who devoted his especial energy to the destruction of the privileges of the towns and their submission to Imperial bailiffs. He also destroyed whatever remained of the rights of the Diets, and introduced further reforms in a liberal direction into the laws relating to land tenure and the criminal code. It is the fashion to speak of the work of the Emperor Joseph as having failed, and having had to be abandoned. This, however, is only true within certain limits. He failed in Hungary and in the Austrian Low Countries, in both of which he was opposed by men trained in the school of political resistance; but in the Austrian Crown Lands his work was permanent; the general result being that, while the German half of the dominions of the House of Hapsburg lost all political liberty, the material and social condition of the masses of the people was immensely improved. In Hungary, on the other hand, the old *régime* on the whole held its ground. Its very abuses came to be identified with patriotic resistance to the foreigner, thereby obtaining a long lease of life, and adjourning the era of reform till men arose like Kossuth and Deak, who understood that, if the

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freedom of the country was to be permanently maintained against force and fraud, the masses of the people must be given a tangible interest in the struggle, and be identified with it.

The possible future of the Diets, had they been allowed to develop and reform themselves, is an interesting problem. Carlyle has attempted to overwhelm them with ridicule, denouncing them as mere talking-shops, nor does he conceal his satisfaction at their practical destruction in another part of Germany by a monarch of a totally different character from Ferdinand the Second. As a matter of fact, however, there is no evidence—nor indeed does Carlyle attempt to adduce any—that these assemblies were particularly given to loquacity or waste of time. Their disappearance before the clerical despots of the seventeenth century and the reforming despots of the eighteenth, and the consequent interruption of the normal development of free institutions in every European country except England and Hungary, deprived the people of whatever chance they might otherwise have had of political training, and left them to be the victims of alternate outbreaks of democratic revolution and military despotism.

The period which followed the death of Joseph the Second was not favourable to the restoration of political liberty. The excesses of the French Revolution discredited the popular cause on the Continent, and the anarchy in Poland, carefully fostered by foreign enemies, led to the destruction of another of the old free constitutions of Europe, at the very moment when the party of progress in that country, influenced by French ideas, was beginning to be a power in the Diet; a fact thoroughly understood by the rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who were determined that, whatever else might happen, an Oriental Paris should not be established in Warsaw.

Amid the din of the early Napoleonic wars the voice of the patriot and the statesman was silenced, and the apparent success which had crowned the centralising policy of Maria Theresa encouraged the Court of Vienna to annex the Italian possessions of the old Republic of Venice and Lombardy to the Austrian crown. But the partition of Poland and the annexation of Northern Italy had a consequence which the authors of these transactions failed to foresee. A large body of men who had inherited some of the traditions of independence and some notion of the right of resistance were thereby brought within the inert mass of the Empire. It is said that whenever a disturbance was reported from any portion of the realm, Metternich used to say: 'Cherchez le Polonais.' Meanwhile the Diets slumbered and slept. A traveller in Bohemia thus describes a meeting of one of those ghostly assemblies at Prague in the early days of the present century:—

It was the 15th of August (he says) and the Diet of the kingdom was then sitting. The avenues to the Imperial castle, the courtyards, and the staircase

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which leads into the sitting-chamber were lined with the national guards. The saloon is a square chamber with two entrances. Opposite the one through which the members of the Diet enter a platform is raised, on which a chair is placed, the whole surmounted by a canopy which was elevated; the Supreme Burggrave, as President of the Diet, being only a count by birth; had he been a prince, it would have been lowered. When the Imperial Commissaries entered, the whole assembly rose. The Supreme Burggrave, standing under the canopy, descended the three steps, and complimented them; after which the members of the Diet took their seats. To the right hand sat the Archbishop, as Primate of the kingdom, covered with his pallium, and decorated with the insignia of an Imperial order; next to him, three bishops in their purple robes; the abbots, in black or white silk gowns, with gold chains and crosses. The benches in front of the canopy were occupied by the lords of the kingdom; the second order dressed in their national costume—a red coat, richly embroidered with silver, epaulettes of the same, white breeches, silk stockings, and a three-cornered hat with bullions. Many of them bore orders; almost all the insignia of an Imperial chamberlain—a golden key. The knights occupied the benches on the left, and were dressed in the same manner. The representatives of the city were in black.

The Supreme Burggrave addressed at first the Prince-Archbishop and the spiritual lords, in the Bohemian language; then the temporal lords of the kingdom, princes, counts, and barons; afterwards the knights (Ritterstand), and, last, the representatives of the cities. Then, complimentary addresses being over, one of the secretaries read the Imperial proposition respecting the taxes to be laid upon the kingdom for the ensuing year. They were received in silence with a low bow. The Supreme Burggrave asked finally whether any of the members had to propose matters respecting the good of the kingdom. A deep silence reigned throughout the splendid assembly: at last the Burggrave thanked them in the name of their august sovereign for their ready attendance, and the assembly broke up.

'This pageant,' the writer continues, 'is the remains of the constitution which Bohemia enjoyed for more than 300 years: its form is still the same, but the spirit is gone. Regularly there are two Diets held every year: Postulate and Extraordinary Diets. For both, the Imperial invitation is issued to the different members, viz. the prelates of the kingdom as the first order, composed of the archbishop of Prague, the bishops of Leitmeritz, Königgrätz and Budweis, with several abbots. The second are the lords possessed of domains, whose number may amount to a hundred. The knights possessed of domains constitute the third class. The fourth are the four cities, Prague, Budweis, Pilzen, and Königgrätz, whose citizens have the right to buy or possess domains, and the privilege of being represented by their burgomasters and aldermen. Two commissaries from among the lords and knights are chosen by the emperor to represent him. They are brought in the state carriage and six of the Supreme Burggrave to the sitting chamber. The real power of the States is now limited to the repartition of the taxes, and a certain jurisdiction which they still exercise through a committee of eight members, chosen from among the four orders, and confirmed by the Emperor. The Austrian monarchs thought it necessary to spare the feelings of a nobility and a nation which cling with cherishing fondness to their ancient liberty, or rather national existence; for it is but fair to state that

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the condition of the peasantry has been improved, especially since the times of Joseph. The real constitutional liberty before rested entirely in the hands of the nobility.'[2]

The impetus given by the events of 1814–15 to a revival of national feeling caused the first beginnings of a reaction against the *régime* of centralisation. In the Tirol, by a statute of the 24th of March, 1816, in Galicia by a patent of the 13th of April, 1817, and in Salzburg by a statute of 1826, the Diets were reconstituted; but the powers accorded to them were of the slightest, and, though similar concessions were made in the other Crown Lands, the events of 1848 still found the government of the Austrian Empire consisting of a huge system of bureaucratic centralisation, engaged in the direction of a heterogeneous assembly of peoples, speaking different languages, and imbued with various historical traditions, in only one of which—Hungary—had the mediæval liberties succeeded in escaping the general destruction. But even in Hungary the Diet had only met twice since 1812. Metternich, having studied the English constitution in order to learn how to destroy it, had made the ingenious discovery that the taxes once collected could be spent without any appropriation by the Diet, as in the days of the Tudors and the early Stuarts, and that the expenses of billeting the army on the population were not matters necessarily requiring a money vote. The constitution existed in theory; in practice it was constantly evaded, and the army was the real ruler of the country.

In the Hereditary Provinces, or Crown Lands, public opinion was divided between those who wished to reform on the basis of the autonomy of the several provinces, and make Austria practically a Federal State, and those who wished to make her a centralised but liberal State, in which the German element should preponderate. The movement of 1848 and 1849 in Austria and Hungary differed accordingly from those which took place at the same date in other European countries, inasmuch as the contest was not between an old-established despotism and modern ideas contending for supremacy within the limits of a homogeneous kingdom, but between the former and a medley of races animated by different and even opposite aspirations, some liberal, others reactionary. The result was that the Court of Vienna was able to play one part of its subjects off against the other, with the most fatal results to all. In apportioning to each his share of the responsibility for the ultimate failure of the Revolution of 1848–49, it would not be easy to say on whose shoulders most blame should lie—on the revolutionary party in Vienna, for their violence and want of sense; or on the leaders of the ultra-Magyar party, for continuing to seek from 1830 onwards to force their own ideas and language on the Sclavonic and Rouman populations of the kingdom; or on the Croat and Czech generals, who, while declaring that they

[2] *Austria as it is.* 1828. By an Eye-witness.

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desired equality of rights for all, became something which strongly resembled the willing dupes and docile instruments of the Court, and helped to destroy political liberty altogether in the shambles where perished Robert Blum, and Messenhauser, and Louis Batthyany, and other leading men of German and Hungarian nationality.

On the 25th of April, 1848, the Emperor promulgated a constitution for the German and Sclavonic provinces, based on the Belgian constitution. But the pressure of events made it a dead letter, and on the 15th of May an Imperial patent appeared, convoking a Constituent Assembly to revise it. Immediately after the Revolution broke out. The events of June and July, 1848, in Bohemia and Croatia, were a partial and ill-defined attempt of the Sclavonic party to assert their own independence, with Prague and Agram as the capitals of a north and a south Sclavonic kingdom, ruled by the head of the House of Hapsburg. This movement was crushed by the troops of Windischgrätz. Then followed the attempt of the Hungarian Diet and of the Vienna Radical party to overthrow the old system altogether, but with a too exclusive eye to German and Magyar interests. The siege of Vienna and the Hungarian war of independence followed. The Sclavonic regiments of Jellachich ended the struggle. They destroyed the hopes of the Hungarian and the German, but for the cause of Sclavonic liberty they gained absolutely nothing, except the hatred of those whose fathers they had butchered.

As the military struggle was still raging around the walls of Vienna, the Constituent Assembly, which had been originally summoned to the capital by the Emperor in hot haste, in order, if possible, to stave off the crisis, was ordered to quit the city and to meet in October in the ancient city of Kremsier, where it proceeded to appoint a committee to draw up the draft of a constitution for the Crown Lands, but without including Hungary in the category, as it was not represented, and was therefore considered not to be within the legitimate purview of the deliberations. The sittings of this body, carried on as they were amid the noise of contending hosts, attracted little attention outside the limits of the countries immediately affected; but, judged by the light of subsequent events, they at least appear to have been conducted in a far more practical spirit than those of the deputies of all Germany, who had assembled in the Paulskirche at Frankfurt. After some negotiations a union, based on mutual concessions, was agreed upon by the majority of the Sclavonic and German members; the former, with the exception of Dr. Palatsky, the famous Czech historian, consenting to abate somewhat of their extreme national aspirations, and to co-operate with the German members in obtaining liberal reforms at the expense of the clerical, military, and bureaucratic absolutism; while the latter also consented to make concessions, and give up the stiff doctrinaire views of a pronounced anti-national

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type which the German reformers had inherited from the school of Joseph the Second. On the 2nd of March, 1849, the committee had agreed to their report. The Assembly was known to be ready to accept it, and the 13th was fixed for its final discussion. But while the committee had been labouring, so had the generals and diplomatists, and after the treaty stipulating for the entry of the Russian troops into Hungary, the military party once more felt itself master of the situation. On the 7th of March, accordingly, the members of the Assembly became aware that the approaches to their place of meeting were blockaded by troops, and shortly after they ascertained that warrants of apprehension were out against most of the Liberal leaders. Stadion, the House Minister, a man credited with liberal views and enjoying some popularity from his former co-operation in the military reforms of the Archduke Charles, discovered in the absence of the Hungarians from the assembly a constitutional ground of action, sufficient, in his opinion, to satisfy his own conscience in consenting to be a party to these violent proceedings, while he was further deluded by being allowed to issue a paper constitution for the whole empire, including Hungary, together with an array of projected statutes of more or less liberal appearance. But nobody believed that, after the surrender at Vilagos, with the leaders of liberal opinion in Germany flying for their lives, with the Pope reinstated in Rome, with Haynau victorious in Hungary, and Radetzky triumphant in Italy, anything serious would come of the plans of the minister, whose mind, shaken by disappointment and vexation, shortly after gave way. The paper constitution, of which he was the author, was then put into a pigeon-hole, and finally received its obsequy in a circular from the Premier, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, on the last day of December, 1851.[3]

The ten following years are the period of strict bureaucratic centralisation for ever associated with the name of the Minister of the Interior, Alexander Bach, who, after beginning life as a Radical, devoted his abilities to crushing every aspiration of a progressive character, whether German, Hungarian, or Sclavonic, whether political, national, or religious, whether historical or modern. At home the army and the police kept down the physical energies of the population, while the Concordat with Rome sat heavy on men's souls. Abroad Austria crushed the liberties of Italy with one hand, and those of Germany with the other. A huge reactionary spider's web seemed spread over central Europe and Italy from Vienna, where Bach was ensconced in his glory. It required the Italian war and the collapse of the material forces on which he had relied to destroy this cunningly organised system. The blow was some time in coming, but when delivered was as effectual as it was sudden. From the

[3] As to these events, see Von Rogge, *Œsterreich von Vilagos bis zur Gegenwarth.*

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campaign of Magenta and Solferino it was impossible to recover. Absolutism had been tried, and had irremediably failed, though supported by arms of precision and blessed with holy water. The unpopular minister was dismissed and appointed ambassador to Rome. Count Goluchowski, a Pole, who had gained some reputation as an administrator in Galicia, but was on the whole not much known outside his own province, stepped into his place as Minister of the Interior. The era of change had begun.

An important evolution at this period made itself felt in the ranks of the feudal and clerical party. Hitherto they had been the chief supporters of the Court and the bureaucratic *régime*; but now, foreseeing that the old system was doomed, they began to show a tendency, which subsequent events have developed, to throw in their lot with the Federalist party, in the belief that legislation by the local Diets would be more favourable to their views than legislation by a central Parliament at Vienna, in which the views of the German Liberal party were likely to have a majority, especially on questions connected with religion and education. The new Minister of the Interior was believed to view their plans with favour.

On the 5th of March, 1860, an Imperial rescript appeared by which thirty-eight members, chosen so as to represent the different Crown Lands of the Empire, were added to the Imperial Council. Their mandate was to last for six years, though without legislative power. They were to have the budget and all Imperial legislation submitted to them, and were to meet periodically. But on the 11th of May Garibaldi landed at Marsala, and the events which followed in the summer quickened the slow pulse of the Austrian reformer. In the enlarged Council three of the leaders of the Hungarian Conservative party who were summoned had consented to sit—Count Apponyi, Baron Mailath, and Count Barköczy. They had not been there a week before they showed the value of the parliamentary traditions of their country by reducing its deliberations to a dead lock by means of a clever coalition. The Council had been packed with Imperial nominees representing the feudal and clerical interests in the Crown Lands, a few Liberals being put in to keep up appearances. But the feudal and clerical parties, as just stated, feared nothing so much as the German Liberal party, because the German Liberal party wanted a Parliament based on a representative system for the whole of the Crown Lands, with the view of introducing reforms. The feudal and clerical parties, therefore, at once appeared as the champions of the historic rights of the Crown Lands. The Hungarian members saw their opportunity. Though for a different set of reasons, they also declared the Council incompetent, and on the 26th of September the united parties carried an address to the Emperor in that sense. On the Hungarian side of the Leitha, this address meant practically everything for which the nation had struggled. But on the Austrian side

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it was far otherwise. There the German Liberals feared that the restoration of the Diets might simply mean the confirmation of the rule of the noble, the monk, and the sacristan, except perhaps in Lower Austria, by means of the votes of ignorant peasants in hole-and-corner local assemblies.

Public expectation had not long to wait. On the 20th of October another Imperial patent appeared by which it was announced that a Reichsrath, to be chosen from among the members of the Diets, was about to be summoned. A compromise of the ideas of the national and central parties was evidently aimed at; but the views of the former had on the whole prevailed, as was to be expected from the known views of the Minister of the Interior and from the recent vote of the Council of the Empire.

The legislative powers of the State were declared to be divided between this Central Parliament or Reichsrath and the Diets. The business of the Empire was to fall under three heads; the first of which was to comprise the matters common to all the Crown Lands and also to Hungary, the Diet of which was for these purposes to send delegates to the Parliament. This class of business was to comprise the army, navy, the currency, the ports, railways and telegraphs, commercial treaties, and the financial arrangements connected with these subjects; the second class was to include certain other heads of business which had always been common to the Crown Lands other than Hungary, and was to be dealt with by the delegates of the former alone. It was not clearly stated what these subjects were, though the question was vital. The third class included everything not comprised in the other two, and was to be dealt with by the local Diets—in Hungary, it was expressly added, according to the ancient constitution of the kingdom. Such were the principal provisions of the document known in history as the *October Diploma*.

In order to mark clearly the important part which the Diets were intended to play, the Ministries of Justice of the Interior and of Public Worship were abolished, the subjects with which they dealt being about, so it was stated, to be relegated to the decision of the local assemblies and to the authorities of the several Crown Lands.

The first question was, How would the plan be received in Hungary? Great concessions had been made to win support. The whole *personnel* of the Hungarian administration had been nationalised, and the county assemblies declared to be in possession of their ancient rights and privileges. To meet the demands of the national party, the Banat of Temesvar and the Servian Woivodina were proclaimed to be an integral part of the kingdom, though Croatia and Transylvania were not so recognised. Not only were the highest official places given to those who, like Vay, now created Chancellor, and Apponyi, the new Judex Curiæ, had prominently identified themselves with the earlier stages of the movement of 1848, but room

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was found even for many of those who had taken an active part in the revolutionary war. The exiles returned from abroad, and a general amnesty was proclaimed. But, great as were these concessions, they were not sufficient. The constitutional liberalism of the country, under the guidance of Deak and Eötvös, refused to recognise the Central Parliament, which had originated in the mere will of the Emperor, and therefore ignored the sovereign independence of the kingdom of Hungary and the reforming legislation of 1848. The Hungary that was to be restored, it was said, was apparently to be the Hungary of 1847; the land of aristocratic privileges and feudal exactions. The more violent orators declared in the county assemblies which the October Diploma had restored to life that a plot existed between Goluchowski and the Hungarian magnates to destroy the liberties of the country. They further objected to the interference in the question of the treatment to be accorded to the languages of the kingdom, other than the Magyar, which was inculcated in an Imperial letter to the Chancellor:—

> As I have ordained (said this letter) that the Hungarian shall be the official and business language of the judicial and political authorities in Hungary, I now direct that the town and country communes shall be at liberty to employ what language they please in business matters. The authorities will have to reply to petitions, &c., in the language which may be used by the applicants; the judicial and political authorities will also have to issue their orders in the language most commonly used by the people to whom such orders are addressed. . . . I am resolved not to allow any kind of pressure to be used in regard to language, and will energetically oppose any attempt to make mischief between the different nationalities.

It was also announced that the claims of the deputies from Croatia to the union of Dalmatia to that kingdom would be favourably considered by the Emperor. All this was so much gall and wormwood to the ultra-Magyar party.

Meanwhile Goluchowski had proceeded to publish a series of statutes for the organisation of the communal assemblies in the hereditary provinces of Austria, and for the election of the members of the local Diets, and other kindred matters. The exact functions of the Parliament, however, still remained to be defined, and this point was crucial. The financial confusion also grew worse confounded, and events abroad kept moving with a wonderful regularity in a direction hostile to the hopes of the reaction. By September 1860 Garibaldi's success in the south of Italy was no longer doubtful, and on the 18th of that month the battle of Castel Fidardo was fought. The clerical party was utterly confounded, and at last began to see it was beaten beyond all hope. It was felt on all sides that a more vigorous hand than that of the bureaucratic and rather clerical Goluchowski was needed at the helm. On the 13th of December he resigned. Count Schmerling, a German statesman who had played a distinguished part in the days of the Frankfurt Parliament,

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and was credited with liberal views, was his successor. His first official act was a circular in which it was stated that the duties to be assigned to the Parliament would be important, and that the sittings must be public and the members be elective. The suppressed Ministries were also restored. An Imperial Council of State, consisting of all the ministers, was called into being, and by a new set of provincial statutes the franchise for the election of the members of the Diets was given to everybody who paid a certain amount in direct taxes.

On the 26th of February, 1861, the views of the ministers appeared in detail in the document known as the *February Patent*, in which the ideas of the Kremsier Constituent Assembly in regard to the position of the hereditary Provinces reappeared. This document, and its immediate forerunner, the October Diploma, afford the key to the whole tangled history of the subsequent period, each being the flag of the views of one of the two parties which have since contended for predominance in Austria. The October Diploma is the expression of the views of those who would give to the local Diets as large a share of power as possible; the February Patent represents the ideas of those who would limit the rights of the Diets and extend those of the Reichsrath; the former is the charter of the Federalists, the latter of the Centralists; each made some concessions to the views of the other; both failed to satisfy the Hungarians, because both failed to recognise the separate and distinct position of Hungary as a kingdom, and claimed to treat that country as simply one of the hereditary States and nothing more.

The February Patent aimed, on the one hand, at applying to Austria some at least of those ideas which prevailed in most other modern States; it was to mark definitely the end of the reign of the ideas of Metternich and of Bach. On the other hand, it had the same end in view as the bureaucratic system which it partially displaced, in so far as the object of those who framed it was to check national aspirations, except among the German sections of the population. It proposed the institution of an elective and constitutional Assembly, consisting of two Houses. The new Upper House was to consist of the princes of the Imperial family, and of certain high ecclesiastical functionaries sitting *virtute officii*; the remainder were to be nominated by the Emperor, some with hereditary titles, others to seats for life only. The members of the Lower House were to be chosen by the local Diets, which were themselves to consist of members chosen under a tolerably high franchise by direct election in the towns, and by indirect election in the rural districts; and of the representatives of the Chambers of Commerce, and of the large landowners voting in separate colleges. The districts were by way of being divided so as to give a fair representation to the different sections of the population; in reality, care was taken to secure the

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predominance of the German vote, to which the limited franchise was also favourable.

The members of the lower house were allotted among the seventeen hereditary crown lands. Hungary was to have eighty-five members, who, however, were only to attend when the interests common to the kingdom and the crown lands were under consideration. Croatia received nine and Transylvania twenty members. Financial control and legislative power, at least in theory, were given to the Parliament so constituted. The Diets were left with various powers of an extensive character, but without the large legislative rights which the framers of the October Diploma had apparently contemplated. For each Diet a Provincial Statute and an electoral law were issued as an annexe to the February Patent.

In Hungary matters soon came to a crisis. The Emperor decided to accept the position of the Liberals, that the reforming legislation of 1848 was to be accepted and considered binding. But it was found impossible to agree as to the incorporation of Transylvania and Croatia, and the other countries claimed as 'partes adnexæ' of the crown of St. Stephen, or on the question of language, which both Hungarian parties, whether in favour of yielding to the legitimate claims of the other nationalities or opposed to that course, were unanimous in claiming to be matters belonging exclusively to the sphere of their own Diet; nor could they be persuaded to waive their objection to the origin of the February Patent, considering it tainted *ab initio*. They accordingly refused to send members to Vienna.

The Pesth Diet had first of all adopted an address drawn up in such a form that the King refused to receive it. Then at length a more moderate formula was adopted. To this a royal rescript replied, by declaring that the King recognised the laws of 1848 concerning the abolition of the privileges of the nobles as to the corvées and feudal burdens; as to general admissibility to public employment, and to the possession of landed property; as to the equality of taxation and recruiting, and those relating to the electoral rights of the humbler voters; but refused to sanction the laws which were hostile to the rights of the non-Magyar population of the Hungarian countries.

The union of Hungary and Transylvania (said the Rescript), determined upon in 1848 without the consent of the Roumans and Saxons and in opposition to their wishes, fell to pieces almost immediately. It is therefore necessary to re-establish in the first place the general representation of Transylvania; the relation of Croatia with Hungary can only be resolved by an understanding with the Croatian Diet. The Hungarian Diet is summoned to devote its attention to those conditions, the bases of which are the internal self-government of Croatia and its position towards the general Empire in accordance with the federal union between it and Hungary. It is summoned to take the initiative of a law guaranteeing the rights of the non-Magyar inhabitants of Hungary. The Emperor reserves the initiative concerning

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the rights of the Serbs on the basis of the wishes of their National Congress. . . . He awaits the assembling of the Diet for the legal settlement of the points indicated.

This document was simply equivalent to hurling a lighted match into a powder-magazine.

We must regard (said the Diet in its reply) as unconstitutional and unbinding all acts or ordinances of the Reichsrath referring to Hungary or its annexed parts. We can neither accept the Imperial diploma of the 20th of October, 1860, nor the intended application to Hungary of the patent of the 26th of February.

But under the influence of Deak the reply went on to say :—

We know that the constantly developing feeling of nationality deserves respect, and must not be weighed by a measure derived from former times or older laws. We shall not forget that the non-Hungarian inhabitants are citizens of the country, and we are prepared sincerely and readily to secure to them by law whatever their own interest or that of the country demand.[4]

While such was the attitude of the Hungarian majority, the February Patent and the arrangement it proposed to introduce were not proving popular even in Transylvania and Croatia. The non-Magyar deputies of those countries, if opposed to centralisation at Pesth, were not opposed to it out of love for centralisation at Vienna. There was little love lost, indeed, between the Croat and the descendants of Arpad; but the former at least recollected the events of 1849. 'The Croat put down the Hungarians once,' said one of the former about this time to Mr. Grant Duff, 'but he will take uncommonly good care not to do it again.' The Diet of Agram refused to send deputies to Vienna, and it was only after long negotiations that Schmerling succeeded in persuading the Transylvanians to be less recalcitrant.

The resignation of the Chancellor Vay and the Judex Curiæ Apponyi marked the final failure of the February Patent so far as Hungary was concerned. Patriotism now resorted to an old and familiar weapon, the refusal of the taxes imposed by the Reichsrath, which it declared to be an illegal levy. Military force had to be constantly called in to obtain even the uncertain and ever-diminishing payments which slowly and unwillingly dribbled into the treasury. The Diet and county assemblies were again dissolved, and the country once more practically passed under a military administration.

The end of the February Patent, therefore, in the countries east of the Leitha, was a clear and visible failure. In the Crown Lands the result was more encouraging; though what had been actually accomplished was not much, yet the direction was clear. In the first place, the old system had received a blow from which it was not likely to recover. In the next place, even if the new Parliament was in many respects an unsatisfactory creation, yet the principle was at least admitted, however feebly worked out, that the people had a

[4] *Francis Deak, Hungarian Statesman.* By Miss Arnold-Forster. Chap. xxii.

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right to govern themselves. If the Concordat was not abolished, it was now at least possible to agitate for its abolition; and, although the 'fundamental liberties' of every citizen, which the new constitution had proclaimed, might still too often be found a mere phrase, there was at least some chance of making them a reality in a not very distant future. What evidently remained to be done was first to reconcile Hungary and next to find some basis of agreement or compromise which would remove the antagonism of the Germans in the Crown Lands to the extension of the rights of the Diets, which they considered meant the destruction of liberal ideas, and of the Sclaves to the Central Parliament, which they held implied their own subordination to the Germans.

The last quarter of a century has been occupied by the Hereditary Provinces of Austria and by the Kingdom of Hungary in the attempt to find a solution of these questions.

The resistance of Hungary again brought matters to a crisis in 1865, just at the moment when the Empire, by participating in the seizure of Schleswig-Holstein, had once more plunged into the dangerous arena of foreign war and diplomacy. Concessions, it was felt, must be made. Schmerling disappeared from office, and his place was taken by Belcredi, whose ideas were believed to be favourable to the October Diploma, and to concessions to Hungary. A manifesto and patent of the 20th of September, 1865, suspended the fundamental law of 1861, and submitted it to the Diet of Hungary and Croatia for discussion and advice. On the 10th of December following, the Hungarian Diet admitted the principle of recognising the existence of joint-legislation and administration on certain subjects admitted to be of common interest. The first steps to reconciliation were thus taken on both sides; but, the Austro-Prussian war ensuing, further delays took place, nor was it till 1867 that the final settlement took place, by the introduction of the Dual system of government, the dominating idea of which is the perfect equality of the two halves of the Empire-kingdom, each of which has its own parliament, ministers, and system of taxation and government, but also sends a certain number of members to the Delegations which regulate the army, navy, and diplomatic services. Transylvania was incorporated bodily into the Hungarian kingdom, while with Croatia Hungary entered into an agreement dictated by a spirit of conciliation, but making clear the subordination of the Diet of Agram to that of Pesth, to both houses of which it was to send representatives.[5]

In the hereditary Provinces, the struggle between the ideas of the October Diploma and those of the February Patent has continued. As above stated, the Belcredi ministry, which succeeded that of Schmerling, represented a return to nationalist views; but the Dual

[5] Law of Nov. 19, 1868, modified by the laws of 1873 and 1881.

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arrangement, being the outcome of the agreement of German and Hungarian Liberalism, under the auspices of Count Beust, Count Andrassy and Deak, as to the government of the country in internal affairs as much as upon other questions, necessitated the disappearance of Belcredi, the reappearance of the Reichsrath, and the amendment of the February Patent by a new fundamental law on the representation of the Empire, voted on the 21st of December, 1867, by that body. Simultaneously four other fundamental laws were voted on the general rights of all citizens of the Empire; on the exercise of the powers of the Government and of the Executive; on the creation of an Imperial tribunal; and on the exercise of the judicial power. These five statutes together form the Magna Charta of Austria.

The eleventh and twelfth clauses of the law on the representation of the Empire define the rights of the Reichsrath as follows:[6]—

11. The sphere of the Reichsrath embraces all questions relative to the rights, obligations, and interests common to all the kingdoms and countries represented in it. . . . Consequently the following subjects belong to the sphere of the Reichsrath:

(*a*) The examination and approval of treaties of commerce and of such political treaties as may entail a charge on the Empire, or on any of the States composing it, or an obligation on individuals, or a modification of the territory of the kingdoms and countries represented in the Reichsrath.

(*b*) All matters relative to the performance of military service, its duration and length, and in particular the annual vote of the number of men, and the rules relating to the provisioning, commissariat, and quartering of troops.

(*c*) The settlement of the budgets of the public administration, and in particular the vote every year of the taxes, imposts and duties to be levied; the examination of the finance accounts of the State, and of the results of the financial administration, and of the audit and passing of those accounts; the issue of new loans, the conversion of the Old Debt; the alienation, exchange, and mortgage of the State Domains; legislation in regard to monopolies and regalian rights; and in general all financial affairs common to the kingdoms and countries represented in the Reichsrath.

(*d*) The regulation of the monetary system and of banks of issue; of questions relating to trade and customs; of the telegraphs, posts, railways, navigable ways, and other means of communication.

(*e*) Legislation concerning credit, banks, patents, industry, with the exception of the duties on liquor licences; weights and measures; and the guarantee of trade marks and patterns.

(*f*) Legislation in regard to medical questions, together with the precautions to be taken against epidemic and epizootic diseases.

(*g*) Legislation on the rights of citizenship and nationality; the supervision of strangers, passports and the census.

(*h*) Legislation on the position of religious bodies; on the right of combination and public meeting; on the press and copyright.

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[6] See *Taschenausgabe der österreichischen Gesetze*, vol. xix. 'Die Staatsgrundgesetze.' Collection Manz. Vienna, 1879. And *Recueil des Constitutions actuellement en vigueur dans les divers Etats d'Europe, d'Amérique et du monde civilisé*, par F. R. et P. Dareste, vol. i. pp. 361–387. Paris, chez Challemel aîné.

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(*i*) The regulation of the bases of public elementary, middle-class, and university education.

(*k*) Legislation in regard to crimes and police offences; in regard to civil rights, with the exception of the preparation of the public registers and those subjects which, according to the terms of the provincial statutes and the present fundamental law, are within the sphere of the Diets; in regard to the law of commerce and exchange; maritime law, the law of minerals, and feudal law.

(*l*) Legislation on the bases of the organisation of the courts of law and the civil service.

(*m*) The laws to be made in virtue of and for the execution of the laws on the general rights of citizenship; on the Imperial tribunal; on the judicial power; and on the powers of the Government and Executive.

(*n*) Legislation on subjects concerning the duties and relations of the several provinces.

(*o*) Legislation on the procedure under which the affairs recognised by the agreement with the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen as being of common interest, are to be dealt with.

12. All legislative matters, other than those expressly reserved to the Reichsrath by the present law, come within the sphere of the Diets of the kingdoms and countries represented in the Reichsrath, and are regulated in the said Diets in accordance with the constitution. Nevertheless, should a Diet decide that any legislative question coming within its sphere should be discussed and decided by the Reichsrath, such question would thereupon in that particular instance, and so far as that Diet is concerned, be removed into the sphere of the Reichsrath.[7]

The members of the Lower House of the Reichsrath are allotted as follows among the seventeen provinces:—Bohemia, 92; Dalmatia, 9; Galicia and Lodomeria, with the Grand-Duchy of Cracow, 63; Lower Austria, 37; Upper Austria, 17; Salzburg, 5; Styria, 23; Carinthia, 9; Carniola, 10; Bukowina, 9; Moravia, 36; Silesia, 10; Tirol, 18; Vorarlberg, 3; Istria, 4; Görz and Gradiska, 4; the city of Trieste and territory adjoining, 4.

The number of representatives to be elected in each province is distributed proportionally among the several categories of elective colleges mentioned in each Provincial Statute, according to a schedule set out in the fundamental law itself. By the law of 1867 the members of the Diets elected the members of the Reichsrath; but in 1873 the elections to the latter were confided to the direct vote of the constituencies which elected the Diets.

The Provincial Statute for Lower Austria may be taken as the type of the whole class of those statutes issued in 1861 and modified in a liberal direction in 1867. The Diet consists of (1) the Archbishop of Vienna and the bishop of St. Polten; (2) the rector of the University of Vienna; (3) sixty-five elective deputies—fifteen representing the class of great proprietors, twenty-nine elected by direct suffrage in the towns, boroughs, and by the Chambers of Commerce, and twenty-one elected by indirect election in the country

[7] Under this power the laws relating to the establishment of registers of title in Upper and Lower Austria, Salzburg, Carinthia, Silesia and Moravia were transferred into the Reichsrath and passed in June 1874.

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parishes. The Diet elects an administrative and executive standing committee of six members, representing the several categories of voters in class (3). The powers of the Diet are defined in the 18th and 19th clauses of the statute as follows:—

The following subjects are within the sphere of the Diet:

(*a*) All regulations (1) concerning agriculture; (2), the public buildings of the province; (3), the charitable institutions endowed from the provincial budget; (4), the provincial budget and the accounts of the province, whether of receipt or expenditure.

(*b*) All measures of detail under the provisions of the general laws relating (1) to communal affairs; (2), to ecclesiastical and educational matters; (3), the provisioning, quartering, and commissariat of troops.

(*c*) The regulation of every other subject interesting the prosperity or needs of the country, which may be submitted to the Diet by special order.

19. The Diet is summoned—

(1) to deliberate and formulate Bills (*a*) on the laws and regulations already existing, considered in their bearing on the good of the province; (*b*), on the laws and general regulations required by the necessities of the province.

(2) To formulate Bills on every subject submitted to it by the Government.[a]

Clauses 20 and 21 give the Diet the right of superintending the administration of the public domain and the property of the duchy. Under Clause 22, when the ordinary revenue of the province is insufficient, the Diet may order a levy of ten centimes on the valuation list of the land tax. If it requires more than that sum, it must first obtain Imperial sanction. The Diet also possesses powers in regard to communal affairs, and the assessment and collection of the taxes, particularly in regard to the land tax; but these powers are defined by the general communal law, and the communal statute issued under it. The Diet also determines the number and salaries of the provincial administration.

For eleven years after the events of 1867 the German Liberal party was at the helm of affairs, with the brief interlude of the Hohenwarth ministry in 1871 and the abortive attempt then made to satisfy the aspirations of the Nationalist party. The so-called Bürger Ministerium or Middle-class Ministry which preceded, and that of Prince Auersperg which followed the Hohenwarth ministry, turned Austria into a modern State. The Concordat was abolished; a national and unsectarian system of education was established; the religious rights of all the great non-Catholic communities were recognised; the codes of procedure and of substantive law were radically reformed; direct elections to the Reichsrath were substituted for indirect; liberty of the press was established. But the very success and extent of these measures proved fatal to the German Liberals. Powerful interests were offended; the Church, above all, by the religious and educational reforms; the great nobles by their loss of

[a] The Diet has independent legislative initiative as well for strictly provincial purposes (Clause 17).

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power and influence; the non-German nationalists by the neglect of their aspirations to autonomy. Over and over again the proceedings of the Reichsrath were brought to a standstill, or almost so, by the refusal of the Bohemian deputies to sit and the consequent absence of the proper quorum for the transaction of business. Finally, the question of Bosnia and the Herzegovina came as an apple of discord thrown into the ranks of the German Liberals, most of whom viewed with distrust the practical admission into the Empire of two more non-German States, while some justified it by the argument with which M. Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, met the hostility of the Magyar Radicals, viz. that the annexation was necessary in order 'to crush the Sclavonic serpent.' Thus it came to pass that, in 1878, the Auersperg ministry fell, and, after a brief interval, Count Taafe succeeding to power, inaugurated what has been termed the era of 'reconciliation' with the non-German elements. A large extension of the suffrage, of which the certain effect, as the event proved, was to weaken German Liberalism at the polls, was passed; concessions on the education question were made which were acceptable to the clergy; the use of languages other than German received a real, as distinct from a nominal, recognition; a Czech University has been established at Prague; and a measure introduced to reorganise the army on the territorial system, so that the divisions will be mainly composed of persons speaking the same language and of the same nationality. Most of Count Taafe's leading colleagues represent the Sclavonic nationalities, and under their guidance Austria bids fair to become a Sclavonic State, and to see her foreign policy undergo important changes in consequence. The concessions made, however, have not satisfied the nationalities, who, excited by the concessions already made, ask for more and yet more. The tension between the German and the Czech population of Bohemia has, in consequence, reached a point which constitutes a public danger, and has recently, on at least one occasion, led to riot and bloodshed. On the other hand, Hungarian opinion, always suspicious of its Sclavonic neighbours, and aroused by its own troubles with the Croat Diet of Agram, is becoming anxious at the transformation scene now going on across the Leitha.

It is of the utmost importance to Hungary (said Dr. Julius Horvath in the Hungarian Parliament on the 18th of January) that the Federalist policy now being pursued in Austria shall not be pushed to a point which will keep the two halves of the Monarchy in chronic estrangement, and prepare the inevitable dissolution of the Empire. . . . Our union, we must remember, was originally with a German people, not with a Slav; and I will conclude by quoting the words of our Hungarian Joseph Eötvös, who said that, if ever we had to choose between Germanism and Sclavism, we must pronounce for the former.

The Soldier's Song in *Faust* makes the pertinent inquiry—

> The Holy old Roman Empire,
> How holds she herself together?

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and prudently abstains from replying to the question. The same inquiry is often made about Austria, and persons are never wanting to give the unhesitating reply that her immediate dissolution is at hand; that Prince Bismarck has quite made up his mind to take the German provinces; that Roumania will annex Transylvania and the Bukowina; that Russia will seize Galicia, and so on. The rearrangement of the map of Europe on a large scale is always a tempting and interesting occupation, but it is well to bear in mind the old saying that, if Austria did not exist, she would have to be invented; and that if the recent reforms seem to threaten the unity of the Empire, without them the Empire would probably before now have ceased to exist.

Meanwhile, the experiment in constitutional government now being carried on is an interesting study, especially at the present moment, when the attention of Englishmen is being forced into the study of the methods by which other nations have tried the task of governing distinct nationalities under the same Sovereign. The relation between Austria and Hungary constitutes a Confederation of two independent States, as distinct from a Federal Union, using as a test to distinguish those two forms of government the question whether, in the event of either of the contracting parties refusing to take notice of the legal rights of the National Government, a sufficient power exists anywhere to enforce obedience and collect taxes. The tie under the Dual arrangement is in reality of the slightest, the whole system being based on the assumption of the existence of a perfect parity between the territories on the eastern and those on the western bank of the Leitha. Justice and police are distinct; the army, navy, and diplomatic services, though common charges, are paid by votes from the separate exchequers, the central treasury simply serving a precept on the two ministers of finance for the amount due; there are no common revenue officers; the Austrian tax-gatherer has nothing to say to Hungary; the Hungarian tax-gatherer has nothing to do with Austria; the custom-houses are subject to the government on whose territory they lie. If either Parliament chose to refuse the legal quota to the common expenses, the machine of the gove.ument would instantly stop, and no power exists sufficient to compel obedience to the demands of the Delegations. A civil war between equally balanced forces would be the result, were the Austrian half of the country to seek to compel the Hungarian half to carry out the clauses of the arrangement against the will of the latter, or *vice versâ*.

The relation between Hungary and Croatia is federal. Not only are the rights reserved to the National Government important and extensive, but in theory it has the right, and in practice has the strength, to compel obedience on the part of the Croatian Diet, if the latter is recalcitrant. Recent events have proved this, as, notwithstanding the liberal terms of the laws of 1868 and 1873, recourse

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has been necessary to very strong measures on more than one occasion, owing to the tactics of the Croatian nationalists.

The hereditary Provinces of Austria are evidently not a Confederation, for the attributions of the local Diets are limited; and abundant power exists in the National Government to compel obedience on their part. Neither can the reforms of the Taafe administration as yet be said to have brought these countries within the category of Federal States, although it is evident that they tend in that direction. As yet so much remains of the result of the ideas which from the days of Maria Theresa to those of Schmerling, and from those of Schmerling to Prince Auersperg, have dominated the rulers of Austria, that it would be premature to say that the hereditary Provinces have ceased in the theory of their institutions to form a homogeneous State. The February Patent and not the October Diploma still has the upper hand, but for how long it would be rash to prophesy.

EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

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III.

FOR SCOTLAND.

MR. PARNELL, in a speech made last autumn, whilst advocating a policy of separate government for Ireland, informed his hearers that 'Scotland had lost her nationality,' and held up her fate, so it seemed, as a warning to Ireland of what degradation and misfortune might be in store for his countrymen should they become thoroughly merged and incorporated with the British people. What is this nationality, which it is said Scotland has lost, and Ireland is in danger of losing, and to which we sometimes hear that even Wales has a claim? Scotchmen have recently been told, much to their own astonishment, that they, forsooth, like the Irish and the Welsh, deserve to be treated as a separate people. The English are quite ready to give us in Scotland an independent parliament for our local affairs, if we only wish it! So it is said; and there are some Englishmen, and here and there, may be, even an odd Scotchman, so out of sympathy with general Scottish sentiment as to think such talk grateful to Scottish ears. Every Scotchman takes a pride in the history of his country. When at the union the separate existence of the 'ancient kingdom' came to an end for ever, we entered the Union on equal terms with the people of England. The eloquence of Lord Belhaven, the mistaken patriotic sentiments of many Scotchmen, and the Jacobite sympathies of too many others, raised indeed at the time some natural opposition to the action of the last of the Scottish parliaments. The nationality of Scotland as totally distinct from that of England was of course not a mere sentiment, it was a fact. Scotchmen at the time of the Union did not, and they never will, forget their national history, of which the main feature was the struggle, and the successful struggle, they had carried on for so many centuries with their 'auld enemies of England.'

They had had their own monarchs, their own independent parliaments, their own courts of law and separate legal system, their separate religious establishment, their own universities. Scotland was no mere 'geographical expression.' Its inhabitants were bound together by those institutions and laws which 'teach the act of order to a peopled kingdom.' They were accounted an independent nation by the nations of Europe. Scottish ambassadors represented their sovereign at Paris and Madrid as well as in London; and ambassadors

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from England and the Continental nations were received on the same terms at Holyrood. The effect of the two Unions (first that of the Crowns in 1603, secondly that of the Parliaments and Governments in 1707) was to bring all this to an end. No Scottish army would ever again take the field, nor a Scottish ship of war sail the seas. The patriotism of Scotchmen has not, however, ceased with the Union, though it has widened its scope; for wherever British armies and British fleets are engaged, Scotland feels, and has, thanks to the Union, as much right as England to feel, that she, as well as England, is sharing the danger and the glory on behalf of a common country and a united people.

Whatever nationality Ireland may have lost, it certainly was not a nationality marked by any of the ordinary signs of independent national existence. The Irish never *acted* as an independent nation, and if they really ever considered themselves an independent nation, they certainly were not so considered by any other nation of the world. Was ambassador ever sent by a foreign power to an Irish Government? Was the Irish flag ever seen upon the seas? Reference need hardly be made to Wales. A Welsh ambassador! A Welsh man-of-war! A Welsh alliance with a continental power! Possibly before long Scotland will be having held up to it as an example, the independence of the Isle of Man! That island is, no doubt, blessed with a local parliament—the House of Keys. If the Scotch only wish it, the English will be quite willing that Scotland also should have its House of Keys! For heaven's sake, let there be some consideration among Englishmen for historical facts, to say nothing of Scotch susceptibilities, and let there be an end of this talk of indulging us with semi-national institutions since Scotchmen, Irishmen, and Welshmen form three separate nations! Scotchmen will assuredly resent an apparently growing tendency to thrust upon them new institutions, not because the Scotch want them, nor because they are suited to Scotland, but because some persons think that party advantage is to be obtained by likening the cases of Scotland and Ireland, and that Scotland may possibly be conveniently made use of as a stalking-horse, under which English politicians may advance with greater safety to meet the demands of Messrs. Parnell and Biggar for Irish Home Rule.

The Irish question must be judged upon its own merits and so must the Scotch. And whenever the relations between England and Scotland are discussed, it will be found that Scotchmen still choose to compare themselves and their privileges, as they did at the time of the Union, *not* with those of Ireland and Wales, but with those of England. Scotland and England then entered into partnership and became one nation. But it seems to occur too seldom to the English mind, when the project is mooted of reviving separate legislatures in the two countries, each devoted to its own local affairs, that on one

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subject there is still not absolute reciprocity of feeling between Englishmen and Scotchmen. If Englishmen do not care to interest themselves in Scotch affairs, if they look upon Scotland as only a remote corner of the kingdom whose concerns cannot much matter to them, and are of intrinsically little importance, they should remember that a similar feeling as to English affairs is not reciprocated by Scotchmen.

For my part, though a Scotchman and a Scotch member of Parliament, I think it of the greatest importance and interest to myself and other Scotchmen that England should be well governed. The local affairs of England are the local affairs of seven-eighths of the people of this island. England is the home of hundreds of thousands of Scotchmen. Home Rule for England is a proposal which every Scotchman who has inherited one spark of true Scotch feeling will resist to the uttermost; he claims as a Scotchman and by virtue of the Union to take his part in governing England. Were England to have a separate parliament for English affairs, and Scotland a separate parliament for Scotch affairs, the importance of Scotland in the kingdom as a whole would inevitably be very seriously diminished. It is easy enough on paper to describe English affairs as local. The fact is that England constitutes such a large portion of the kingdom that its affairs are necessarily of more than local importance.

Scotch Home Rule for Scotch affairs would necessitate English Home Rule for English affairs; and Scotchmen are very unlikely to forget that English Home Rule means the exclusion of Scotchmen from the chief internal politics of Great Britain.

It is difficult to conceive how any severer blow could be given to the importance of Scotland than by separating its legislature from that of the sister country. And how it comes that any such retrograde step should at the present time be contemplated as the barest possibility only shows what mighty pressure the return to the House of Commons of eighty-six separatist Irish members has brought upon the minds of men, especially of those—and they are unfortunately many—who care much more for the temporary position of political parties, than for the permanent position which Scotland should hold in the United Kingdom. What reason is there (except the return of the eighty-six Parnellite members) for these ostentatious offers of Home Rule to Scotland by patronising English newspapers and their more simple-minded correspondents? Has the complete merging of the two nations undergone lately any sudden check? On the contrary, never was there so much intercourse between the two. As for legislation, the tendency of recent years towards assimilation of laws has been stronger than ever. In recent legislation the practice of dealing by the same Act of Parliament with the whole island is increasing. The strongest instance probably of this was the passing of *one* Reform Act for the three kingdoms—an entirely unprecedented example of

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the identity of political sentiment as regards electoral qualifications, and of the similarity of circumstances in the three countries.

And not merely is the assimilating tendency of the times observable in the statute law; the same tendency is observed in the case law of the two countries. The highest Court of Appeal, constituted of the most eminent lawyers of Scotland, England, and Ireland, applies, no doubt, Scotch law in the decision of Scotch appeals, English law in appeals from England; but the presence and consultation together of eminent judges trained in the different systems, hearing the arguments of Scottish advocates and English barristers, acquainting themselves with the decisions of the courts and the writings of learned authors in both countries, must tend to the advantage of law in each country, and to a kind of assimilation at which every liberal-minded man must rejoice.

Instead of there having been lately any check to the process of merging of English and Scotch, the fusion between the two nations has been becoming more complete than ever. The distinction between Englishmen and Scotchmen, between the English nation and the Scottish nation, has become of as little practical importance, and is almost as little considered, as the geographical boundary between the two countries. It has become, fortunately, as impossible really to revive the two separate nations as to give back their old glories to the Carter Fell and the Kershope Burn. Why, then, should we play at doing so? The Scotch Borders are full of recollections of the old wars with our southern enemies. Old houses in Hawick tell by their architecture of days when English foes were the chief danger to the burgh householder, and the ruined abbeys of Jedburgh, Melrose, and Kelso still attest the ruthless nature of the warfare carried on by the armies of Henry the Eighth. If the spirit to keep up ancient hatreds, to foster the remembrance of old wrongs, and to perpetuate bitter animosities between races, existed on the Borders as it does amongst Irishmen, both in and out of Ireland, there are few parts of the United Kingdom where more material for maintaining it could be found than on the Borders. But the old feeling of hatred is absolutely dead, whilst the old feeling of patriotic pride in the deeds of an heroic ancestry is as strong as ever. In March 1799, in debate in the House of Lords on the Irish Union, the Lord Minto of that day spoke of the sentiment then existing on the Borders:—

> I will venture to assure your Lordships, and to speak *for my neighbours as well as for myself*, that at this day we see without humiliation or regret those towers and beacons which were very necessary appendages of our independence at least before the union of the Crowns, when we had a predatory enemy within ten miles of us; we behold, I say, without mortification or concern those badges of Imperial dignity mouldering and in ruin on our rocks, while we can see the plain below covered with crops, which he who sows is now sure of reaping, *and while we can extend our views of national instinct and dignity, and all our public feelings, whether of pride or of affection, not only beyond the little range of hills that we look upon, but to the remotest extremities of the habitable globe.*

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Home Rule for Scotland and Ireland must be taken to mean the breaking up of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and the establishment of a separate parliament in each of the three kingdoms. The expression is synonymous with the 'Repeal of the Union' phrase of O'Connell's time. To each of these parliaments would be entrusted, if the thing was to be a reality, the ordinary parliamentary functions within local limits, of legislation, taxation, and choice and control of the executive. Each parliament would, of course, be chosen on the basis of the present franchise, *i.e.* by a householder electorate, and it can hardly be imagined that an assembly so elected would be slow to claim any of the advantages and powers attaching to an independent parliament.

'Home Rule' and 'Repeal of the Union' have always at least included, in the mouths of Irish politicians, the establishment of an Irish Parliament on College Green. Grattan's formula, afterwards approved by O'Connell, is well known: 'Only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland have a right to legislate for the Irish people.' In his day, however, the Repeal movement was of a purely Irish home-grown character, whilst now the Home Rule agitation derives its main support from transatlantic sources. It is, therefore, not surprising that Mr. Parnell should aim at severing the last link which connects together the two nations. For the moment, possibly, in the House of Commons little may be heard of these extremer views. It may not at present suit those who have hitherto avowedly been working for separation to reject as inadequate, temporary accommodation in a half-way house on the high road to their goal. We have it on the authority of Mr. Trevelyan, speaking in Warwickshire on the 30th of December, that 'as far as law and order and the peace of the country are concerned, there is no half-way house between entire separation and absolute Imperial control.'

A short time ago the somewhat remarkable discovery was made that Home Rule and Local Government were but different expressions with the same signification. It may be that each expression is capable of being applied, without doing absolute violence to the English language, so as to cover what is usually intended by the other. But, as a matter of fact, what was intended by the expression Home Rule was absolutely distinct from and unlike what was intended by the expression Local Government. 'Home Rule' was, till a few weeks ago, exclusively applied to the demand made by Mr. Parnell and his followers, that Ireland should have a parliament of its own in Ireland to legislate for Ireland, and presumably to exercise the other functions which in this country are generally supposed to belong to an assembly calling itself a parliament.

Local Government had a very different meaning, as might be supposed from the fact that at the recent general election every Liberal Scotch and English member declared in favour of extending

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it, while all Liberal statesmen and the vast majority of their followers were believed to be hostile to Home Rule.

The Duke of Argyll, in a very able letter to the *Times* of the 29th of December, has cautioned the public 'against the loose and slovenly habit of thinking on the true functions of government, and warned them that this light talk on Home Rule means something very like an attempt to frame a new constitution, a kind of undertaking for which in the past neither British statesmen nor people have shown inclination or aptitude. In the Queen's Speech at the opening of the session of 1884, after promising 'a judicious extension of the franchise' which would bring about 'a still closer attachment of the nation to the throne, the law, and the institutions of the country,' Her Majesty went on 'to anticipate a like effect from the extension and reform of Local Government,' and to define what that expression covered. 'This comprehensive subject' (local government) 'embraces all that relates locally to the greater efficiency of administration, to the alleviation of burdens by improved arrangements, and to the enlargement of the powers of ratepayers through the representative system, including among them the regulation of the traffic in intoxicating liquors.' At that time, at all events, the policy of extending Local Government and the policy of Home Rule were not only not the same, but were as dissimilar as two policies could well be. Liberal candidates have lately been expounding on platforms their views of what was desirable in an improved local government. The general idea has been that the self-governing powers, enjoyed in towns since the Municipal Reform Act, and largely added to from time to time, should be extended to inhabitants of counties. That as town and county householders now enjoy the same franchise for Imperial purposes, the distinction which gives local representative institutions to the former and denies them to the latter, should be swept away. No one dreamt of including the breaking up of the legislative union of the three countries in the demand of the county householders for the local privileges of borough householders. The wide distinction that exists between entrusting local bodies with legislative and entrusting them with administrative functions is constantly lost sight of. Hitherto when asking for extended local government, Liberals have been seeking a better administration of local business, and an administrative system based upon representative principles. They have never yet asked that locally elected bodies should have the power to make laws. Yet the latter demand has lately been supposed to have been included in the former.

An instance of the desire felt to give improved local administration in Scotland was witnessed in the last session of the last parliament in the rearrangement made in regard to Scotch departmental business. The Scotch Secretary Bill was passed, under which a minister responsible to parliament was appointed with the special charge of Scotch business. When this Bill was passing through the House of Commons

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Sir John Lubbock described the measure as tending to Home Rule, a remark which called forth immediate protests from various Scotch members, who though anxiously looking for a better administration of Scotch business, had no kind of desire to weaken the authority of the Imperial Parliament by attacking the parliamentary union of the two countries. Home Rule is a plant entirely of Irish growth, and any attempt to transplant it to the very different soil of Scotland will quickly show how little suited it is to thrive on this side of the Irish Channel.

By all means let us try to extend local self-government, and let us, as far as we can, follow the example that has been set with regard to cities and large towns. But to break up the Imperial Parliament is a very different matter. It is certain that, however limited by statute the powers of a local parliament may be, it will assuredly continually be endeavouring to increase its authority. A Scotch or an English House of Commons elected on the household franchise electorate would each feel its own strength. It would be absurd to deny to such assemblies, if they demanded them, as they certainly would, the full privileges and powers incident to parliament. The House of Commons in each country would legislate for itself; it would tax its own people, it would choose, and having chosen would control, its own executive. Sir Henry Maine has lately pointed out the tendency of the House of Commons to acquire the executive authority more properly belonging to the Cabinet, and of the Cabinet (the sole originator of the most important bills) to acquire the legislative powers formally belonging to parliament. How would three executives in the three countries, each in command of the physical force of the country, work together?

If an English parliament democratically elected is to sit at Westminster, a Scotch one similarly chosen at Edinburgh, and an Irish one in Dublin, it will clearly be impossible to keep from these bodies the control of the local executive. How, moreover, can the command of local forces be withheld from the local executive? In Ireland it may be that the control by a College Green parliament of the Irish police, constabulary, militia, and volunteers (who would no doubt soon be established) would prove dangerous to the unity of the kingdoms. So in Ireland the control by an Irish parliament of the ordinary action of the Irish executive might not answer in practice. Those who have heard in Parliament the persistent denunciation by Irish members of every grade of representative of authority and law in that country, whether English or Irish, Protestant or Catholic, from Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan down to the judges, magistrates, and policemen, cannot feel sure that it would answer to give supreme authority over the appointment and maintenance of all Irish officials to the majority of an Irish parliament. In Scotland and England quite different considerations arise. No one doubts that in each country law and order would be efficiently

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maintained; and everyone knows that there would be no feeling in either country in favour of completely severing the union between them. But how would either country be benefited by the change? We should undoubtedly weaken government by dividing it; and is there any reason to suppose that the legislation of two local parliaments would be of a superior character to that which one could accomplish? My own experience leads me to think that where there is a prevalent opinion in Scotland and among Scotch members in favour of any particular legislation for that country, English prejudice cannot prevail against it. Scotch members are left a good deal to themselves in discussing Scotch bills; but far from looking grudgingly at interference on the part of English members in our business, I believe Scotch representatives almost always welcome the assistance of the few Englishmen who are inclined to interest themselves in our affairs, and who bring to the discussion fresh and unbiassed minds. But when I look to the other half of the question, viz. Scotch interference in English affairs, I confess I cannot help, as a Liberal, trembling for the result, should Scotchmen be ordered home to give exclusive attention to their own business. Why, where would Liberal majorities have been since 1832 but for Scotland? Once more let it be remembered that, if English interference with Scotland is possible under the Union, so is Scotch interference with England, and it is not quite clear that the latter country has the best of the bargain.

Among the Scottish members are fortunately many who interest themselves not merely in Scottish business but also in the affairs of the Empire. So it is with the electors, as well as with the representatives. Mr. Goschen, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Trevelyan are Englishmen, and Mr. Gladstone himself, though a Scotchman, owes his Scotch seat and his popularity in Scotland to the high renown he has acquired as a statesman in the wide field of Imperial politics, rather than to his special connection with Scotland. It is certainly pleasant to our Scottish pride to be able to claim the Prime Minister, three out of the five Secretaries of State, the Secretary for Scotland, and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, as either Scotchman or Scotch members. It is undoubtedly a proof of the important part which Scotland plays in guiding the destinies of the Empire. But these statesmen would hardly sit in a purely Scottish assembly, whilst probably many other less distinguished Scotchmen would be unwilling to limit their aspirations and the scope of their services to an Edinburgh or Glasgow parliament. It may be said there will still be an Imperial parliament, and the local assemblies will be in addition to, not in lieu of, the Imperial Legislature. These distinguished statesmen would find a place as before in the Imperial Parliament, and they would be relieved from troubling themselves with our local affairs. Again as a Scotchman, I protest. No statesmen are too distinguished to give attention to Scotch legislation and to assist good government

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in Scotland. If we lose these men from among our members, inferior men will take their places, with unfortunate consequences to Scotch interests.

It is sometimes urged that local parliaments are required, in order that the Imperial Parliament may be relieved of the stress of work now falling on it. As regards private bill legislation, undoubtedly much might be done to relieve parliament by transferring some of its authority to local bodies or officials, as contemplated in the proposals of Mr. Craig Sellar. But as regards public legislation, and the ordinary business of the House of Commons, there seems to be much more to hope from carrying out Mr. Gladstone's 'principle of delegation' (that is, the House as a whole delegating to portions of itself its own authority) than from any multiplication of parliaments.

By carrying out, in short, the system of standing committees and by introducing a procedure under which the House of Commons would become the master of its own time, instead of being the victim of individuals and small minorities, Parliament would be once more rendered competent for all the various duties it has to perform.

We insure by preserving the unity of Parliament that legislation should progress steadily in accordance with the judgment of the whole nation. How would a Tory majority in England and a Liberal majority in Scotland keep the legislation of the two countries at all on the same lines? Differences and divergences would necessarily tend to increase, at a period of our history when there is less reason than ever before for maintaining and perpetuating them.

It is not my wish in this article to say a word to discourage attempts to extend local government for local affairs. The more that county business can be done in the county, the more that the dwellers in counties can be got to interest themselves in county business, the better; but this is entirely distinct from appealing to national instinct to create subordinate national legislatures. Again, I do not think it worth while here, even were there space to do so, to discuss many of the difficulties which would have to be encountered in an attempt to build up local national parliaments. Is each parliament to consist of two houses or of one? Is the National Debt to be apportioned among the several nations of the kingdom? Is the taxation of Scotchmen a Scotch or an Imperial affair? These and many other difficult questions will have to be answered before practical effect can be given to the loose talk which has lately been so common. My object has been to point out the way in which patriotic and intelligent Scotchmen may be expected to regard the question. The fact is that, if the language recently used in reference to Ireland is to be taken seriously, nothing less is contemplated than the substitution of a federal system of government for a constitution in which 'the one fundamental dogma of constitutional law is the absolute legislative sovereignty or despotism of the king in Parlia-

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ment.'[1] A Federal Union, if it is to be a reality, necessitates the distribution of the powers now concentrated in Parliament among other authorities. Are we to have a fixed constitution, and a Supreme Court, the equal, or rather the superior of Parliament, to interpret it? One is forced to believe that a great deal that has lately been said and written has not been seriously intended, and that modern statesmen will not in a fit of natural impatience give up the old object for which their predecessors had long been working—viz. by the removal of inequalities, the remedying of grievances, and the firm administration of the law, at last to weld together all the inhabitants of these islands into *one* contented and united nation.

ARTHUR D. ELLIOT.

[1] See Professor Dicey's 'Law of the Constitution.'

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IV.

THE IMPENDING ENGLISH ANSWER.

THE Irish Question has long been put. What people are now waiting for is the English Answer; and that will presently have to be given. The problem, which is as grave as any that a free nation was ever called upon to solve, is at present in the condition which Mr. Browning describes in *The Ring and the Book*. We are listening to the 'world's outcry about the rush and ripple of the fact, fallen, stone-wise, plump on the smooth face of things,' the fact being the twofold phenomenon of Mr. Parnell's demand for Home Rule and Mr. Gladstone's admission that that demand must be met, and, within the limits of justice and expediency, conceded.

At present England is in the screaming and shouting stage. Her speech has not become articulate, and there is little evidence of any thinking at all. There is no sign that the Tory-Whig Coalition so much as desire to understand the issue. They do not wish to know what it is that Mr. Parnell asks or will accept. Whatever it is, it must be refused. A more rational temper will presently succeed this effervescence. When partisans have shouted themselves hoarse they will begin to listen and reflect. Just now the words 'Separatist,' 'Unionist,' 'Loyalist,' 'Traitor,' hurtle in the air. Partisans are engaged in the easy task of convicting each other of inconsistency—that inconsistency resolving itself into the fact, that at different stages of the problem the same politicians have used language not absolutely identical, and have suggested dissimilar arrangements.

The blockhead demand for an inflexible policy is a demand that in a moving world statesmen shall stand still, and that in the face of new facts emerging to-day they should take into account only the state of things as it existed the day before yesterday. Mr. Newdegate is the only inflexible politician of our time. His personal uprightness is universally acknowledged, but even in his own party he is not considered the type of political sagacity. When Burke was charged with not pursuing an inflexible policy, he replied that he varied his means in order to secure the essential unity of his end. That is a reply which Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury may make with equal truth. Both these statesmen are in advance of the parties of which they are the leaders. Lord Salisbury's Newport manifesto showed that he was prepared to consider fairly, if not hopefully, the suggestion put forward by the man

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whom he recognised as the Irish chief, for a reconstruction of the union between England and Ireland on the model presented by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Two members of his late Cabinet who were most directly responsible for Irish affairs—the Lord-Lieutenant and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland—were, it is an open secret, prepared to recommend a plan such as, they had reason to think, would satisfy Mr. Parnell, or, if it did not satisfy him, would satisfy the Irish people. The project was discussed in a Cabinet expressly summoned for the purpose. The weight of authority and argument was on one side; the weight of numbers was on the other. The men who were in direct touch with Irish affairs were outvoted by the men who viewed them from a distance, through the mists of passion and prejudice. There was reason to fear that the more numerous and less intelligent portion of the Conservative party was in accord with the more numerous and less intelligent section of the Cabinet. Lord Salisbury dared not face the secessions from the Ministry and the split in the party which would have followed on his resolution to carry out the something more than half-promise intimated in his Newport speech, fairly to weigh the practicability of modifying the terms of union between England and Ireland on the basis which has secured Austria and Hungary from dissension, civil war, and separation. The other side of the alternative was clear. If Ireland was not to be appeased, she must be coerced. If she was not to have a Parliament of her own, which would have superseded the National League, the National League must be suppressed by an Act of Parliament made for that special purpose. The necessity of this special legislation shows that the League, whatever the mischief may be which it effects, is not in itself an illegal association, and that its operations do not fall under the ban of the ordinary law.

Mr. Gladstone in forming his Government has had to contend with difficulties precisely similar to those which Lord Salisbury shrank from confronting. It was for some time doubtful whether he would be able to execute the commission entrusted to him by the Queen. He was threatened with formidable secessions, and, though they have not proved as numerous and as important as was at one time anticipated, they are serious. It is remarkable that those members of his third Administration who were at the head of the Irish executive, and who may therefore be supposed to have the most direct knowledge and the clearest appreciation of Irish facts, have associated themselves with Mr. Gladstone's enterprise. Lord Spencer, the latest Liberal Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, who was Chief Secretary when Mr. Gladstone retired, and Mr. Trevelyan, who preceded Mr. Campbell-Bannerman in that office, are members of the present Cabinet. They may not be pledged to any clearly defined solution of the problem which the present Government has come into existence to settle, but they are pledged to consider favourably,

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and, if there be any hope of success, to attempt its solution on the principle laid down in Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian letter, and stated with more amplitude and precision in his speech on the Address. In both Cabinets, therefore, the authority of the Prime Minister and of the Ministers who were most directly responsible for the conduct of Irish affairs is in favour of essaying a certain measure of Home Rule.

Lord Cowper, who preceded Lord Spencer in the Lord-Lieutenancy, and Mr. Forster, who preceded Mr. Trevelyan in the Irish Secretaryship, are of a different way of thinking. But their knowledge of Ireland belongs to an earlier stage of its recent history; and events march fast. Lord Cowper is an estimable and amiable man; but as his position as Lord-Lieutenant, without a seat in the Cabinet, made him little more than the chief figure in a pageant, he scarcely counts as an element in the opinion of his party. Mr. Forster, whose declaration is very emphatic against any form of Home Rule, is, for reasons which it is to be hoped will presently disappear, debarred from the opportunity of reconsidering his view in the light of present circumstances. Lord Hartington's refusal to join Mr. Gladstone's Government is of course the most conspicuous advertisement of division in the party. But Lord Hartington is chronically in a state of misgiving. His doubts are as historical as Lord Eldon's. With a personal courage and uprightness which every one respects, and to which, aided by his social rank, he owes his well-earned position in the Liberal party, he is a timid and faltering politician. He shies at every new and strange object which he meets on the road, though a little encouragement and soothing usually abate his alarms. Brought close to the figure which terrified him, he sees it is harmless. Hitherto, saying he would ne'er consent, he has ultimately consented. An honourable reluctance to sever himself from the party with which his House has been connected during centuries, has no doubt induced him to silence scruples on matters which he did not feel to be vital. In other cases further consideration has convinced him that his originally adverse impressions were mistaken. The example which he has now given of fidelity to opinion is of more value in political life than his adhesion to Mr. Gladstone's Ministry would be. It is quite possible—we venture, judging from the past, to think even probable—that when the scheme of the Ministry is produced, Lord Hartington may recognise in it a just and safe settlement, and give it his valuable aid as an independent member. Lord Derby stands aloof; but that is Lord Derby's habit. His great qualities as a statesman, his calmness, equity, and largeness of knowledge, are often paralysed by an excess of caution, which leads him to shrink from responsibility, and renders great enterprises impossible to him. The hostility of three or four dukes, who are dukes first, Whigs secondly, and, with one exception statesmen not at all, counts for little. England is not a dukery.

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Lord Hartington has been assured by carefully misinformed writers that in the attitude which he has now adopted he is in harmony with the traditions of his party, and that Mr. Gladstone, and those who are prepared to follow him, have rudely broken with those traditions. Lord Hartington is perfectly justified in not allowing his opinions to be held in any dead hand, and in enlarging and amending the wisdom of his ancestors; but, as a matter of fact, the traditions of his party, and those we believe of his family, would lead him to associate himself with Mr. Gladstone. Fox, Sheridan, and Plunket were vehement opponents of the Act of Union; and the Mr. Charles Grey of eighty-five years ago—afterwards the Earl Grey of the first Reform Bill—expressed opinions which were precisely the reverse of those which have given to Mr. Albert Grey a momentary prominen ce in Parliamentar discussion, to which his abilities and character might easily establish a better and more permanent title. Lord John Cavendish, to whom Lord Hartington bears a strong family likeness in character, was an opponent of the Act of Union. The Whig tradition of an earlier age and of bolder spirits was in this instance, as in so many others, in harmony with the Radical theory of our time. What is denounced as a new departure is really a return to old paths.

The consent of the ablest and most authoritative statesmen of both political parties, and the traditions of Liberal policy, are, then, alike in favour of the restoration to Ireland of a certain degree of legislative independence. If Lord Salisbury had considered his country first and his party afterwards, and himself last, he would have imitated the course which Sir Robert Peel took in 1845–46. If he had resigned on the ground that he felt himself pledged to give effect to the doctrine of his Newport speech, he might possibly have returned to power after a brief ministerial interregnum. He might have had the honour of settling the Irish question with the help of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals, as Sir Robert Peel established Free Trade with the assistance of Lord John Russell and the Whigs. But, for the moment at least, he has let the opportunity pass of associating his name with a great historic pacification. He may possibly help Mr. Gladstone to do what he shrank from attempting himself: or, thwarting Mr. Gladstone, his own chance may recur. A settlement sooner or later is inevitable in the sense which Mr. Gladstone contemplates, and which Lord Salisbury contemplated until the revolt of his Cabinet suspended his project. The doubt is only as to the hour and the man.

Though the Irish question is first in the order of time, and gives urgency to the demand for legislation, it is a part, and only a small part, of a much greater question. To restore internal tranquillity to Ireland is an object for which great sacrifices might be made. But though important as an end in itself, it is still more important

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as a means to another end, and that is the strengthening of the union between the two countries, and the obtaining of further guarantees for the authority of the Imperial Parliament in matters of Imperial concern, and for the supremacy of the Crown throughout the United Kingdom. This is the ultimate end to which Home Rule is a means.

The Act of Union has completely failed. After eighty-five years it has given us an Ireland more hostile to England than at any period of its history, and has created another Ireland across the Atlantic, which feeds animosity at home, and supplies it with means and instruments, and which in conceivable circumstances might give an unfriendly direction to the policy of the United States, and involve us in war. The supremacy of the Crown does not exist in Ireland, except as a constitutional fiction. The authority of the Imperial Parliament is set at nought; the National League is the executive and Parliament of the country. Let it be granted for argument's sake that it is necessary to put it down. Force, as Mr. Bright said in a wise sentence which has been foolishly ridiculed, is no remedy. It may, however, be the condition under which alone a remedy can be tried. The patient may need to be put under restraint before the proper treatment can be applied. But that treatment surely will not consist in a recurrence to the methods by which the malady has been engendered and fostered. If the Irish have not a lawful Parliament in Dublin, they will have a lawless one, as they have now. They have got Home Rule and local self-government already, but it is the Home Rule of the National League, and local self-government is exercised by its branches. Great alarm is expressed at the idea of giving Ireland control over her own police; but the real police is completely in her hands, and the official police is practically helpless. Nor is this all. In default of a Parliament in Dublin, the Irish have succeeded in establishing a Parliament in Westminster. The Imperial Parliament deals with little else than Irish business, and it deals with that unsatisfactorily. Scarcely anything else can be attended to. Imperial affairs are neglected because Ministers are absorbed in the eternal Irish difficulty. Self-rule in Ireland is the condition of self-rule in England and Scotland. Great Britain is practically governed, or deprived of its power of government, by Ireland. The votes of Irishmen in the constituencies determine the balance of party representation in the House of Commons. The Irish Parliamentary party decides the fate of Governments. Mr. Parnell is the dictator not only of Ireland, but of the United Kingdom—the maker and unmaker of Ministries, choosing between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone for Downing Street, as he chose the other day between Mr. Lynch and Captain O'Shea for Galway.

There are only two ways in which this scandal, which would be ludicrous if it were not serious, can be abated and removed. One is by the abolition of Parliamentary representation in Ireland, a

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measure which to be consistent should be accompanied by the disfranchisement of Irish voters in the constituencies of the United Kingdom; and by governing Ireland as a Crown Colony through that pure and beneficent institution, the Castle in Dublin. Talk of this kind is angry nonsense. It is the safety-valve of irritated tempers. The position of a Crown Colony suits very well a certain stage in the development of a distant dependency, which through scantiness of population and failure of other resources has not within itself the instruments of self-rule. The essential condition of its salutary character is, however, the acquiescence of the population. The penal reduction of a nation of several millions of people, with a long though unhappy Parliamentary history, to the rank of a Crown Colony, would mean rebellion, war, subjugation; and, in spite of all these things, the real government of the country by secret societies, by *Vehm-gerichts* and National Leagues. It is absurd, however, to discuss this suggestion seriously. The English people—though some among them may talk foolishly at times and be the more applauded—has made up its mind as to the true principles of government. When these principles seem to fail in their operation, it is more natural to believe that they have been improperly applied than that they are in themselves faulty.

I repeat that the main object of granting Home Rule to Ireland is to strengthen the union between that country and Great Britain, to give force on Imperial matters to the authority of the Imperial Parliament, to supply further guarantees for the supremacy of the Crown. To these things may be added the restoration of self-government to Great Britain, now deprived of it by the control exercised by Irish members over British legislation and administration. Home Rule, it must be remembered, does not mean repeal of the Union or the restoration of Grattan's Parliament. Mr. Butt invented the phrase to distinguish the purpose and scope of his agitation from that of O'Connell. Grattan's Parliament, which it was O'Connell's aim to restore, made Ireland in theory as independent of England as Hanover was. The title to the throne was in the same family and person, and that was all. Ireland under this system might have remained at war while England was at peace; and might indeed, except for the absurdity of the common sovereign going to war, as King of England, with himself, as King of Ireland, have engaged in hostilities with this country. During the insanity of George the Third there was a theoretical possibility of the golden link of the Crown being snapped by the election of different persons to the regency in the two countries. The Irish Parliament was, in fact, ready to grant to the Prince of Wales, as Regent, powers greatly in excess of those which the English Parliament was prepared to concede to him. The system was unmanageable, and Mr. Pitt was wise in bringing it to a close, and establishing a Parliamentary union. But, as the whole history of

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Ireland in the nineteenth century suggests, it would have been better if it had been practicable to retain the Irish Parliament, while limiting its functions strictly to Irish affairs, and reserving the common concerns of the United Kingdom to the Parliament at Westminster. Mr. Pitt is not to be blamed for not trying this experiment. The precedent of Scotland was against it, and though the union with that kingdom was not a very brilliant success until after the Reform Act of 1832, he naturally followed the example which it gave. He cannot be blamed for not foreseeing the eighty-five years of calamity and discord on which we look back.

Mr. Parnell has suggested a revision of the Act of Union which shall place England and Ireland in the same relation to each other as that which subsists between Austria and Hungary, and Lord Salisbury, reserving the question of practicability, has confessed himself to be rather taken with the idea. Austria and Hungary are perfectly independent of each other in all matters except those which relate to the common external affairs of the empire. They have their separate Parliaments and Ministries; the Parliament of the Austro-Hungarian Empire consisting of Delegations from the two national Parliaments, with a Ministry which deals with foreign affairs, the army and navy, and the finance of diplomacy and war. An arrangement such as this is possible under the conditions of geography, history, and population which Austria and Hungary present. Their connection, however, though neither term correctly describes it, is rather alliance or federation than union. Great Britain and Ireland must remain a United Kingdom; the object of granting Home Rule is to make the union more real and cordial by disembarrassing it of irritating details, and leaving greater freedom of movement and action among its constituent parts. In the case of our colonies, the extension of local liberties has saved the Empire. But Imperial concerns are not simply external concerns. Certain principles lie at the basis of our constitutional system, and local Parliaments, while allowed discretion in the application of those principles, could not be permitted to set them aside. Illustrations of the restraint necessary may be found in the constitution of the United States. It guarantees freedom of trade between all the States of the Union, and any law imposing export or import duties upon articles passing from one State to another is invalid. Laws violating the obligation of contracts are equally void or voidable. Both of these conditions might fairly form new articles in a revised Act of Union. Provisions securing the equality before the law of all religious confessions, and of persons of no religious confession, would be essential. A power of veto, to be exercised by the Crown under the advice of the Imperial Ministers, would, as a general rule, sufficiently check Parliamentary encroachments on the Act of Union, without having recourse to the supreme judicial tribunal, which would naturally be the Privy Council. No doubt

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there would be conflicts and hitches. A measure might be vetoed and re-enacted, and once more vetoed and re-enacted, and vetoed again; and then there would be acquiescence or compromise. Human affairs are carried on in this give-and-take, rough-and-tumble fashion, and in no other. It may be said that Irish members have not shown in the English Parliament a capacity for the working of Parliamentary institutions. They have not been sent to Westminster to help in working our Parliamentary system. They have been sent there to hinder and obstruct it; and in doing so they have shown a remarkable capacity of debate and an understanding of Parliamentary rules and forms—using them, it is true, as abusing them. Their mandate is to obstruct; and they have obeyed their mandate. In Dublin Irish opinion would require productive work from them. Things cannot be worse than they are, and they may be a good deal better. Even if Irish business were not better done in Dublin than in Westminster, English, Scotch, and Imperial business would have some chance of being satisfactorily performed, or at any rate of being done in some fashion or other. A separate Parliament for the internal affairs of Great Britain meeting in Westminster, or two separate Parliaments—one for Scotland meeting at Edinburgh, one for England meeting at Westminster—with an Imperial Parliament, either elected by specially constructed constituencies or chosen by delegation from the national Parliaments, would be the natural completion of the system. The Imperial Parliament need not consist of more than three hundred members. It would be composed mainly of men of proved capacity for statesmanship, trained in the national Parliaments.

The precedents of the great Parliamentary nations of the contemporary world, with the exception of France and Italy, favour the redistribution of legislative work between Imperial and Local Parliaments. The examples of the German Empire, of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, of the Austrian Empire proper, with its Imperial Parliament and its Provincial Diets, the Austrian Duchies, Bohemia, Moravia, the Tyrol, &c., and of the United States, marshal us the way that we should go. France and Italy are negative instances to the same purport. The undue suppression of provincial liberties is the great political calamity of the two great Latin nations. The attempt to legislate for the United Kingdom, and to conduct its business in a single central Parliament, has broken down. Even if there were no disaffection in Ireland, the institution of local Legislatures for local work would be desirable. Only by this division of labour can the work be satisfactorily done. The institution of Grand Committees, the extension of the powers of Municipalities, the establishment of County Boards, would not sufficiently relieve the pressure of Parliamentary work. The proposal of the late Ministry to establish a system of local self-government, as nearly as possible identical in

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the three kingdoms, may be good in itself, but it would not meet the necessities of the case. While Ireland remains disaffected, it would enable her to use these local bodies and boards as a part of the organisation of offence and hindrance. The quarrel with England being abated by the establishment of an Irish Parliament for purely Irish business in Dublin, it is probable that healthy divisions of class feeling, and the play of dissimilar interests and ideas, would find expression, diversifying the monotony of the national life. The war of the cottage against the hall which marked the French Revolution may be clearly traced to the policy of Louis the Fourteenth and Louis the Fifteenth in withdrawing the French nobility from their estates to the *salons* and ante-chambers of Versailles. The Act of Union, which has brought Irish peers and squires to London, and swollen, if it did not create, the class of absentees, has had a good deal to do with the peasants' war against the landlords which has marked the recent history of the country. If a local Parliament had kept them in their country, matters might have gone on better. If it should restore them in any degree to it, there may be some chance of improvement. But probably, for good or evil, matters have gone too far; in Ireland as in France the owner of the land is likely to become its cultivator, or rather the cultivator is likely to become its owner. This solution is perhaps in the main the best, though the partial qualification of a predominant agrarian system by a different element would have its economic and still more its social advantages. But whatever the process adopted, the redistribution of functions between a central legislature and local chambers is a necessity of efficient Parliamentary government in a great and varied State such as the United Kingdom. Mr. Parnell's agitation and the Irish revolt are the immediate challenge to reform; but they are not the sole or even the main reason for it.

FRANK H. HILL.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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THE

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THE EVOLUTION OF THEOLOGY: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY.

II.

The Tongan theologians recognised several hundred gods; but there was one, already mentioned as their national god, whom they regarded as far greater than any of the others, 'as a great chief from the top of the sky down to the bottom of the earth' (Mariner, vol. ii. p. 106). He was also god of war, and the tutelar deity of the royal family, whoever happened to be the incumbent of the royal office for the time being. He had no priest except the king himself, and his visits, even to royalty, were few and far between. The name of this supreme deity was Ta'li-y-Tooboo', the literal meaning of which is said to be 'wait there, Tooboo,' from which it would appear that the peculiar characteristic of Ta'li-y-Tooboo', in the eyes of his worshippers, was persistence or duration. And it is curious to notice, in relation to this circumstance, that many Hebrew philologers have thought the meaning of Jahveh to be best expressed by the word 'Eternal.' It would probably be difficult to express the notion of an eternal being, in a dialect so little fitted to convey abstract conceptions as Tongan, better than by that of one who always 'waits there.'

The characteristics of the gods in Tongan theology are exactly those of men whose shape they are supposed to possess, only they have more intelligence and greater power. The Tongan belief that, after death, the human Atua more readily distinguishes good from evil, runs parallel with the old Israelitic conception of Elohim expressed in Genesis, 'Ye shall be as Elohim knowing good from evil.' They further agreed with the old Israelites, that 'all rewards for virtue and

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punishments for vice happen to men in this world only, and come immediately from the gods.' (Vol. ii. p. 100.) Moreover, they were of opinion that though the gods approve of some kinds of virtue and are displeased with some kinds of vice, and to a certain extent defend or forsake their worshippers according to their moral conduct, yet neglect to pay due respect to the deities, and forgetfulness to keep them in good humour, might be visited with even worse consequences than moral delinquency. And those who will carefully study the so-called 'Mosaic code' contained in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, will see that, though Jahveh's prohibitions of certain forms of immorality are strict and sweeping, his wrath is quite as strongly kindled against infractions of ritual ordinances. Accidental homicide may go unpunished, and reparation may be made for wilful theft. On the other hand, Nadab and Abihu, who 'offered strange fire before Jahveh, which he had not commanded them,' were swiftly devoured by Jahveh's fire; he who sacrificed anywhere except at the allotted place was to be 'cut off from his people;' so was he who ate blood; and the details of the upholstery of the Tabernacle, of the millinery of the priests' vestments, and of the cabinet work of the ark, can plead direct authority from Jahveh no less than moral commands.

Amongst the Tongans, the sacrifices were regarded as gifts of food and drink offered to the divine Atuas, just as the articles deposited by the graves of the recently dead were meant as food for Atuas of lower rank. A kava root was a constant form of offering all over Polynesia. In the excellent work of the Rev. George Turner, entitled *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* (p. 241), I find it said of the Samoans (near neighbours of the Tongans):—

> *The offerings* were principally cooked food. As in ancient Greece so in Samoa, the first cup was in honour of the god. It was either poured out on the ground or *waved* towards the heavens, reminding us again of the Mosaic ceremonies. The chiefs all drank a portion out of the same cup, according to rank; and after that, the food brought as an offering was divided and eaten '*there before the Lord.*'

In Tonga, when they consulted a god who had a priest, the latter, as representative of the god, had the first cup; but if the god, like Ta'li-y-Tooboo', had no priest, then the chief place was left vacant, and was supposed to be occupied by the god himself. When the first cup of kava was filled, the mataboole who acted as master of the ceremonies said, 'Give it to your god,' and it was offered, though only as a matter of form. In Tonga and Samoa, there were many sacred places or *morais*, with houses of the ordinary construction, but which served as temples in consequence of being dedicated to various gods; and there were altars on which the sacrifices were offered; nevertheless there were few or no images. Mariner mentions none in Tonga, and the Samoans seem to have been regarded as no better than atheists by other Polynesians because they had none. It does not appear that either of these peoples had images even of their family or ancestral gods.

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In Tahiti and the adjacent islands, Moerenhout (t. i. p. 471) makes the very interesting observation, not only that idols were often absent, but that, where they existed, the images of the gods served merely as depositories for the proper representatives of the divinity. Each of these was called a *maro aurou*, and was a kind of girdle artistically adorned with red, yellow, blue, and black feathers—the red feathers being especially important—which were consecrated and kept as sacred objects within the idols. They were worn by great personages on solemn occasions, and conferred upon their wearers a sacred and almost divine character. There is no distinct evidence that the *maro aurou* was supposed to have any special efficacy in divination, but one cannot fail to see a certain parallelism between this holy girdle, which endowed its wearer with a particular sanctity, and the ephod.

According to the Rev. R. Taylor, the New Zealanders formerly used the word *karakia* (now employed for 'prayer') to signify a 'spell, charm, or incantation,' and the utterance of these karakias constituted the chief part of their cult. In the south, the officiating priest had a small image, 'about eighteen inches long, resembling a peg with a carved head,' which reminds one of the form commonly attributed to the teraphim.

> The priest first bandaged a fillet of red parrot feathers under the god's chin, which was called his pahau or beard; this bandage was made of a certain kind of sennet, which was tied on in a peculiar way. When this was done it was taken possession of by the atua, whose spirit entered it. The priest then either held it in the hand and vibrated it in the air, whilst the powerful karakia was repeated, or he tied a piece of string (formed of the centre of a flax leaf) round the neck of the image and stuck it in the ground. He sat at a little distance from it, leaning against a tuahu, a short stone pillar stuck in the ground in a slanting position, and holding the string in his hand, he gave the god a jerk to arrest his attention, lest he should be otherwise engaged, like Baal of old, either hunting, fishing, or sleeping, and therefore must be awaked. . . . The god is supposed to make use of the priest's tongue in giving a reply. Image-worship appears to have been confined to one part of the island. The atua was supposed only to enter the image for the occasion. The natives declare they did not worship the image itself, but only the atua it represented, and that the image was merely used as a way of approaching him.[1]

This is the excuse for image-worship which the more intelligent idolaters make all the world over; but it is more interesting to observe that, in the present case, we seem to have the equivalents of divination by teraphim, with the aid of something like an ephod (which however is used to sanctify the image and not the priest) mixed up together. Many Hebrew archæologists have supposed that the term 'ephod' is sometimes used for an image (particularly in the case of Gideon's ephod), and the story of Micah in the book of Judges shows that images were, at any rate, employed in close association with the ephod. If the pulling of the string to call the attention of the god seems as absurd to us as it appears to have done to the worthy missionary, it should be recollected

[1] *Te Ika a Maui: New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 72.

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that the high priest of Jahveh was ordered to wear a garment fringed with golden bells.

> And it shall be upon Aaron to minister; and the sound thereof shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before Jahveh, and when he cometh out, that he die not. (Exod. xxviii. 35.)

An escape from the obvious conclusion suggested by this passage has been sought in the supposition that these bells rang for the sake of the worshippers, as at the elevation of the host in the Roman Catholic ritual; but then why should the priest be threatened with the well-known penalty for unadvisedly beholding the divinity?

In truth, the intermediate step between the Maori practice and that of the old Israelites is furnished by the Kami temples in Japan. These are provided with bells which the worshippers who present themselves ring in order to call the attention of the ancestor-god to their presence. Grant the fundamental assumption of the essentially human character of the spirit, whether Atua, Kami, or Elohim, and all these practices are equally rational.

The sacrifices to the gods in Tonga and elsewhere in Polynesia, were ordinarily social gatherings, in which the god, either in his own person or in that of his priestly representative, was supposed to take part. These sacrifices were offered on every occasion of importance, and even the daily meals were prefaced by oblations and libations of food and drink, exactly answering to those offered by the old Romans to their manes, penates, and lares. The sacrifices had no moral significance, but were the necessary result of the theory that the god was either a deified ghost of an ancestor or chief, or, at any rate, a being of like nature to these. If one wanted to get anything out of him, therefore, the first step was to put him in good humour by gifts; and if one desired to escape his wrath, which might be excited by the most trifling neglect or unintentional disrespect, the great thing was to pacify him by costly presents. King Finow appears to have been somewhat of a freethinker (to the great horror of his subjects), and it was only his untimely death which prevented him from dealing with the priest of a god who had not returned a favourable answer to his supplications as Saul dealt with the priests of the sanctuary of Jahveh at Nob. Nevertheless Finow showed his practical belief in the gods during the sickness of a daughter to whom he was fondly attached in a fashion which has a close parallel in the history of Israel.

> If the Gods have any resentment against us, let the whole weight of vengeance fall on my head. I fear not their vengeance—but spare my child; and I earnestly entreat you, Toobo Tota'i [the God whom he had invoked] to exert all your influence with the other Gods that I alone may suffer all the punishment they desire to inflict. (Vol. i. p. 354.)

So when the king of Israel has sinned by 'numbering the people,' and they are punished for his fault by a pestilence which slays seventy thousand innocent men, David cries to Jahveh :—

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Lo, I have sinned and I have done perversely: but these sheep, what have they done? Let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me and against my father's house. (2 Samuel xxiv. 17.)

Human sacrifices were extremely common in Polynesia; and, in Tonga, the 'devotion' of a child by strangling was a favourite method of averting the wrath of the gods. The well-known instances of Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter and of David's giving up the seven sons of Saul to be sacrificed by the Gibeonites 'before Jahveh,' appear to me to leave no doubt that the old Israelites, even when devout worshippers of Jahveh, considered human sacrifices, under certain circumstances, not only permissible but laudable. Samuel's hewing to pieces of the miserable captive, sole survivor of his nation, Agag, 'before Jahveh,' can hardly be viewed in any other light. The life of Moses is redeemed from Jahveh, who 'sought to slay him,' by Zipporah's symbolical sacrifice of her child, by the bloody operation of circumcision. Jahveh expressly affirms that the first-born males of men and beasts are devoted to him; in accordance with that claim, the first-born males of the beasts are duly sacrificed; and it is only by special permission that the claim to the first-born of men is waived, and it is enacted that they may be redeemed (Exodus xiii. 12–15). Is it possible to avoid the conclusion that immolation of their first-born sons would have been incumbent on the worshippers of Jahveh, had they not been thus specially excused? Can any other conclusion be drawn from the history of Abraham and Isaac? Does Abraham exhibit any indication of surprise when he receives the astounding order to sacrifice his son? Is there the slightest evidence that there was anything in his intimate and personal acquaintance with the character of the Deity, who had eaten the meat and drunk the milk which Abraham set before him under the oaks of Mamre, to lead him to hesitate—even to wait twelve or fourteen hours for a repetition of the command? Not a whit. We are told that 'Abraham rose early in the morning' and led his only child to the slaughter, as if it were the most ordinary business imaginable. Whether the story has any historical foundation or not, it is valuable as showing that the writer of it conceived Jahveh as a deity whose requirement of such a sacrifice need excite neither astonishment, nor suspicion of mistake, on the part of his devotee. Hence, when the incessant human sacrifices in Israel during the age of the kings are all put down to the influence of foreign idolatries, we may fairly inquire whether editorial Bowdlerising has not prevailed over historical truth.

An attempt to compare the ethical standards of two nations, one of which has a written code, while the other has not, is beset with difficulties. With all that is strange and, in many cases, repulsive to us in the social arrangements and opinions respecting moral obligation among the Tongans, as they are placed before us with perfect candour in Mariner's account, there is much that indicates a strong

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ethical sense. They showed great kindliness to one another, and faithfulness in standing by their comrades in war. No people could have better observed either the third or the fifth commandment; for they had a particular horror of blasphemy, and their respectful tenderness towards their parents, and, indeed, towards old people in general, was remarkable.

It cannot be said that the eighth commandment was generally observed, especially where Europeans were concerned; but nevertheless a well-bred Tongan looked upon theft as a meanness to which he would not condescend. As to the seventh commandment, any breach of it was considered scandalous in women and as something to be avoided in self-respecting men, but among unmarried and widowed people chastity was held very cheap. Nevertheless the women were extremely well treated and often showed themselves capable of great devotion and entire faithfulness. In the matter of cruelty, treachery, and bloodthirstiness, these islanders were neither better nor worse than most peoples of antiquity. It is to the credit of the Tongans that they particularly objected to slander; nor can covetousness be regarded as their characteristic; for Mariner says:—

> When anyone is about to eat, he always shares out what he has to those about him, without any hesitation, and a contrary conduct would be considered exceedingly vile and selfish. (Vol. ii. p. 145.)

In fact they thought very badly of the English when Mariner told them that his countrymen did not act exactly on that principle. It further appears that they decidedly belonged to the school of intuitive moral philosophers, and believed that virtue is its own reward; for

> Many of the chiefs, on being asked by Mr. Mariner what motives they had for conducting themselves with propriety, besides the fear of misfortunes in this life, replied, the agreeable and happy feeling which a man experiences within himself when he does any good action or conducts himself nobly and generously as a man ought to do; and this question they answered as if they wondered such a question should be asked. (Vol. ii. p. 161.)

One may read from the beginning of the book of Judges to the end of the books of Samuel without discovering that the old Israelites had a moral standard which differs in any essential respect (except perhaps in regard to the chastity of unmarried women) from that of the Tongans. Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, and David are strong-handed men, some of whom are not outdone by any Polynesian chieftain in the matter of murder and treachery; while Deborah's jubilation over Jael's violation of the primary duty of hospitality, proffered and accepted under circumstances which give a peculiarly atrocious character to the murder of the guest; and her witch-like gloating over the picture of the disappointment of the mother of the victim—

> The mother of Sisera cried through the lattice,
> Why is his chariot so long in coming? (Judges v. 28.)

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—would not have been out of place in the choral service of the most sanguinary god in the Polynesian pantheon.

With respect to the cannibalism which the Tongans occasionally practised, Mariner says:—

> Although a few young ferocious warriors chose to imitate what they considered a mark of courageous fierceness in a neighbouring nation, it was held in disgust by everybody else. (Vol. ii. p. 171.)

That the moral standard of Tongan life was less elevated than that indicated in the 'Book of the Covenant' (Exodus xxi.–xxiii.) may be freely admitted. But then the evidence that this Book of the Covenant, and even the ten commandments as given in Exodus, were known to the Israelites of the time of Samuel and Saul, is (to say the least) by no means conclusive. The Deuteronomic version of the fourth commandment is hopelessly discrepant from that which stands in Exodus. Would any later writer have ventured to alter the commandments as given from Sînai, if he had had before him that which professed to be an accurate statement of the 'ten words' in Exodus? And if the writer of Deuteronomy had not Exodus before him, what is the value of the claim of the version of the ten commandments therein contained to authenticity? From one end to the other of the books of Judges and Samuel, the only 'commandments of Jahveh' which are specially adduced refer to the prohibition of the worship of other gods, or are orders given *ad hoc*, and have nothing to do with questions of morality.

In Polynesia, the belief in witchcraft, in the appearance of spiritual beings in dreams, in possession as the cause of diseases, and in omens, prevailed universally. Mariner tells a story of a woman of rank who was greatly attached to King Finow, and who for the space of six months after his death scarcely ever slept elsewhere than on his grave, which she kept carefully decorated with flowers:—

> One day she went, with the deepest affliction, to the house of Mo-oonga Toobo', the widow of the deceased chief, to communicate what had happened to her at the *fytoca* [grave] during several nights, and which caused her the greatest anxiety. She related that she had dreamed that the late How [king] appeared to her and, with a countenance full of disappointment, asked why there yet remained at Vavaoo so many evil-designing persons: for he declared that, since he had been at Bolotoo, his spirit had been disturbed [2] by the evil machinations of wicked men conspiring against his son; but he declared that 'the youth' should not be molested nor his power shaken by the spirit of rebellion; that he therefore came to her with a warning voice to prevent such disastrous consequences. (Vol. i. p. 424.)

On inquiry it turned out that the charm of *tattao* had been performed on Finow's grave, with the view of injuring his son, the reigning king, and it is to be presumed that it was this sorcerer's work which had 'disturbed' Finow's spirit. The Rev. Richard Taylor says, in the work already cited: 'The account given of the witch

[2] Compare: 'And Samuel said unto Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me?' (1 Samuel xxviii. 15.)

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of Endor agrees most remarkably with the witches of New Zealand' (p. 45).

The Tongans also believed in a mode of divination (essentially similar to the casting of lots) by the twirling of a cocoa-nut.

The object of inquiry . . . is chiefly whether a sick person will recover; for this purpose the nut being placed on the ground, a relation of the sick person determines that, if the nut, when again at rest, points to such a quarter, the east for example, that the sick man will recover; he then prays aloud to the patron god of the family that he will be pleased to direct the nut so that it may indicate the truth; the nut being next spun, the result is attended to with confidence, at least with a full conviction that it will truly declare the intentions of the gods at the time. (Vol. ii. p. 227.)

Does not the action of Saul, on a famous occasion, involve exactly the same theological presuppositions?

Therefore Saul said unto Jahveh, the Elohim of Israel, Shew the right. And Jonathan and Saul were taken *by lot*, but the people escaped. And Saul said, Cast *lots* between me and Jonathan my son. And Jonathan was taken. And Saul said to Jonathan, Tell me what thou hast done. . . . And the people rescued Jonathan, so that he died not. (1 Samuel xiv. 41–45.)

As the Israelites had great yearly feasts, so had the Polynesians; as the Israelites practised circumcision, so did many Polynesian people; as the Israelites had a complex and often arbitrary-seeming multitude of distinctions between clean and unclean things, and clean and unclean states of men, to which they attached great importance, so had the Polynesians their notions of ceremonial purity and their *tabu*, an equally extensive and strange system of prohibitions, violation of which was visited by death. These doctrines of cleanness and uncleanness no doubt often took their rise in the real or fancied utility of the prescriptions, but it is probable that the origin of many is indicated in the curious habit of the Samoans to make fetishes of living animals. It will be recollected that these people had no 'gods made with hands,' but they substituted animals for them.

At his birth

every Samoan was supposed to be taken under the care of some tutelary god or *aitu* [= Atua] as it was called. The help of perhaps half-a-dozen different gods was invoked in succession on the occasion, but the one who happened to be addressed just as the child was born was marked and declared to be the child's god for life.

These gods were supposed to appear in some *visible incarnation*, and the particular thing in which his god was in the habit of appearing was to the Samoan an object of veneration. It was in fact his idol, and he was careful never to injure it or treat it with contempt. One, for instance, saw his god in the eel, another in the shark, another in the turtle, another in the dog, another in the owl, another in the lizard; and so on, throughout all the fish of the sea and birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things. In some of the shellfish even, gods were supposed to be present. A man would eat freely of what was regarded as the incarnation of the god of another man, but the incarnation of his own particular god he would consider it death to injure or eat.[3]

We have here that which appears to be the origin, or one of the

[3] Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 238.

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origins, of food-prohibitions, on the one hand, and of totemism on the other. When it is remembered that the old Israelites sprang from ancestors who are said to have resided near, or in, one of the great seats of ancient Babylonian civilisation, the city of Ur; that they had been, it is said for centuries, in close contact with the Egyptians; and that, in the theology of both the Babylonians and the Egyptians there is abundant evidence, notwithstanding their advanced social organisation, of the belief in spirits, with sorcery, ancestor-worship, the deification of animals, and the converse animalisation of Gods—it obviously needs very strong evidence to justify the belief that the rude tribes of Israel did not share the notions from which their far more civilised neighbours had not emancipated themselves.

But it is surely needless to carry the comparison further. Out of the abundant evidence at command I think that sufficient has been produced to furnish ample grounds for the belief, that the old Israelites of the time of Samuel entertained theological conceptions which were on a level with those current among the more civilised of the Polynesian islanders, though their ethical code may possibly, in some respects, have been more advanced.[4]

A theological system of essentially similar character, exhibiting the same fundamental conceptions respecting the continued existence and incessant interference in human affairs of disembodied spirits, prevails, or formerly prevailed, among the whole of the inhabitants of the Polynesian and Melanesian islands, and among the people of Australia, notwithstanding the wide differences in physical character and in grade of civilisation which obtain among them. And the same proposition is true of the people who inhabit the riverain shores of the Pacific Ocean, whether Dyaks, Malays, Indo-Chinese, Chinese, Japanese, the wild tribes of America, or the highly civilised old Mexicans and Peruvians. It is no less true of the Mongolic nomads of Northern Asia, of the Asiatic Aryans, and of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and it holds good among the Dravidians of the Dekhan and the negro tribes of Africa. No tribe of savages, which has yet been discovered, has been conclusively proved to have so poor a theological equipment as to be devoid of a belief in ghosts, and in the utility of some form of witchcraft in influencing those ghosts. And there is no nation, modern or ancient, which, even at this moment, has wholly given up the belief; and in which it has not, at one time or other, played a great part in practical life.

This *sciotheism*,[5] as it might be called, is found in several degrees of complexity in rough correspondence with the stages of social organisation, and, like these, separated by no sudden breaks.

[4] See Lippert's excellent remarks on this subject, *Der Seelencult*, p. 89.

[5] *Sciography* has the authority of Cudworth, *Intellectual System*, ii. p. 836. Sciomancy (σκιομαντεία), which, in the sense of divination by ghosts, may be found in Bailey's *Dictionary* (1751), also furnishes a precedent for my coinage.

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In its simplest condition, such as may be met with among the Australian savages, theology is a mere belief in the existence, powers, and disposition (usually malignant) of ghost-like entities who may be propitiated or scared away; but no cult can properly be said to exist. And, in this stage, theology is wholly independent of ethics. The moral code, such as is implied by public opinion, derives no sanction from the theological dogmas, and the influence of the spirits is supposed to be exerted out of mere caprice or malice.

As a next stage, the fundamental fear of ghosts and the consequent desire to propitiate them acquire an organised ritual in simple forms of ancestor-worship, such as the Rev. Mr. Turner describes among the people of Tanna (*l.c.* p. 88); and this line of development may be followed out until it attains its acme in the state-theology of China and the Kami-theology[6] of Japan. Each of these is essentially ancestor-worship, the ancestors being reckoned back through family groups of higher and higher order, sometimes with strict reference to the principle of agnation, as in old Rome; and, as in the latter, it is intimately bound up with the whole organisation of the state. There are no idols; inscribed tablets in China, and strips of paper lodged in a peculiar portable shrine in Japan, represent the souls of the deceased, or the special seats which they occupy when sacrifices are offered by their descendants. In Japan it is interesting to observe that a national Kami—Ten-zio-dai-zin—is worshipped as a sort of Jahveh by the nation in general, and (as Lippert has observed) it is singular that his special seat is a portable litter-like shrine, termed the Mikosi, in some sort analogous to the Israelitic Ark. In China, the emperor is the representative of the primitive ancestors, and stands, as it were, between them and the supreme cosmic deities—Heaven and Earth—who are superadded to them, and who answer to the Tangaloa and the Maui of the Polynesians.

Sciotheism, under the form of the deification of ancestral ghosts, in its most pronounced form, is therefore the chief element in the theology of a great moiety, possibly of more than half, of the human race. I think this must be taken to be a matter of fact—though various opinions may be held as to how this ancestor-worship came about. But, on the other hand, it is no less a matter of fact that there are very few people without additional gods, who cannot with certainty be accounted for as deified ancestors.

With all respect for the distinguished authorities on the other side, I cannot find good reasons for accepting the theory that the cosmic deities—who are superadded to deified ancestors even in China; who are found all over Polynesia, in Tangaloa and Maui, and in old Peru, in the Sun—are the product either of the 'search after

[6] 'Kami' is used in the sense of Elohim, but is also, like our word 'Lord,' employed as a title of respect among men.

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the infinite,' or of mistakes arising out of the confusion of a great chief's name with the thing signified by the name. But, however this may be, I think it is again merely matter of fact that, among a large portion of mankind, ancestor-worship is more or less thrown into the background either by such cosmic deities, or by tribal gods of uncertain origin, who have been raised to eminence by the superiority in warfare, or otherwise, of their worshippers.

Among certain nations, the polytheistic theology thus constituted has become modified by the selection of some one cosmic or tribal god as the only god to whom worship is due on the part of that nation (though it is by no means denied that other nations have a right to worship other gods), and thus results a worship of one God—*monolatry* as Wellhausen calls it—which is very different from genuine monotheism. In ancestral sciotheism, and in this *monolatry*, the ethical code, often of a very high order, comes into closer relation with the theological creed. Morality is taken under the patronage of the god or gods, who reward all morally good conduct and punish all morally evil conduct in this world or the next. At the same time, however, they are conceived to be thoroughly human, and they visit any shadow of disrespect to themselves, shown by disobedience to their commands, or delay, or carelessness, in carrying them out, as severely as any breach of the moral laws. Piety means minute attention to the due performance of all sacred rites, and covers any number of lapses in morality, just as cruelty, treachery, murder, and adultery did not bar David's claim to the title of the man after God's own heart among the Israelites; crimes against men may be expiated, but blasphemy against the gods is an unpardonable sin. Men forgive all injuries but those which touch their self-esteem; and they make their gods after their own image, in their own image make they them.

It is in the category of monolatry that I conceive the theology of the old Israelites must be ranged. They were polytheists, in so far as they admitted the existence of other Elohim of divine rank beside Jahveh; they differed from ordinary polytheists, in so far as they believed that Jahveh was the supreme god and the one proper object of their own national worship. But it will doubtless be objected that I have been building up a fictitious Israelitic theology on the foundation of the recorded habits and customs of the people, when they had lapsed from the ordinances of their great lawgiver and prophet Moses, and that my conclusions may be good for the perverts to Canaanitish theology, but not for the true observers of the Sinaitic legislation. The answer to the objection is that—so far as I can form a judgment of that which is well ascertained in the history of Israel—there is very little ground for believing that we know much, either about the theological and social

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value of the influence of Moses, or about what happened during the wanderings in the Desert.

The account of the Exodus and of the occurrences in the Sinaitic peninsula; in fact, all the history of Israel before the invasion of Canaan, is full of wonderful stories which may be true, in so far as they are conceivable occurrences, but which are certainly not probable, and which I, for one, decline to accept until evidence, which deserves that name, is offered of their historical truth. Up to this time I know of none.[7] Furthermore, I see no answer to the argument that one has no right to pick out of an obviously unhistorical statement the assertions which happen to be probable and discard the rest. But it is also certain that a primitively veracious tradition may be smothered under subsequent mythical additions, and that one has no right to cast away the former along with the latter. Thus, perhaps the fairest way of stating the case may be as follows.

There can be no *à priori* objection to the supposition that the Israelites were delivered from their Egyptian bondage by a leader called Moses, and that he exerted a great influence over their subsequent organisation in the desert. There is no reason to doubt that, during their residence in the land of Goshen, the Israelites knew nothing of Jahveh; but, as their own prophets declare (see Ezekiel xx.), were polytheistic idolaters, sharing in the worst practices of their neighbours. As to their conduct in other respects, nothing is known. But it may fairly be suspected that their ethics were not of a higher order than those of Jacob their progenitor, in which case they might derive great profit from contact with Egyptian society, which held honesty and truthfulness in the highest esteem. Thanks to the Egyptologers, we now know, with all requisite certainty, the moral standard of that society in the time, and long before the time, of Moses. It can be determined from the scrolls buried with the mummified dead and from the inscriptions on the tombs and memorial statues of that age. For, though the lying of epitaphs is proverbial, so far as their subject is concerned, they give an unmistakable insight into that which the writers and the readers of them think praiseworthy.

In the famous tombs at Beni Hassan there is a record of the life of Prince Nakht, who served Osertasen II., a Pharaoh of the twelfth dynasty, as governor of a province. The inscription speaks in his name:—'I was a benevolent and kindly governor who loved his country. . . . . Never was a little child distressed nor a widow ill-treated by me. I have never repelled a workman or hindered a shepherd. I gave alike to the widow and to the married woman, and have not preferred the great to the small in my gifts.' And we have the high authority of the late Dr. Samuel Birch for the statement that the inscriptions of the twelfth dynasty abound in injunctions of a high

[7] I refer those who wish to know the reasons which lead me to take up this position to the works of Reuss and Wellhausen.

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ethical character. 'To feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, bury the dead, loyally serve the king, formed the first duty of a pious man and faithful subject.'[8] The people for whom these inscriptions embodied their ideal of praiseworthiness assuredly had no imperfect conception of either justice or mercy. But there is a document which gives still better evidence of the moral standard of the Egyptians. It is the 'Book of the Dead,' a sort of 'Guide to Spiritland,' the whole or a part of which was buried with the mummy of every well-to-do Egyptian, while extracts from it are found in innumerable inscriptions. Portions of this work are of extreme antiquity, evidence of their existence occurring as far back as the fifth and sixth dynasties; while the 125th chapter, which constitutes a sort of book by itself, and is known as the 'Book of Redemption in the Hall of the two Truths,' is frequently inscribed upon coffins and other monuments of the nineteenth dynasty (which is that under which, there is every reason to believe, the Israelites were oppressed and the Exodus took place), and it occurs, more than once, in the famous tombs of the kings of this and the preceding dynasty at Thebes.[9] This 'Book of Redemption' is chiefly occupied by the so-called 'negative confession' made to the forty-two Divine Judges, in which the soul of the dead denies that he has committed faults of various kinds. It is, therefore, obvious that the Egyptians conceived that their gods commanded them not to do the deeds which are here denied. The 'Book of Redemption,' in fact, implies the existence in the mind of the Egyptians, if not in a formal writing, of a series of ordinances couched, like the majority of the Ten Commandments, in negative terms. And, in fact, it is quite easy to prove the implied existence of a series which nearly answers to the 'ten words.' Of course a polytheistic and image-worshipping people, who observed a great many holy days, but no sabbaths, could have nothing analogous to the first or the second and the fourth commandments of the Decalogue; but, answering to the third, is 'I have not blasphemed;' to the fifth, 'I have not reviled the face of the king or my father;' to the sixth, 'I have not murdered;' to the seventh, 'I have not committed adultery;' to the eighth, 'I have not stolen,' 'I have not done fraud to man;' to the ninth, 'I have not told falsehoods in the tribunal of truth,' and, further, 'I have not calumniated the slave to his master.' I find nothing exactly similar to the tenth commandment; but that the inward disposition of mind was held to be of no less importance than the outward act is to be gathered from the praises of kindliness already cited and the cry of 'I am pure,' which is repeated by the soul on trial. Moreover, there is a minuteness of detail in the confession which shows no little delicacy of moral appreciation—'I have not privily done evil against mankind,' 'I have not afflicted men,' 'I

[8] Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v. p. 129 note.

[9] See Birch, in *Egypt's Place*, vol. v.; and Brugsch, *History of Egypt*.

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have not withheld milk from the mouths of sucklings,' 'I have not been idle,' 'I have not played the hypocrite,' 'I have not told falsehoods,' 'I have not corrupted woman or man,' 'I have not caused fear,' 'I have not multiplied words in speaking.'

Would that the moral sense of the nineteenth century A.D. were as far advanced as that of the Egyptians in the nineteenth century B.C. in this last particular! What incalculable benefit to mankind would flow from strict observance of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not multiply words in speaking'! Nothing is more remarkable than the stress which the old Egyptians, here and elsewhere, lay upon this and other kinds of truthfulness, as compared with the absence of any such requirement in the Israelitic Decalogue, in which only a specific kind of untruthfulness is forbidden.

If, as the story runs, Moses was adopted by a princess of the royal house, and was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, it is surely incredible that he should not have been familiar, from his youth up, with the high moral code implied in the 'Book of Redemption.' It is surely impossible that he should have been less familiar with the complete legal system, and with the method of administration of justice, which, even in his time, had enabled the Egyptian people to hold together, as a complex social organisation, for a period far longer than the duration of old Roman society, from the building of the city to the death of the last Cæsar. Nor need we look to Moses alone for the influence of Egypt upon Israel. It is true that the Hebrew nomads who came into contact with the Egyptians of Osertasen or of Ramses stood in much the same relation to them, in point of culture, as a Germanic tribe did to the Romans of Tiberius or of Marcus Antoninus, or as Captain Cook's Omai did to the English of George the Third. But, at the same time, any difficulty of communication which might have arisen out of this circumstance was removed by the long pre-existing intercourse of other Semites, of every grade of civilisation, with the Egyptians. In Mesopotamia and elsewhere, as in Phenicia, Semitic people had attained to a social organisation as advanced as that of the Egyptians; Semites had conquered and occupied Lower Egypt for centuries. So extensively had Semitic influences penetrated Egypt that the Egyptian language, during the period of the nineteenth dynasty, is said by Brugsch to be as full of Semitisms as German is of Gallicisms; while Semitic deities had supplanted the Egyptian gods at Heliopolis and elsewhere. On the other hand, the Semites, as far as Phenicia, were extensively influenced by Egypt.

It is generally admitted[10] that Moses, Phinehas (and perhaps Aaron) are names of Egyptian origin, and there is excellent authority for the statement that the name *Abir*, which the

[10] Even by Graetz, who, though a fair enough historian, cannot be accused of any desire to over-estimate the importance of Egyptian influence upon his people.

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Israelites gave to their golden calf, and which is also used to signify the strong, the heavenly, and even God,[11] is simply the Egyptian Apis. Brugsch points out that the god Tum, or Tom, who was the special object of worship in the city of Pi-Tom, with which the Israelites were only too familiar, was called Ānkh and the 'great god,' and had no image. Ānkh means 'He who lives,' 'the living one,' a name the resemblance of which to the 'I am that I am' of Exodus is unmistakable, whatever may be the value of the fact. Every discussion of Israelitic ritual seeks and finds the explanation of its details in the portable sacred chests, the altars, the priestly dress, the breast-plate, the incense, and the sacrifices depicted on the monuments of Egypt. But it must be remembered that these signs of the influence of Egypt upon Israel are not necessarily evidence that such influence was exerted before the Exodus. It may have come much later through the close connection of the Israel of David and Solomon, first with Phenicia and then with Egypt.

If we suppose Moses to have been a man of the stamp of Calvin, there is no difficulty in conceiving that he may have constructed the substance of the ten words, and even of the Book of the Covenant, which curiously resembles parts of the Book of the Dead, from the foundation of Egyptian ethics and theology which had filtered through to the Israelites in general, or had been furnished specially to himself by his early education, just as the great Genevese reformer built up a puritanic social organisation on so much as remained of the ethics and theology of the Roman Church, after he had trimmed them to his liking.

Thus, I repeat, I see no *à priori* objection to the assumption that Moses may have endeavoured to give his people a theologico-political organisation based on the Ten Commandments (though certainly not quite in their present form) and the Book of the Covenant, contained in our present book of Exodus. But whether there is such evidence as amounts to proof, or I had better say, to probability, that even this much of the Pentateuch owes its origin to Moses is another matter. The mythical character of the accessories of the Sinaitic history is patent, and it would take a good deal more evidence than is afforded by the bare assertion of an unknown writer to justify the belief that the people who 'saw the thunderings and the lightnings and the voice of the trumpet and the mountain smoking' (Exodus xx. 18); to whom Jahveh orders Moses to say 'Ye yourselves have seen that I have talked with you from heaven. Ye shall not make other gods with me; gods of silver and gods of gold ye shall not make unto you' (*ibid.* 22, 23), should, less than six weeks afterwards, have done the exact thing they were thus awfully forbidden to do. Nor is the credibility of the story increased by the statement that Aaron, the brother of Moses, the witness and fellow-worker of the miracles before

[11] Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, bd. i., p. 370.

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Pharaoh, was their leader and the artificer of the idol. And yet, at the same time, Aaron was apparently so ignorant of wrong-doing that he made proclamation 'To-morrow shall be a feast to Jahveh,' and the people proceeded to offer their burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, as if everything in their proceedings must be satisfactory to the Deity with whom they had just made a solemn covenant to abolish image-worship. It seems to me that, on a survey of all the facts of the case, only a very cautious and hypothetical judgment is justifiable. It may be that Moses profited by the opportunities afforded him of access to what was best in Egyptian society to become acquainted, not only with its advanced ethical and legal code, but with the more or less pantheistic unification of the Divine to which the speculations of the Egyptian thinkers, like those of all polytheistic philosophers, from Polynesia to Greece, tend; if indeed the theology of the period of the nineteenth dynasty was not, as some Egyptologists think, a modification of an earlier, more distinctly monotheistic doctrine of a long antecedent age. It took only half a dozen centuries for the theology of St. Paul to become the theology of Gregory the Great; and it is probable that twenty centuries lay between the theology of the first worshippers in the sanctuary of the Sphinx and that of the priests of Ramses Maimun.

It may be that the ten commandments and the Book of the Covenant are based upon faithful traditions of the efforts of a great leader to raise his followers to his own level. For myself, as a matter of pious opinion, I like to think so; as I like to imagine that, between Moses and Samuel, there may have been many a seer, many a herdsman such as him of Tekoah, lonely amidst the hills of Ephraim and Judah, who cherished and kept alive these traditions. In the present results of Biblical criticism, however, I can discover no justification for the common assumption that, between the time of Joshua and that of Rehoboam, anything was known either of the Deuteronomic or of the Levitical legislation; or that the theology of the Israelites, from the king who sat on the throne to the lowest of his subjects, was in any important respect different from that which might naturally be expected from their previous history and the conditions of their existence. But there is excellent evidence to the contrary effect. And, for my part, I see no reason to doubt that, like the rest of the world, the Israelites had passed through a period of mere ghost-worship, and had advanced through Ancestor-worship and Fetishism and Totemism to the theological level at which we find them in the books of Judges and Samuel.

All the more remarkable, therefore, is the extraordinary change which is to be noted in the eighth century B.C. The student who is familiar with the theology implied or expressed in the books of Judges, Samuel, and the first book of Kings, finds himself in a new

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world of thought, in the full tide of a great reformation, when he reads Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah.

The essence of this change is the reversal of the position which, in primitive society, ethics holds in relation to theology. Originally, that which men worship is a theological hypothesis, not a moral ideal. The prophets, in substance, if not always in form, preach the opposite doctrine. They are constantly striving to free the moral ideal from the stifling embrace of the current theology and its concomitant ritual. Theirs was not an intellectual criticism, argued on strictly scientific grounds; the image-worshippers and the believers in the efficacy of sacrifices and ceremonies might logically have held their own against anything the prophets have to say—it was an ethical criticism. From the height of his moral intuition—that the whole duty of man is to do justice and love mercy and to bear himself as humbly as befits his insignificance in face of the Infinite—the prophet simply laughs at the idolaters of stocks and stones and the idolaters of ritual. Idols of the first kind, in his experience, were inseparably united with the practice of immorality, and they were to be ruthlessly destroyed. As for sacrifices and ceremonies, whatever their intrinsic value might be, they might be tolerated on condition of ceasing to be idols; they might even be praiseworthy on condition of being made to subserve the worship of the true Jahveh—the moral ideal.

If the realm of David had remained undivided, if the Assyrian and the Chaldean and the Egyptian had left Israel to the ordinary course of development of an Oriental kingdom, it is possible that the effects of the reforming zeal of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries might have been effaced by the growth, according to its inevitable tendencies, of the theology which they combated. But the captivity made the fortune of the ideas which it was the privilege of these men to launch upon an endless career. With the abolition of the Temple-services for half a century, the priest must have lost, and the scribe gained, influence. The puritanism of a vigorous minority among the Babylonian Jews rooted out polytheism from all its hiding-places in the theology which they had inherited; they created the first consistent, remorseless, naked monotheism which, so far as history records, appeared in the world (for Zoroastrism is practically ditheism, and Buddhism any-theism or no-theism); and they inseparably united therewith an ethical code, which for its purity and for its efficiency as a bond of social life was, and is, unsurpassed. So I think we must not judge Ezra and Nehemiah and their followers too hardly, if they exemplified the usual doom of poor humanity to escape from one error only to fall into another; if they failed to free themselves as completely from the idolatry of ritual as they had from that of images and dogmas; if they cherished the new fetters of the Levitical legislation which they had fitted upon themselves and their nation, as though such bonds had the sanctity of the obligations of morality; and if they

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led succeeding generations to spend their best energies in building that 'hedge round the Torah' which was meant to preserve both ethics and theology, but which too often had the effect of pampering the latter and starving the former. The world being what it was, it is to be doubted whether Israel would have preserved intact the pure ore of religion, which the prophets had extracted for the use of mankind as well as for their nation, had not the leaders of the nation been as zealous, even to death, for the dross of the law in which it was embedded as they were. The struggle of the Jews under the Maccabean house against the Seleucidæ was as important for mankind as that of the Greeks against the Persians. And, of all the strange ironies of history, perhaps the strangest is that 'Pharisee' is current, as a term of reproach, among the theological descendants of that sect of Nazarenes who, without the martyr spirit of those primitive Puritans, would never have come into existence. They, like their historical successors, our own Puritans, have shared the fate of the other poor wise men who save cities.

A criticism of theology from the side of science is not thought of by the prophets, and is at most indicated in the books of Job and Ecclesiastes, in both of which the problem of vindicating the ways of God to man is given up, though on different grounds, as a hopeless one. But, with the extensive introduction of Greek thought among the Jews, which took place, not only during the domination of the Seleucidæ in Palestine, but in the great Judaic colony which flourished in Egypt under the Ptolemies, criticism, on both ethical and scientific grounds, took a new departure.

In the hands of the Alexandrian Jews, as represented by Philo, the fundamental axiom of later Jewish as of Christian monotheism, that the Deity is infinitely perfect and infinitely good, worked itself out into its logical consequence—agnostic theism. Philo will allow of no point of contact between God and a world in which evil exists. For him God has no relation to space or to time, and, as infinite, suffers no predicate beyond that of existence. It is, therefore, absurd to ascribe to Him mental faculties and affections comparable in the remotest degree to those of men; He is in no way an object of cognition; He is *ἄποιος* and *ἀκατάληκτος*[12]—without quality and incomprehensible. That is to say, the Alexandrian Jew of the first century had anticipated the reasonings of Hamilton and Mansell in the nineteenth, and for him God is the Unknowable in the same sense in which that term is used by Mr. Herbert Spencer. Moreover, Philo's definition of the Supreme Being would not be inconsistent with that 'substantia constans infinitis attributis, quorum unumquodque æternam et infinitam essentiam exprimit,' given by another great Israelite,

[12] See the careful analysis of the work of the Alexandrian philosopher and theologian (who, it should be remembered, was a most devout Jew, held in the highest esteem by his countrymen) in Siegfried's work, *Philo von Alexandrien*, 1875.

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were it not that Spinoza's doctrine of the immanence of the Deity in the world puts him, at any rate formally, at the antipodes of theological speculation. But the conception of the essential incognoscibility of the Deity is the same in each case. However, Philo was too thorough an Israelite and too much the child of his time to be content with this agnostic position; so, with the help of the Platonic and Stoic philosophy, he constructed an apprehensible, if not comprehensible, quasi-deity out of the Logos; while other more or less personified divine powers, or attributes, bridged over the interval between God and man; between the sacred existence, too pure to be called by any name which implied a conceivable quality, and the gross and evil world of matter. In order to get over the ethical difficulties presented by the naïve naturalism of many parts of those Scriptures, in the divine authority of which he firmly believed, Philo borrowed from the Stoics (who had been in like straits in respect of Greek mythology) that great Excalibur which they had forged with infinite pains and skill—the method of allegorical interpretation. This mighty 'two-handed engine at the door' of the theologian is warranted to make a speedy end of any and every moral or intellectual difficulty by showing that, taken allegorically or, as it is otherwise said, 'poetically,' or 'in a spiritual sense,' the plainest words mean whatever a pious interpreter desires they should mean. In Biblical phrase, Zeno (who probably had a strain of Semitic blood in him) was the 'father of all such as reconcile.' No doubt Philo and his followers were eminently religious men, but they did endless injury to the cause of religion by laying the foundations of a new theology, and equipping the defenders of it with the subtlest of all weapons of offence and defence, and with an inexhaustible store of sophistical arguments of the most reasonable aspect.

The question of the real bearing upon theology of the influence exerted by the teaching of Philo's contemporary, Jesus of Nazareth, is one upon which it is not germane to my present purpose to enter. I take it simply as an unquestionable fact that his immediate disciples were known to their countrymen as 'Nazarenes,' and were regarded as, and considered themselves to be, perfectly orthodox Jews belonging to the puritanic or pharisaic section of their people, and differing from the rest only in their belief that the Messiah had already come. Christianity, it is said, first became clearly differentiated at Antioch, and it separated itself from orthodox Judaism by denying the obligation of the rite of circumcision and of the food prohibitions, prescribed by the law. Henceforward theology became relatively stationary among the Jews,[13] and the history of its rapid

[13] I am not unaware of the existence of many and widely divergent sects and schools among the Jews at all periods of their history, since the dispersion. But I imagine that orthodox Judaism is now pretty much what it was in Philo's time; while Peter and Paul, if they could return to life, would certainly have to learn the cate-

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progress in a new course of evolution is the history of the Christian Churches, orthodox and heterodox. The steps in this evolution are obvious. The first is the birth of a new theological scheme arising out of the union of elements derived from Greek philosophy with elements derived from Israelitic theology. In the Fourth Gospel, the Logos, raised to a somewhat higher degree of personification than in the Alexandrian theosophy, is identified with Jesus of Nazareth. In the Epistles, especially the later of those attributed to St. Paul, the Israelitic ideas of the Messiah and of sacrificial atonement coalesce with one another and with the embodiment of the Logos in Jesus, until the apotheosis of the Son of Man is almost, or quite, effected. The history of Christian dogma, from Justin to Athanasius, is a record of continual progress in the same direction, until the fair body of religion, revealed in almost naked purity by the prophets, is once more hidden under a new accumulation of dogmas and of ritual practices of which the primitive Nazarene knew nothing; and which he would probably have regarded as blasphemous if he could have been made to understand them.

As, century after century, the ages roll on, polytheism comes back under the disguise of Mariolatry and the adoration of saints; image-worship becomes as rampant as in old Egypt; adoration of relics takes the place of the old fetish-worship; the virtues of the ephod pale before those of holy coats and handkerchiefs; shrines and calvaries make up for the loss of the ark and of the high places; and even the lustral fluid of paganism is replaced by holy water at the porches of the temples. A touching ceremony—the common meal originally eaten in pious memory of a loved teacher—was metamorphosed into a flesh-and-blood sacrifice, supposed to possess exactly that redeeming virtue which the prophets denied to the flesh-and-blood sacrifices of their day; while the minute observance of ritual was raised to a degree of punctilious refinement which Levitical legislators might envy. And, with the growth of a vast officially recognised theology, grew its officially unrecognised but inevitable concomitant, the belief in evil spirits, in possession, in sorcery, in charms and omens, until the Christians of the twelfth century after our era were sunk in more debased and brutal superstitions than are recorded of the Israelites in the twelfth century before it.

The greatest men of the middle ages are unable to escape the infection. Dante's 'Inferno' would be revolting if it were not so often sublime, so often exquisitely tender. The hideous pictures which cover a vast space on the south wall of the Campo Santo of Pisa convey information, as terrible as it is indisputable, of the theological conceptions of Dante's countrymen in the fourteenth century, whose eyes were addressed by the painters of those disgusting

chism of either the Roman, Greek, or Anglican Churches, if they desired to be considered orthodox Christians.

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scenes, and whose approbation they knew how to win. A candid Mexican of the time of Cortez, could he have seen this Christian burial-place, would have taken it for an appropriately adorned Teocalli. The professed disciple of the God of justice and of mercy might there gloat over the sufferings of his fellow-men depicted as undergoing every extremity of atrocious and sanguinary torture to all eternity, for theological errors no less than for moral delinquencies; while, in the central figure of Satan,[14] occupied in champing up souls in his capacious and well-toothed jaws, to void them again for the purpose of undergoing fresh suffering, we have the counterpart of the strange Polynesian and Egyptian dogma that there were certain gods who employed themselves in devouring the ghostly flesh of the spirits of the dead. But, in justice to the Polynesians, it must be recollected that, after three such operations, they thought the soul was purified and happy. In the view of the Christian theologian the operation was only a preparation for new tortures continued for ever and aye.

With the growth of civilisation in Europe, and with the revival of letters and of science in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the ethical and intellectual criticism of theology once more recommenced, and arrived at a temporary resting-place in the confessions of the various reformed Protestant sects in the sixteenth century, almost all of which, as soon as they were strong enough, began to persecute those who carried criticism beyond their own limit. But the movement was not arrested by these ecclesiastical barriers, as their constructors fondly imagined it would be; it was continued, tacitly or openly, by Galileo, by Hobbes, by Descartes, and especially by Spinoza, in the seventeenth century; by the English Freethinkers, by Rousseau, by the French Encyclopædists, and by the German Rationalists, among whom Lessing stands out a head and shoulders taller than the rest, throughout the eighteenth century; by the historians, the philologers, the Biblical critics, the geologists, and the biologists in the nineteenth century, until it is obvious to all who can see that the moral sense and the really scientific method of seeking for truth are once more predominating over false science. Once more ethics and theology are parting company.

It is my conviction that, with the spread of true scientific culture, whatever may be the medium, historical, philological, philosophical, or physical, through which that culture is conveyed, and with its

[14] Dante's description of Lucifer engaged in the eternal mastication of Brutus, Cassius, and Judas Iscariot—

'Da ogni bocca dirompea co' denti
Un peccatore, a guisa di maciulla,
Si che tre ne facea così dolenti.
A quel dinanzi il mordere era nulla
Verso 'l graffiar, chè tal volta la schiena
Rimanca della pelle tutta brulla'—

is quite in harmony with the Pisan picture and perfectly Polynesian in conception.

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necessary concomitant, a constant elevation of the standard of veracity, the end of the evolution of theology will be like its beginning—it will cease to have any relation to ethics. I suppose that so long as the human mind exists, it will not escape its deep-seated instinct to personify its intellectual conceptions. The science of the present day is as full of this particular form of intellectual shadow-worship as is the nescience of ignorant ages. The difference is that the philosopher who is worthy of the name knows that his personified hypotheses, such as law, and force, and ether, and the like, are merely useful symbols, while the ignorant and the careless take them for adequate expressions of reality. So it may be, that the majority of mankind may find the practice of morality made easier by the use of theological symbols. And, unless these are converted from symbols into idols, I do not see that science has anything to say to the practice, except to give an occasional warning of its dangers. But, when such symbols are dealt with as real existences, I think the highest duty which is laid upon men of science is to show that these dogmatic idols have no greater value than the fabrications of men's hands, the stocks and the stones, which they have replaced.

T. H. Huxley.

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THE CHURCH AND THE VILLAGES: WHAT HOPE?

FEW men can have watched the movements of opinion during the past year without being impressed by the change of attitude observable in the two contending parties engaged upon the assault and defence of the possessions of that mysterious entity which goes by the name of the Church of England.

This entity it must be premised, so far as it has a collective existence, exists in the person of certain officials who are supposed to be devoting their lives to certain duties, and are in the possession of funds which, after every deduction from the grossly exaggerated estimates of the rhetoricians, are certainly very large and yet are being added to every week by the lavish offerings of the English people. We must go back to a remote past if we desire to trace the origin of that reserve fund for the maintenance of our clergy on which they now live; a fund which has gone on growing, sometimes rapidly, sometimes slowly, for considerably more than a thousand years.

When people talk of *disendowing* the Church of England, they mean that this accumulated fund shall be confiscated by the nation for whose benefit it exists, and that it shall no longer be used for the purpose to which it has been so long devoted.

But what is this *Church* that is to be despoiled and beggared, to be disestablished and disendowed? We cannot call it a corporation, for it has no corporate existence as a chartered company or a college has. It has no representatives in the Lower House of Parliament, as the universities have. It has no common council with disciplinary powers, as the Incorporated Society of Law or the Inns of Court have. It has no *voice* speaking with authority, no homogeneity deserving the name. It cannot pass ordinances for the regulation of its minutest affairs, or impose rules of conduct upon any one, or levy the smallest contribution from man, woman, or child by its own decrees. You may call it an army if you please; but it is an army in which the commissioned officers have no control over the rank and file, no power of enforcing attendance at drill, no articles of war which any one heeds, and no generals whom any one fears. This mysterious entity, which is the sum-total of a multitude of more or less isolated units, we say is the owner of lands and buildings and

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rent-charge, and this property it is said is the property of the Church —the Church? *Nos numerus sumus!*

Without any very great misuse of language, it may be said that among us there is another mysterious entity; this, too, the sum-total of a number of isolated units. These units, too, were only the other day in possession of houses and lands, and buildings considered to be public buildings; the units were almost in the same position as the clergy are at this moment, freeholders and practically irremovable; they were expected to perform certain duties which, as a rule, they performed with zeal and fidelity. In many cases, when sickness or old age came upon them, they discharged their functions by deputy; they had practically little or no discipline of control over them; 'visitors' who never visited, feoffees who never interfered, governors who never governed. Each of these functionaries was called a schoolmaster, and the building in which he officiated was called *a* School. The sum-total of these many units had no name; but if the public buildings were rightly called schools, the aggregate of them might for convenience be called *the School.* A noun of multitude, standing in the same relation to its units as the current term 'the Church' does to its units—the Churches.

To whom did the property from which the schools were kept in efficiency, and their masters furnished with a maintenance—sometimes with much more than a mere maintenance—to whom did this property belong? I can find but one answer. It was the property of the nation; a reserve fund which the nation had permitted certain individuals to set apart from time to time for the furtherance of the education of the people, the object aimed at being considered so excellent that the conditions imposed by the founder upon posterity were allowed to remain in force, he being supposed to have entered into a contract with the nation that, in consideration of the value of the surrender made, the reserve of property should be sanctioned, and the conditions imposed be held to be binding upon posterity. The land or the rent-charges which yesterday were private possessions ceased to be so to-day: they *were* private property; they became public property, and constituted the Educational Reserve.

I can no longer resist the conviction that, as in the one case so in the other, the nation may reconsider its treaty with School or Church; may determine that the reserve hitherto set apart for the education of a class, or a district, or the founder's kin, should no longer be applied according to the compact sanctioned in previous ages, and may in the same way reconsider its compact with the alienation of property now known as Church property, and deal with that far larger reserve hitherto applied for the promotion of the moral and spiritual welfare of the people. The nation has the right to do this, as it undoubtedly has the power. Whether in this case

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summum jus would not be found to be *summa injuria* is quite another question.

But it is one thing to say this large reserve shall be administered otherwise than it is, and quite another thing to say that it shall cease to exist as a reserve at all. It is one thing to deal with our ecclesiastical endowments on the lines that school endowments have been dealt with, and quite another to deal with them as Henry the Eighth dealt with the property of the religious houses. To adopt the one course would be readjustment, to adopt the other would be confiscation. Nevertheless, if the majority of the new electorate should decidedly and unequivocally pronounce that such is its pleasure, assuredly the property now held in reserve in the shape of religious endowments will be confiscated. Religion will be the luxury of the rich and well-to-do; the proletariate and the agricultural labourer will have to supply themselves with an inferior article, or to do without it altogether.

If a revolution so tremendous, if a calamity so overwhelming, is to befall this nation, and is to take effect by the deliberate choice of its people, at least let a great nation address itself to the task with the semblance of dignity; at least let it be clearly explained and firmly adhered to that the clergy reserve is not to be given over to general pillage. Do not be guilty of the baseness of bidding for the votes of the proletariate by holding out hopes of a general scramble. Do not corrupt the poor dwellers in the villages by inviting them to embark in a filibustering raid upon their friends and neighbours.

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It is a question which a philosopher might worthily employ himself in answering—how it has come to pass that during the last fifty years the struggle for supremacy between political parties has tended to become less and less a regular *warfare* and to assume more and more the character of a *game*. Nay! It is rapidly developing into a game rather more of chance than of skill, and one in which the most daring and reckless adventurer is just as likely to sweep off the stakes as the most gifted and sagacious player. It is one of the most unhappy results of this condition of affairs that there has grown up in our midst a class of touts and hangers-on who do the dirty work of either side and bring discredit upon both. They are the swell-mob of politics. Such creatures live by inventing grievances and fomenting discontent, their doctrine being that whatever is is wrong; their artillery is always charged with explosive promises. These men are going up and down the land loudly proclaiming that the parsons have robbed *the poor* of their own, and are holding out to their dupes the wildest hopes that when the spoliation comes *the poor* shall be the first to benefit by the great change. We shall never be able to silence the voice of charlatans. The sausage-seller in Aristophanes is the type of a class of men who have

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found no scope for their talents in any honest calling, and who because they must live have been forced into the trade of lying vociferously. I do not write for these—to these I have no word to say. It is with the men whose hearts are throbbing with some patriotism and who have not lost all loyalty to truth and honour that I desire to have my dealings. It is with such that I would humbly and earnestly expostulate, whatever their philosophical or political opinions, and whatever may be their creed. Even if it were as easy to prove, as it is demonstrably the reverse, that there ever did exist in England at any time or in any place a right on the part of the poor to any portion of the tithes of a parish or to the glebe, who, it may be asked, are *the poor*? The receivers of parochial relief, whether in the workhouse or outside it? Or every able-bodied peasant who claims to belong to the needy classes? Are you going to ask the agricultural labourer to cry for spoliation and to bribe him to raise the cry by the promise of converting him into what our fathers called a 'sturdy beggar'? And then are there no poor artisans? Are the millions of our towns to be left out in the cold while Hodge disports himself with his new possessions? Are Liverpool and East London to go on as they are, while Little Mudborough is to enjoy a feast of fat things?

But the demagogues who live to corrupt the people have promises to make to others than the labourers. They are telling the tenant-farmers, too, that they will be gainers by the great confiscation, and endeavouring to persuade them, too, that when it comes they will be relieved from the burden of the tithes. Would they be so? If the payment of tithe were abolished to-morrow, can any sane man believe that the tenant-farmer would be allowed to put the tithe into his pocket or to keep it there? Can any sane man believe that rents would not rise exactly in proportion to the amount of charges from which the tenant was relieved? Rent is nothing more than the money payment supposed to represent the just return which the owner claims from the occupier for the privilege of cultivating his land. The occupier makes his account and calculates how much he can gain by the compact. The landlord's share is his rent. He is the sleeping partner. Relieve the expenses of the going concern from the payment of the tithe, or, which is the same thing, add it to the profits, and what power on earth will prevent the landlord, directly or indirectly, sooner or later, absorbing the proceeds of the newly-created *bonus*?

Moreover, if you begin to 'do away with the tithes,' are you going to do away with them *only* in the case where the parson receives them and does something—at any rate *some*thing—in return for the income he derives from them? Are you going to let the tithes be levied as before where they are paid to laymen, to corporations, or colleges? Are those tithes which are necessarily spent in the parish by the resident parson to be 'done away with,' but all such tithes as

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are as necessarily carried out of the parish and paid to a London company, an alien, or a college at Oxford or Cambridge to be levied as before? Is it a *gravamen* against the parson that he spends his tithe where it is paid him, and among the people who pay it, and that he is bound in return for it to do the payers some services which they may exact on demand? Are you going to confiscate the tithe where the receiver does something for it, and to let the man who does nothing for it collect it as before? Imagine the amazement and disgust of a tenant who should be told that his neighbour on the other side of the hedge is never to pay tithe again because in that parish there has been a parson to pillage; but that he, on this side of the hedge, is to pay it as before, because Mr. Tomkins, or Mrs. John Smith, or the Saddlers' Company, is the lay impropriator, and the rights of property are to be respected. It would not be long, I imagine, before our friend the farmer would go for the lay impropriator, and with a will too.

But, if the labourer and the tenant are not to be cajoled by promises that must needs be illusory, least of all are the landlords to be gained over by the inducement held out to them that they, of all men, are to benefit by the change. They more than any other class are responsible for the loud outcry that has been raised. The tithe-rent-charge is a first charge upon the produce of the land. They are the landlords who, as a class, have done their best to make people forget this fact. How often have we heard of a landlord or his agent declaring loudly, 'I have nothing to do with the tithe—that is a matter between the tenant and the parson!' A more monstrous assertion it would be difficult to invent! Far more true would be the direct opposite, if the parson, or the impropriator, should say, 'I, as receiver of tithe, have nothing to do with you, the tenant—the tithe is no concern of yours; my claim is upon the owner of the soil!' In point of fact, it is in the last resort upon the landlord, and the landlord alone, that the tithe-owner, lay or clerical, has his claim.

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But, if we should only aggravate the incidence of the immense calamity which would ensue from the confiscation of the clergy reserve by handing over the spoils to the labourers, or the proletariate, or the farmers, or the landlords, and yet the electorate should resolve to carry out this great spoliation, and call upon the executive to sweep away the clerical incomes, and lay its hand upon the property from which these incomes are derived, what is to be done with this huge fund so confiscated, and how are we to prevent the landlords being in some form or other the only gainers by the change?

If confiscation comes, let it come, say I, as no half-measure. Let there be no bargaining, no tinkering, no compromise—in fact, no mercy! No—no mercy! Let this thing be done in root-and-branch

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fashion. Let the nation set its face like a flint; let the Church—it would be the Church then—begin its new life naked and bare. Both sides will have a bad time of it. It takes little to decide which will have the worst time of it, the starved Church or the starved people.

> Set the two forces foot to foot,
> And every man knows who'll be winner,
> Whose faith in God has e'er a root
> That goes down deeper than his dinner.

Therefore, if indeed this nation decides that it can do without religious teachers, and that these shall live of those who want them, let us put up our parish churches to auction, and dispose of the glebes to the highest bidder, and flood the market with comfortable parsonage-houses, sold without reserve, and let the tithe be levied by the tax-gatherer, and let *it be levied from the owner of the soil*, as the land-tax is. Furthermore, let us have no assignment of any share of the plunder to any class or any special fund. Let us hand over the proceeds of the sale of churches and houses and lands to the Commissioners for the Extinguishing of the National Debt, and not to the ratepayers, not to the Education Commissioners, nor to the Commissioners in Lunacy for building madhouses, or any other cheerful and heroic object. Let us have a measure which shall be simple and thorough, with the fewest possible details to vex and embarrass us all. As the parsons die, sell their houses, their glebes and their churches, and let the State at once appropriate the tithe. Let us be brought face to face with the real meaning of a revolution the tremendous magnitude of which few men can have the faintest conception of. In less than a year after the measure had become law, we should begin to know in what an experiment we had embarked. The sooner our eyes were opened the better for us all. The logic of facts is better than gabble.

Nevertheless, firmly convinced as I am that such a revolution would be an immeasurable calamity to the people of this country, and especially so to the agricultural districts, I am quite as firmly convinced that the present condition of affairs as regards the tenure and administration of the property now constituting the clergy reserves cannot possibly go on much longer; that the mere mockery and pretence of discipline among the clergy themselves must be replaced by something much more real and effective; that, in short, some large and radical measures of Church reform are being called for, such as the nation feels must and shall be carried out, though the great body of the people do not yet see, and cannot yet be expected to see, on what fundamental principles such reform should be advocated or on what lines such reform should travel.

As a preliminary, as a *sine quâ non* of all really effective Church reform, it seems to me that, first and foremost, you must begin, not by *disestablishing*, but by *establishing*, the Church. As things are

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among us, it seems to me that the very word establishment is a confession on the part of those who use it that they have failed to discover the right word for that which they would fain obliterate.

We say the Church is a great landlord and wealthy owner of property. Ought not such an owner to have some control over its own and some voice in the disposition of that property? Every railroad company in the land, every joint-stock bank or co-operative association for the providing of milk and butter, every society for the protection of cats and dogs, has a constitution. It has its directors or governors, its recognised officers, its power to make or to alter at least its own bye-laws, its liberty to dispose of its own funds within certain limits, the privilege of meeting and of discussing its own affairs when and where it pleases, and the right of applying to the Legislature of the country for larger powers if such shall appear necessary for the carrying out of objects not dreamt of at its first start.

The Church is absolutely lacking in all these respects, for the very simple reason that the Church, viewed as a going concern in possession of property, has nothing that can be called a constitution.

If the glaring anomalies and the wholly unjustifiable grotesqueness which startle us at every turn when we begin to discuss 'Church questions' are to be removed, where are we to begin, and what should be the lines on which any scheme of readjustment should proceed?

First and foremost, let all obsolete and antiquated privileges, which are survivals of a long extinct condition of affairs, be swep away, and with the privileges let the disabilities go also. Let no man be made either more or less than a citizen of the Empire by reason of his being in any sense a member of the Church—not a peer of the realm on the one hand, not disqualified from entering the House of Commons on the other.

As a preliminary to giving the Church a working constitution, it is my conviction that the bishops should no longer have seats in the House of Lords. I cannot see how any director or overseer of any corporation, or indeed of any department of the State, should be made a peer of the realm by virtue of his holding office. I am not wholly ignorant of our constitutional history, although into the historical aspect of the question I decline to enter now. The logic of facts is what we have to face; and as things are, however much we may deplore it, there seems just as little reason why bishops should be raised to the peerage as why the naval lords of the Admiralty should be created barons. But, if you dismiss the bishops from the Upper House, you certainly cannot exclude the inferior clergy from the lower one. Whether in the one case the Church or the House of Lords would be much the loser may very reasonably be

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doubted, notwithstanding the conspicuous ability which is and has for long been characteristic of the Episcopal Bench. In the other case, the Church and the House of Commons are just as little likely to be much the gainers by letting clergymen represent the constituencies in Parliament. As in France, so would it be in England; the clerical candidates would be very few, the clerical members fewer. That, however, does not affect the question whether or not clerical disabilities should be abolished.

But by far the most necessary and radical reform that is imperatively called for is the abolition of that preposterous antiquarian curiosity, the Parson's Freehold.

The philosopher of the future who 'with larger, other eyes than ours' shall survey the history of our institutions and tell of their origin, their growth or their decay, will, I believe, be amazed and perplexed by nothing so much as by the strange vitality of this legal phenomenon—the *Parson's Freehold.* That any man who is in any sense a public servant should, by virtue of being nominated to hold an office, be made tenant for life of a real estate from which only by an act of his own can he be removed—*that* would seem to most of us so entirely startling and outrageous in the abstract as to be absolutely intolerable in the concrete reality. Let us look this thing in the face.

Imagine a postman or a prime minister, a clerk in the Custom House or the captain of a man-of-war, an assistant in a draper's shop or your own gardener, having an estate for life in his office, and being able to draw his pay to his dying day, though he might be for years blind and deaf and paralysed and imbecile—so incapable, in fact, that he could not even appoint his own deputy, or so indifferent that he cared not whether there were any deputy to discharge the duties which he himself was paid to perform. Imagine any public servant being thrown into prison for a flagrant misdemeanour, or worse than a misdemeanour, and coming back to his work when the term of his imprisonment was over, receiving the arrears of pay which had accrued during the time he was in gaol, and quietly settling down into the old groove as if nothing had happened. Imagine *any* public servant being suspended from his office for habitual drunkenness, suspended say for two years, and not even requiring to be reinstated when the two years were over, but gaily taking his old seat and returning to his desk and his bottle, as irremovable from the emoluments of the first as he was inseparable from his devotion to the last.

Yet all this and much more than this is possible for us beneficed clergymen. I am myself the patron of a benefice from which the late rector was non-resident for fifty-three years. Is it at all conceivable that we should continue to keep up this condition of affairs under which we have been living so long? The last thing that any other public servant would dare to confess would be

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that he was physically or intellectually or morally unfit for his office. The retort in his case would be obvious enough—then leave it, and make way for a better man. But the holder of the Parson's Freehold smilingly replies, 'Certainly I will retain my hold upon the income after paying my deputy. Am I not a landlord? and as tenant for life I will assuredly cling to my own.'

Being such as we are, men of flesh and blood as others, and occupying the frightfully impregnable position which we do; fenced about with all sorts of legal safeguards which put us above our parishioners on the one hand, and out of the reach of our bishops on the other; having, as we have, an almost unlimited power of turning our benefices into sinecures while we reside upon them or of leaving them to the veriest hireling to serve while we are disporting ourselves in foreign travel almost as long as we should choose to stay away;—I know no more splendid testimony to the high and honourable character of the English clergy than that which would be wrung from their worst enemies who should fairly consider what the law of the land would allow of their being if they were so disposed—and what, in fact, they are. It is because as a class they are so animated by a high ideal; because as a class their conscience is their law; it is, therefore, that, in spite of legal safeguards which in their tendency are corrupting and demoralising, as a class they are incomparably *better than they need be*. The clergy of the Church of England constitute the one protected interest in the universe that does not languish. Nevertheless, *C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre*. These things ought not so to be.

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How then are the evils inseparable from the present state of things to be remedied? They are evils which do not appear on the surface where the clergy themselves are conscientious, high-minded, and zealous, throwing themselves into their duties with self-denying earnestness, and hardly aware of how much they might abuse their powers if they were so disposed. They are very real and scandalous evils in the case of the careless, the worthless, and the immoral; that is, exactly in the case of those whom we can least afford to leave as they are.

I can see no other plan for utilising to the utmost the resources already at our disposal than by sweeping away altogether this archaic anomaly of the parson's freehold. We are all a great deal too tenacious of vested rights, a great deal too reluctant to deal harshly with those who have accepted any office under certain conditions expressed or implied, to allow of our disturbing the present occupants of the benefices, or to bring them under any new *régime*. As long as the existing beneficed clergy choose to retain their hold upon their benefices, obviously they must be left undisturbed; as they are freeholders, so they must continue to be, and practically irremovable; but, as they

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drop off either by death or voluntary resignation, let the freehold be vested in other hands. Let us follow the main lines upon which the Endowed School Commissioners pursued their revolution in the case of the educational reserve fund, learning experience by their blunders, their failures or their *fads*.

And when we do so, where shall we find ourselves?

1. The freehold of every church, churchyard, glebe-house and lands, together with the tithes and any other invested funds now constituting the endowment of a benefice, would be vested in a body of trustees or governors exactly as the estates and buildings of the endowed schools are at this moment. These governors would have the administration of this estate entrusted to them, and be personally and collectively responsible for its management—responsible, that is, to a *duly constituted authority* with a power of enforcing its precepts.

2. All liability to keep house and chancel in repair, together with all powers of mortgaging the lands of a benefice, would be transferred from the incumbent to the governing body.

3. The patronage of every benefice would, as a matter of course, pass out of the hands of the present patrons, and would be vested in the governing body of the benefice; exactly as the patronage of Shrewsbury and Sedbergh schools passed out of the hands of St. John's College, Cambridge, or as the patronage of Thame school passed out of the hands of New College, Oxford, or as the patronage of Brentwood, Kirkleatham, and Bosworth schools has passed out of the hands of *private patrons* into those of the newly-constituted governing bodies.

4. The governors in presenting to a benefice would in each case be expected to consider the financial position in which it happened to be at the time of the vacancy, and would be empowered to determine what amount of net income could be assigned to the incumbent according to the circumstances of the estate in their hands, in all cases guaranteeing a minimum stipend and, in cases where a house was provided, a house free of all rates, taxes, and repairs.

5. The governing body would be required to render an account of all moneys received and expended to the *constituted authority*, to which they would be answerable.

6. Any clergyman presented to a benefice by the governing body would be liable to be dismissed for inefficiency or misconduct; such dismissal to be subject to an appeal as against caprice, malevolence, or tyranny.

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Before proceeding further, it will be as well at this point to consider an objection that may be offered, and then to see how such a reform as that proposed would work.

First, with regard to handing over the property of a benefice,

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together with the patronage, to a body of trustees. Such a course will certainly be denounced as revolutionary, and of course that word has a very alarming sound. But I venture to remind objectors that we have already embarked upon this revolutionary course, and on a very large scale too. We have already taken vast estates out of the hands of ecclesiastical corporations, and vested them in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. We have already made our bishops stipendiaries, receiving their *salaries* from the holders of their estates; and happy are those deans and canons who are in such a case, and not in the pitiable condition of landlords with their farms upon their hands, or let to tenants who, just now, can make their own terms with the panic-stricken life-holders of the freehold. But this is not all. There are at least a thousand benefices in England at this moment, the patronage of which *is already in the hands of trustees*; and in many of these cases—in many more cases than people suspect—the very freehold of the church itself is vested in those trustees, who have almost entire control over the funds, and almost entire control over the fabric of the church. At this moment, as I write, there is lying on my table an application from *the Trustees* of St. Excellent's Church, at Jericho, asking me to subscribe for the erection of a tower, and pleading that the *Trustees* have done all that was possible, and have been loyally *seconded* by their devoted vicar.

Ask those who know anything of what has been going on in the second city in England during the last forty years what condition the masses at Liverpool would be in at this moment but for the church-building on the Trustee system which has been in operation there so long. Ask them whether that system has worked well or ill, and whether there is any reason to regret that the patronage of the Trustee churches is not in other hands.

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And now with regard to the working of the scheme proposed.

The rectory of Claylump finds itself vacant by the promotion of its rector to the bishopric of Loo Choo. The governors forthwith proceed to take a survey of the property they hold in trust, and to look about for a new parson. The character and qualification of the various candidates for the vacant benefice are carefully inquired into, and, the choice being made, the new incumbent is presented to the bishop of the see and instituted with all fitting necessary solemnity.

But before he enters upon his charge the new rector has been informed that, in view of the governors being responsible for certain outgoings, they can for the present guarantee the parson only a minimum income of x pounds per annum, to be increased according as the funds at their disposal shall allow of the augmentation.

Observe that we already find ourselves face to face with the problem which has been found so difficult of solution—viz. how to deal with Ecclesiastical Dilapidations. A beneficed clergyman at present

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may, if he pleases, let his house tumble about his ears—may let his barn be tenanted by the rats, turn his stable into a pigsty, and, keeping his glebe in his own hands, render it valueless for his successor for the next five years. At his death he may be absolutely insolvent. The next incumbent is, however, called upon to put all into tenantable repair at his own cost, and by the very fact of accepting the living is liable for these substantial repairs.

Or a beneficed clergyman may do exactly the reverse. Being tenant for life of a living of less than three hundred a year, he may convert the parsonage-house into a noble mansion—erect hot-houses and conservatories *ad libitum*, build stables for a dozen horses, and lay out acres of the glebe in ornamental gardens; and he too may die in difficulties. At the avoidance of the living the bishop may give orders for pulling down half the house and more than half the appurtenances; but the question of who is to pay for the expenses of the alteration will present a serious difficulty, and may be settled in the strangest way at last. As long as the living is in a good neighbourhood, with certain advantages which it is unnecessary to particularise, it will not be hard to find another man of fortune who for the sake of the house will consent to accept the cure. But, if it chance that a neighbourhood has 'changed,' and the parish has become otherwise than a desirable place of residence, that parish may find it very hard indeed to get any who will face the terrible prospect of having to keep up a palace on 300*l.* a year. In either case—that of finding himself with a tumble-down rectory, or that of finding himself with an entirely unsuitable one—the incoming parson will assuredly have to make his account to submit to a serious abatement from the nominal revenue of his preferment, and will assuredly be in no better position than he would be if, not he, but his governors, were the owners of the parson's freehold.

But once more. Let us suppose that the new rector under the new *régime* finds it desirable to add to his parsonage-house for any reason or for none. What follows? Is he to be allowed to do as he pleases? Certainly not. If he can get the consent of his governors, well and good; without that consent he would have no more right to build up than to pull down. He would be living in an *official residence* provided for him. Clearly, he could not be permitted to deal with it as if it were his own.

Again, let us suppose that the parsonage should sorely need repair, and that the parson, being poor or otherwise unwilling to be meddled with, should declare it was good enough for him. Would it be reasonable to let an obstructive eccentric continue living in a house which was seriously lessening in value from the want of structural repairs? It is obvious that the governors who were liable for

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pose. The official residence having to be kept up by the income of the benefice in their view would clearly not be regarded as something to be handed over in its entirety to the present holder of the living, as if his personal interest were the only thing to consider.

As it would not be allowable for a Plutus to overbuild, so it would not be permitted to a niggard to let the parsonage fall into disrepair. In either case the governing body would have a voice, and over the buildings of the benefice they would exercise a general supervision and control.

What, however, will startle most people, and especially clergymen, is the proposal to give to *any* body at all or any person or any officer the power to dismiss a parson from his cure. Yet, as an abstract question, why should the parson be the only functionary to enjoy the immunity he does? Is it because it does not matter much to his parishioners whether he is fit or unfit, moral or immoral, active or indolent, whether he is exhibiting an example of holiness or is a mere helot whose daily walk is an abominable scandal? As things are, the more conscientious a clergyman is, the more easily you may hunt him out of his preferment; such men cannot bear to stay where—as they put it in all earnestness and devout sincerity—they are 'doing no good.' Such men are ready enough to go out into the wilderness if you tell them they are not wanted or are hindering Christ's work by staying where they are. But tell the bad man that he is not wanted in his parish, and his ministrations are hateful to the people among whom he lives, and he will laugh in your face with the grim joke that, if the people don't like to come to church, they may stay away, and if they don't want him at the font or the altar or the grave, so much the better; he will have less work to do for his money; the thick-skinned with a seared conscience defies you; safe in the possession of the parson's freehold, he holds his own.

How is it that we are always so ready to conjure up the worst imaginable evils when any new proposal is offered to us, and always draw some picture of abuses and horrors when we begin to think of any great change, as if there were no abuses and horrors which called for the change? 'A body of governors with a power of dismissal,' it is said; 'why, no man's position would be safe!' To begin with, I do not see why the first thing to be aimed at should be that *any one's* position should be *safe*. The first thing that is needed, imperatively needed, is that the duties of any office, from that of the Prime Minister downwards, should be effectively discharged. It may be very desirable that the driver of an express train should be safe of getting his wages as long as he lives. It is infinitely more desirable that the train itself should not run off the metals from the aforesaid driver going to sleep.

But *whose* position in the case before us would be *unsafe*? As a rule, only his whose position ought to be unsafe. The Endowed

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Schools Commissioners have been at work for sixteen years. Every one of their schemes gives to the governing body a power of dismissal, and that too with usually no appeal. During these sixteen years, I have never heard of more than two cases in which this power has been exercised, so slow are we Englishmen to be hard on an old servant, or to use to the utmost the powers which we have in our hand.

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Our next point to consider is, what should be the constitution of the governing body?

Let it be premised that, in embarking upon a reform so radical as this that is contemplated, I for one at the outset shrink from committing ourselves to any details until we have first laid down the grand principles on which we are going to proceed. Moreover, it must never be forgotten that the circumstances of every parish or district in England vary to an extent which they who have never thought much upon the subject could hardly bring themselves to believe. In a matter of so much intricacy and complexity we must not be afraid to feel our way, and at any rate let us have at the outset as few hard-and-fast lines as may be.

With this caution and proviso, I yet venture to suggest that the main lines to be laid down should be as follows :—

1. The governing body should not be too large, nor should it ever be chosen from the inhabitants of the parish exclusively.

2. It should be a representative body.

3. Its meetings should not be held too frequently.

4. Its proceedings should be duly chronicled, and a record kept which might be produced and referred to when necessary.

1. Not too large, because experience proves that any administrative body is in danger of becoming a speechifying body, and liable to be influenced by pressure from without, almost exactly in proportion to the increase of its numbers. Nor should this body be chosen exclusively from the inhabitants of the parish. In the case of small parishes, it would be quite impossible to find persons qualified to exercise the powers to be conferred, or fitted by education and intelligence to occupy the independent and important position of governor.

2. It will be necessary that the governing body should in all cases be a representative body. In such a body what interests should be represented?

(i) First the owners of the land on which tithes are paid. Observe, I do not say the tithe-*payers*; for, of all the objectionable practices which have sprung up among us affecting the tenure of the land, and the burdens it has to bear, none appears to me more mischievous or indefensible, none has done more to make the tillers

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of the soil discontented, or led them more passionately to set themselves against their best friends, than the practice sanctioned by the Legislature of calling upon the tenant to pay the tithe in addition to the rent of his land. As long as this goes on, so long will both tenant and landlord be tempted to make common cause with one another in hopes of getting rid of the tithe. You might just as well call upon the tenant to pay the landlord's mortgage interest, or the jointures and annuities with which the estate is charged, or the premiums upon his policies of insurance, as call upon him to pay the tithe. A landlord holds his lands subject to certain charges, which are antecedent to any profits that may remain to him after they are discharged.

The land-tax, the county-rates, the tithe are all on the same level; so are the jointures, annuities, and interest of money borrowed. Of course the landlord would gladly throw them all upon the tenant if he could, and does throw upon him all he can. In permitting him to follow this course, you tempt the tenant to cry out, 'Away with this payment, and away with that!' and you tempt the landlord to cry, 'Amen! So be it, as long as my rent is assured me!' Worried by the annual recurrence of *extra* payments, for which he has to provide at all sorts of inconvenient times, the tenant is ready enough to demand relief from these burdens, never reflecting that he is playing the landlord's game, directly or indirectly robbing somebody else to enrich the owner of the soil. 'Down with the rates!' means 'Throw them upon the Consolidated Fund and let the taxpayer relieve the landlord.' 'Down with the jointures!' would mean 'Rob the dowagers and let the landlord be the richer for the pillage.' 'Down with the mortgage interest!' would mean 'Up with the debtor at the expense of the creditor;' and 'Down with the tithe!' would mean the extinction of the parson, but with the gain of not a shilling ultimately to the tenant, though with a very considerable gain to the owner of the land. It must be, and it is, demoralising to allow the payment of the tithe to be regarded as an *extra* with which the tenant is chargeable. The obligation to pay the tithe is a condition antecedent to the *owner* of the soil enjoying the very possession of his land. The tithe is a *rent-charge* upon the land, exactly as an annuity or jointure is—or, if you choose to call it a tax because the term tax is an odious word, and therefore serviceable when you want to make those you hate odious—it is a landlord's *tax*, and no tenant should be allowed to pay it without having the right under all circumstances of deducting it from his rent.

Moreover, without yielding to the temptation of straying into an historical argument, yet remembering that in the past there was a very close connection between the landlord whose estate supplied the tithe from which the parson was supported and the patron of the living to which the parson was instituted, I think there are good

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reasons why the owners of the soil liable to pay tithe should be represented in the proposed governing body of a benefice. Where the parish was a close parish—*i.e.* owned by a single landlord—he would naturally and very properly be the only person eligible, or at any rate capable of nominating the tithe-owner's representative. Where there were many landlords, they could elect their representatives—one or more, as the case might be—in the ordinary way.

(ii) As the owners of land subject to the payment of tithes should be represented, so should the ratepayers of the parish have their representative upon the board of governors. And here I confess I cannot see that you could introduce any religious test whereby any one should be disqualified by reason of his creed. I do not believe that in ordinary cases any real inconveniences would arise. That under no circumstances conceivable evils should emerge is too much to hope for; but whether or not, we must, I repeat, face the logic of facts, and what reasonable man, who watches the signs of the times, will be sanguine enough to expect that, in our days, we have any chance of extorting from the Legislature anything in the shape of a conscience clause? But, when I speak of ratepayers, I mean *bonâ fide* payers of rates. I exclude from this category the compound householder: I by no means exclude unmarried women who pay their own rates and taxes, who are often among the most sagacious, high-minded, and exemplary inhabitants of a country parish, or of a town one too, for that matter. If any should have a voice in the choice of a representative governor, clearly they should.

(iii) But, if the owners of the soil and the ratepayers should be represented, it would be more than unreasonable—it would be a monstrous injustice—that the regular worshippers in the church should be left without their representative governors. I am quite aware that some people are ready with all sorts of difficulties and all sorts of objections when we come to deal with the qualification of church membership, and quite aware, too, that at this point one is sorely tempted to do that which I protested against above—viz. go into details; but I resist the temptation, simply expressing my conviction that there *can* be and there is no real and insuperable difficulty in defining what is meant by 'regular worshippers,' and that such difficulty would vanish at once if we were really in earnest in grappling with it. I am not hinting at a compromise. Here as elsewhere what we want is—common sense!

(iv) Again, I conceive that on any board of governors there should be a representative appointed by the bishop of the diocese, and that he should be a resident in the archdeaconry in which the benefice was situated. In every board of directors, be it of a railway or bank or insurance company, it is held to be essential to effectiveness that one or more of such directors should have some pretension to technical or professional knowledge of the business carried on. Is it too much

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to ask that at least one *expert* should be found upon every body of church governors? Such a representative would, if discreet and able, be always listened to with respectful attention; if inclined to be domineering or impracticable, he would assuredly be outvoted when it came to a contest. He would be a voice, but he would be no more.

(v) It is conceivable, nay it is probable, that in addition to these representative governors it might in some cases be advisable that other members should be added to the governing body. Thus it might be contended by the present patrons of benefices, whether lay or clerical, that they should be represented, and I can see no particular objection to such a claim being allowed. It is also conceivable and probable that, after due consideration and discussion, it might be thought advisable to group two or more benefices together and vest their funds in the same body of governors. Indeed, in many country districts, where the endowments are very small and the population very sparse, it might prove extremely difficult and sometimes extremely undesirable to have a board of governors for each of these tiny units, let alone the absurd waste of power which in such cases would be inevitable. But, such as I have sketched it out, such in the main would be the constitution of the governing body of every benefice in the country, and to that governing body the freehold of that benefice and its appurtenances, together with the patronage thereof, should be handed over.

(vi) With regard to the qualification of those eligible for a seat upon the governing body, I am not prepared to discuss that question at the present stage. This, however, I know—viz. that there is only one subject of the Queen who is now disqualified from presenting a clergyman to any benefice in England. A Jew or a Mormonite, a Mohammedan or a Parsee, Mr. Bradlaugh or Mr. Congreve, may be, and for aught I know is, patron of the richest or the poorest living in England; but if any of these worthy persons should suddenly become influenced by Cardinal Manning and be received as a member of the Church of Rome, then and then only would he become incapable by law from exercising his patronage—then and then only would it pass out of his hands. If we have come to this pass, that in anything like a large majority of cases Churchmen should find themselves outvoted by Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics in the governing bodies, would it not be pretty clear that something was wrong?

But would the functions of the governing body be confined to the management of the estate of a benefice and to the appointing and, where necessary, to the dismissal of the incumbent? Yes. It seems to me that the functions of a governing body should go no further. That was a golden rule which Lord Palmerston laid down for the governing bodies of our endowed schools, and which these bodies have generally had the wisdom to carry out in practice—'Get the best

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man you can find and—get out of his way!' It should be no part of the duties of the governing body to interfere with what may be called the internal affairs of the church and the ministrations of the parson. These should be matters of arrangement between the congregation and their minister. Let the powers and the duties of churchwardens be defined as clearly as may be—let the number of the churchwardens be increased if you will, or let the old *sidesman* be revived; but let it be clearly understood that the parish is one thing and the congregation is another. Let it be understood that the rector of the *parish* as a parish officer should be accountable to the governors in so far as they are trustees for the *parish* reserve fund; but in matters with which only the congregation worshipping habitually in the church are concerned, let no outsider have any *locus standi*. If in his administrations a clergyman insists on doing or leaving undone certain practices which are hateful to the congregation to which he ministers; if between priest and people things should come to a deadlock; by all means let it be allowable, as it ought to be, for the people to demand redress, and let them ask for that redress with authority and a claim to have their grievances considered. In such cases there would be no need of rushing into the law courts, no spiteful resort to costly legislation to crush or ruin a foolish, obstinate, and ignorantly conscientious clergyman. The congregation—speaking through their representatives, the churchwardens, sidesmen, or whatever other name you might choose to call them by—would lay their complaint before the bishop first, and as an ultimate resort would go to the governing body, and claim that their parson should be dismissed, on grounds which should be, of course, properly formulated.

And this brings us to another matter—viz. the prominence (I do not say pre-eminence) to be given to the congregational element in any readjustment of church regimen at the present time. It is idle to talk as if the Church were co-extensive with the nation, or as if the inhabitants of a parish were all worshippers in the church fabric. If a man now does not like the ritual or the doctrine offered to him in his parish church, he leaves it, and goes where he finds what he wants. It will always be so. There was a good deal of nonconformity in the Apostolic times, and there will be nonconformity as long as men love to have things their own way. If an apostle were to find himself rector of any parish in England, with an angel to play the organ, and a multitude of the heavenly host to chant the psalms and 'render' the anthems, would Jannes and Jambres be satisfied? On the other hand, though it is impossible but that offences should arise (which means that offence should be *taken*), it is our duty and our interest to minimise the occasion of offence; and it is clearly neither right nor politic that any man should occupy such a position as that he may, if he please, go very far towards making

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himself a 'lord over God's heritage,' and by adopting such a course not only lessen his own influence, but commit a serious wrong to the assembly of worshippers to whom, after all, it must be remembered, he is appointed to minister, not to be an irresponsible dictator.

Wherever there is a 'congregation of faithful men' regularly worshipping together in any church, the very sign and evidence of life among them is that there is a great deal of mere *business* to be got through. There are large sums of money raised for various purposes, there are organisations great and small to be looked to, there are meetings to be held, arrangements of very different kinds to be made, and work of all sorts to be done. It *must* be done, and it can *only* be done by the incumbent in conjunction and co-operation with the congregation; as long as the two work together all goes on smoothly, if they are at variance friction ensues. It would be preposterous that all the money collected by and through the voluntary contributions and the voluntary exertions of the congregation should be handed over to an outside body such as the governing body we have been dealing with above. Indeed, such a proposal scarcely deserves to be seriously considered; the congregation as a congregation must in all reason be allowed to manage its own affairs. But, inasmuch as no institution in the world can hope to flourish if its manager prove himself incompetent, quarrelsome, and fractious, and when it becomes apparent that the well-being of the institution is being sacrificed only to keep the wrong man in the wrong place, then you get rid of that wrong man, sometimes with joy, sometimes with sorrow. So should it be with our churches. To give the congregations the appointment of their parsons or to arm them with a veto would be to follow a course which all our experience warns us against, and to which—I cannot explain why—all our national habits of thought, convictions, and prejudices are opposed. But, under any circumstances, cases might occur where a reluctant congregation might find itself saddled with a minister who, after a fair trial, should prove himself altogether unsuited to deal with the peculiar conditions, social, financial, or religious—which presented themselves; and where such cases did occur the congregation in its own interests—to go no further—ought to have the opportunity of making its wishes or its objections known. As to graver matters, where a parson's moral character was in question, I do not think it worth while to deal with them. As to the proposal of setting up parochial councils in our country villages, I find it very hard to believe that this can have ever been put forward seriously by any sane man of the world. Surely, surely it can only be the clumsy joke of a dreamer which suggests that we should establish village parliaments for the discussion of matters of ritual and theology among the representatives of a population which sometimes counts by tens, usually by a few hundreds, and very rarely by thousands. In the single diocese of Norwich there are actually one hundred and two parishes in each of

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which the population is less than a hundred, including the last baby. Think of a parochial council in the parish of Bittering Parva, where I was once told 'there are *between* fourteen and fifteen inhabitants!'

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I am quite aware that the questions which still remain to be dealt with in considering any comprehensive measure of what is known as Church Reform are many and difficult, and some of them are of the highest importance. They will come on for discussion, we may be sure, and abler men than I am, and men better qualified to handle such questions, will doubtless engage in them.

In the hands of such men I would gladly leave the serious and difficult problems which are calling so loudly for solution. The power of dismissal of a parson from his cure, for other than moral offences, at once brings us face to face with the question, 'How are we to provide for aged and broken-down clergy in their time of need?' It also suggests the question, 'In what relations will the governing body stand to the congregation on the one side and the bishop on the other?' The throwing open the benefices to what is sure to be stigmatised as *open competition* will be distasteful to some, but will result in changes which I am convinced will be, on the whole, of immense benefit to clergy and people, and especially they will tend towards the promotion of the best men to the most valuable cures. Yet here too, when we come to details, it will be necessary to open our eyes to some difficulties, from which, however, we need not shrink, nor will they, I believe, be found so insuperable as may be imagined.

The training, too, of the younger clergy during their term of *apprenticeship*, if I may use the expression, and the general supervision and periodical inspection of the benefices which has now become the emptiest of forms, will assuredly be called for by all who desire a coherent scheme for the readjustment of matters ecclesiastical. It is hardly to be expected that we should be allowed to go on much longer in the rambling way we do.

If it were only the supremacy of this or that form of doctrine or worship, however dear to us, however sacred, that was at stake, I for one would not willingly embark in the conflict that is before us, or step out from the limits of the humble sphere in which I find myself. I would hold my peace except among my people, and try my best to till the little plot in the heritage of God which His good providence has assigned to me for my daily work. But there is much more at stake than any merely sectarian view of the case would have us believe. It is no mere fight between religious factions and sects and creeds. The question now is whether or not that machinery whereby the schooling of our moral sentiments has been carried on for ages shall be cast from us as a thing of nought, while we surrender ourselves to the private-venture teachers to provide a new machinery by-and-by. Are we to have no functionaries whose remonstrances

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any one need attend to? Is there to be no voice speaking with the semblance of authority, bidding the people do the right and avoid the evil? Is there to be no national worship, no national religion, and of course no national creed? How long can Christian ethics be supposed to last?

For ages the vessel of the State has gone on its way riding through a thousand storms, and buffeted by a million billows; its rudder has been at times unskilfully handled; at times the course has been set with evil consequences; at times the steersmen have been rash or blind. But shall we now, in an outbreak of passion or of panic, unship that rudder and cut ourselves adrift, with never a helm to trust to, in the open sea?

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

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THE SECOND PART OF 'FAUST.'[1]

It is rarely that a continuation or second part of a great poem, whose first part has successfully taken hold of the popular fancy, succeeds in getting itself recognised as of like parentage and full brotherhood with its predecessor. For, whatever its merits may be, one thing is certain—it will not have the attraction of novelty; it is not a new thing, only a new phasis of an old thing; and many whose curiosity has been satisfied with a taste of the original will remain indifferent to the charms of the variation. But there are other considerations, even more powerful, that may act in the same direction. If the work which has achieved a certain roundness in the youth or early manhood of the writer finds its continuation in his advanced age, there may be a diminution of power, or at all events a change in the point of view, and an alteration of the tone, which is sure to come into conflict with the natural anticipations of the reader. Then, again, if the author has managed matters with such dramatic cunning that the first part seems so complete in itself as to leave no demand for a necessary complement or a natural sequence, in this case the author has himself to blame if he shall appear to the public in the attitude of an architect who should heap a rich and pretentious topping on a building which has been already furnished with its proper architrave and pediment. Now all these forces work together to the disadvantage of the second part of Goethe's great German tragedy. The *Faust*, though not put forth in complete shape till the author was considerably past middle life, was, both in conception and execution, in the main, the creation of his full-blooded youth; while the second part was composed in comparative old age, and not finished till within a few weeks of his death in 1832. There are few men, and these certainly not the biggest, who could carry one idea through such a long stretch of literary activity without suffering some considerable change in the general tone of their art and in their style of handling; but with Goethe, whose *Vielseitigheit* was characteristic, this progression to a new phase of productiveness from *Werther* and *Götz von Berlichingen* down to the *West Eastern Divan* and the second part of *Faust*, this change in what the Germans would call his subjectivity, was particu-

[1] *The Second Part of Faust: a Dramatic Poem by Goethe.* English by Sir Theodore Martin. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 1886.

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larly notable. As he grew older he became in his works less and less a man of action and more and more of ideal speculation, contemplative fancy, and luxuriant enjoyment. Whatever good might come out of this—and no doubt there came out a great deal of the purest truth and the ripest wisdom in various forms—there certainly was not to be looked for a consistent continuation of what had been for thirty years before the European public as 'a tragedy'—for a tragedy certainly it is, as the title-page bears, in the main; a very human tragedy, in which a dreamy, vague speculation, joined to a monstrous intellectual ambition, plunging for relief of its overstrain into a current of sentimental sensuality, lands all concerned, as it always must do, in ruin. Through all the stages that lead to this wreck of a great human life, the story is complete and the moral is plain; and, though the heart-rending scene of Margaret in the prison, with which the tragedy concludes, might have been followed in the style of the old English chapbook by a yawning 'dismissal into the tremendous abyss of Hell,' which would have pleased a certain class of spectators, whether in the gallery or in the boxes, mightily, every man of taste feels that the sharp abrupt 'HITHER TO ME!' of the fiend is a finale at once more artistic and more effective. In this last scene, and with these last words, the tragedy is both dramatically and morally wound up. No continuation is required.

Nevertheless, the poet did write a second part of *Faust*; and some strong reason must have been at work in the doing of it, for it is not a flimsy affair in any wise or tainted with the feebleness that often attends advanced years; it is a production of well-considered and firmly compacted amplitude, and of most rich and luxuriant decoration. If it be a magnificent failure as a sequence to a tragedy, it does not follow that it is a failure altogether. If it could not be tolerated on the stage, or only perhaps at Berlin on a festal occasion, as part of a Goethe celebration, it may be highly interesting in the closet. We must bear in mind that, when we read Goethe, we have to do not only with the writer of a stage play, but with one of the most richly endowed minds and one of the profoundest thinkers that the history of literature presents, and a man who is likely to hold his own through long centuries in the first rank of productive intellect along with Homer, Plato, Dante, Shakspeare, Milton, and Scott. From this point of view we shall look wisely on the second part of *Faust* as containing the great poet-thinker's philosophy of human life, and his justification of the ways of God to man, set forth with a rich garniture of fancy, which only an intellect of the largest comprehension and of the most various culture could command; and no English admirer of the poet will fail to render a just meed of gratitude to Bayard Taylor and Sir Theodore Martin and Miss Swanwick, the only three English writers, so far as we know, who have presented the English public with a complete metrical version of a work at once more slippery in

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execution and less likely to receive a worthy recognition than any that they could have chosen from the wide field of foreign literature.

The second part of *Faust*, which may be called a tragedy only in the same loose sense that Dante's divine Epic is called a comedy, consists, in the regular orthodox fashion, of five acts. The first act opens with the hero of the prison-scene lying on a flowery meadow in the midst of a beautiful landscape, weary, exhausted, and asleep, with Ariel and a troop of graceful elves fluttering round him, and soothing him with a promise of a speedy awakening into a new career of higher life. He awakes: and in the next scene we find him transported into the audience-chamber of the head of the Holy Roman Empire, who, in the fashion of mighty monarchs, is more concerned about masques and mummeries than encumbered with ready money; more besieged by grievances than gratified by pleasures; and who is accordingly all eagerness to receive any relaxation from the pressure of imperial burdens, through Mephistopheles, or any other spirit that may be cunning enough to advise him. Mephistopheles, with a fine perception of the comparative value of courtly agencies, impersonates the fool, and in this capacity relieves the Emperor from all his embarrassment by a copious issue of paper money, guaranteed by the prospective unearthing of imaginary treasures underground; while Faust himself, partly, no doubt, from his old hankering after fair women, and partly also from a special request made to him by the Emperor, sets out with a mystic key in his hand to the supernatural abodes of 'The *Mothers*' —that is, the primary and productive powers of Nature—on the mission to bring the twin ancient paragons of man and woman, Paris and Helen, from the classical Hades. He returns, and by the virtue of the key, as Aladdin by the rubbing of his lamp, brings the phantoms, or, as the Greeks would have called them, the 'idols' of the handsome shepherd and the fascinating Spartan queen, before the wondering vision of the Emperor. But the greater wonderer is the conjurer himself; who, in spite of the stout protests of his fiendish spirit-monger, falls in love with the phantom-paragon, and sees in her the ideal, and more than the ideal, of all that had ravished his eyes in the magic glass of his old friends, the witches on the Brocken. He advances; he clasps her in his arms; an explosion follows; the phantoms vanish; and darkness covers the scene. So much for the first act.

The second act transports us into Faust's old Gothic study, where he first raised the Spirit of the Earth, then read lectures on Rhetoric to his old pedantic familiar, Wagner, and then sold himself formally to the Evil Spirit in return for a career of unlimited enjoyment. Here now Wagner appears an adept in the mystic craft of Alchemy, in the exercise of which, after many years' scientific toil, he is discovered in the act of creating a man; and the man is created, and comes forth in the shape of a *Homunculus* in the inside of a small glass phial, where he glows, and twinkles, and trips and skips about in a most

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miraculous fashion. This creature, somehow or other, makes himself necessary to Mephistopheles, as a guide to the Pharsalian fields, where a feast and revel of old Greek phantoms is being held under the name of the classical Walpurgis Night; and thither, after short debate, the juggling spirit and the sensual supersensual Doctor, and the lively human birth of alchymic Fire, wrapped in the familiar mantle, flit through the charmed air. This classical Walpurgis Night may be best conceived by the non-German reader as an academical masque, got up at Whitehall or Oxford in the time of Queen Elizabeth, for causing the principal personages of the minor Hellenic mythology—not the *Dii majores*—to pass pictorially, with appropriate scenery on the banks of the Peneus and the shores of the Ægean, before the spectator's eye. Here all sorts of ancillary figures of Greek Polytheistic fancy—Nymphs and Nereids, Sirens and Centaurs, Griffins and Gorgons, Tritons and Telchins—pass in procession, mainly to show themselves to the delight of the scholarly beholder, partly to be interrogated by the love-intoxicated Doctor, in his search after Spartan Helen; but Spartan Helen does not show herself loosely in the midst of such a revel. Faust is destined, after long quest, to find her by favour of the Theban prophetess Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, to whose guidance he commits himself, the while Homunculus, after consulting the shades of Thales and Anaxagoras, floats off on the back of Proteus in the shape of a dolphin, in furnace-heat for some brilliant development. So ends act the second.

Act the third, with a whiff of the sudden change in which this remarkable production delights, transports us to the palace of Menelaus, in Sparta, where Helen, with her chorus of captive women, has just landed from Troy; but has scarcely time to congratulate herself on her return to her native country, and her restoration to queenly dignity and connubial propriety, when she is informed that on the altar for a thank-offering which her husband has erected she herself is to be the victim, sacrificed to the jealousy of the man 'who never forgets what on a time was his and now is his no more.' Scared at this intimation, she is recommended by Mephistopheles, who had assumed the guise of one of the daughters of Phorcys, to betake herself for protection to a doughty northern chieftain, who, during the long absence of her lord, had posted himself firmly in an old baronial castle on the banks of the Eurotas. Hither accordingly she hies; and the lord of the Gothic castle, with its strange arches, spandrils, scutcheons, and grotesque ornature of all kinds, as was to have been expected, turns out to be our supernatural Doctor, who, from the attitude of welcome deliverer readily passes into the character of accepted lover and happy husband. Of this supersensual-sensual union the progeny forthwith appears—Euphorion by name—a bright boy of wonderful agility and unlimited aspiration, even more impatiently vital than Homunculus, from

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whose shoulders, more allied to air than earth, wings shoot forth and bear him aloft from the baffled hold of his bewildered parents. But only for a moment: the supernatural ecstacy which had seized him proves too strong for his frame, and, like Icarus, he falls dead at their feet. This awful catastrophe of the miraculous son could not consort with the continued happiness of the miraculous mother. She also must return to Persephone. She embraces Faust; her corporeal part vanishes; her dress and veil remain in the arms of her Teutonic husband. At a hint from the attendant fiend, the miraculous garments dissolve into clouds, envelop Faust, lift him into air, and move away with him. So ends the third act; and with it ends the reign of Dreamland and of Phantom.

The fourth act finds us on earth again, in a truly highland scene, amid lofty bens, scarred ridges, and jagged peaks, from which the supersensual hero, cured, as it would seem for the moment, of chasing phantoms, looks down, like Lord Byron from the Jungfrau, imagining all sorts of sublime fields of action. Among these imaginations, what pleases him most is the conception, realised more than once by modern land improvers, to go to war with the waves, and win territory from the sea; but, by way of diversion, and as a prelude to this great enterprise of reclamation, he, like the same restless Lord, indulges in a fit of soldiering, and, with the ready help of Mephistopheles, does doughty battle for the Emperor in beating back the host and pillaging the camp of an audacious counter-Kaiser. For this good service he is rewarded by the royal grant of a long stretch of the sea-shore, over which the tide rolls largely, but which it shall be his beneficent business henceforward to turn into acres of rich arable land; while the Emperor himself, always in some strait or other, convicted of gross sin by the archbishop, in having overcome his antagonist by help from the Spirit of Evil, is obliged to hand over all the land gained, or to be gained, in mortmain to the Church, while the imperial exchequer remains in the old hopeless void.

All is now prepared for the fifth act, and the final winding up of this 'divine comedy.' The waters are dammed out, and a grand reclaimed estate for my lord Faustus now spreads itself out in ample promise before his eyes, where he might hope to play the improving landlord with blessed effect for many years, if he was not already on the very brink of his mortal career, in extreme old age. But, even at this advanced age, the original sin of his unchastened nature remains strong. Cured of unlimited speculation and of unlimited wandering through a world of phantoms, he is not cured of unlimited greed; and, like Ahab in the view of Naboth's vineyard, he cannot be happy so long as a certain clump of pines, and a brown shieling, and a crumbling old chapel stand on independent legs in the face of his fair possessions. Mephistopheles hereupon undertakes to evict the Baucis and Philemon of the offending croft; and, in the high-

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handed style not unknown to Highland factors, he burns the old pair flamingly out of their ancestral nests, rejoicing in the barbarity. It was not fit, however, that the hero of the piece, whom the poet had determined to take to heaven, should confess to the full infamy of this heartless proceeding; like the absentee Highland landlord, who has been known indignantly to disclaim the harsh doings of his factor, he clears himself by saying that it was not absolute eviction that he had intended, but only the exchange of one croft for another. However, the deed is done; but, like all the evil deeds of this supersensual sinner, seems clean forgotten. Now comes the final hour. Four grey women—WANT, BLAME, CARE, and NECESSITY—beset him in his newly acquired palatial residence. They strike him with blindness; but, like Fawcett, he continues with stout persistence in his work of economic improvement, and shovel, pick, and spade are wielded with sleepless service to his appeal. But the time for earthly work is done. A band of Demons, the spectral ministers of Death, headed by Mephistopheles, proceed to dig his grave as he falls down breathless on the ground; but Heaven is more powerful than hell; and, while a greedy phalanx of stout paunchy devils with short straight horns, and lean lanky devils with long crooked horns, strive persistently with pull and snap to seize and carry off the immortal part of the Doctor, a chorus of beautiful young angels from Heaven, with sweet melodies and sportive charms, juggle the master fiend out of his wits, and cheat his impish satellites of their prey. The spirit of Faust is then borne aloft to the celestial regions, where holy anchorites, saintly doctors, ecstatic and seraphic, with the *Mater gloriosa* and the redeemed Gretchen at their head, heave him on the wafture of holy hymns into the bosom of eternal bliss.

On the face of this scheme, even slightly as we have touched its main features, the instinct of the English reader will at once lead him to put his finger on one prominent fault—what we may call, shortly, the want of flesh and blood. That the hero of the piece is meant to be a real human being, and the Emperor a real German emperor, and Mephistopheles a real scoffing devil, is plain enough to start with; but, as we proceed, we suddenly lose all firm footing, and find ourselves in an enchanted region, borne along in a drift of mythological and historical figures, plainly the creation of fantastic juggle, but so usurping the stage and so interwoven with the solid reality of the action, that, like persons in a middle state between sleeping and waking, we find ourselves at every shifting of the scene rubbing our eyes and asking, where are we? This is bad art. Bad art also it is, even supposing the lines of demarcation between the real and the fantastic were sufficiently well marked, to give such a breadth and amplitude to what on the face of the structure is only the accessory of a human story, that the story is virtually overwhelmed, as the body of ladies' gowns has sometimes been seen buried

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under range after range of supererogatory flounces. The whole thing looks as if the classical Walpurgis Night had been independently worked out, as a gallery of Greek mythology, and the Helen, as a drama of the Trojan cycle—what the Greeks knew under the name of the *νόστοι*, of which the *Odyssey* was one great section; and afterwards were found convenient as an atmosphere of many colours, and clouds of many shapes, through which the poet might cause his supersensual hero to flit. There is thus the double fault of the want of homogeneousness in the matter and of proportion in the component parts of the poem. But there is a moral fault also in the work not to be passed over lightly. In the first part the hero is represented as guilty of a conduct which, in the language of the law courts, might be called the seduction, or, at all events, the abusing the affection of a simple-minded innocent girl; and, though his attitude in this affair is represented as by no means so heartless as that of the villain called a gentleman to whom local tradition points as the occasion of Burns's pathetic song, *Ye banks and braes o' Bonnie Doon*—at the same time, on the face of the business, it is plain that, in the language of the song, he plucked the rose and left the thorn with his victim. Now, there was no necessity, of course, that the man who had plunged an innocent girl into such misery as the prison-scene in the first part depicts should be left in the hands of the fiend as a legitimate prey, past all ransom; on the contrary, his salvation on Christian principles would be as much a triumph of redeeming grace as it certainly is a true expression of the poet's large toleration for human weakness and his confessed inability to hate sinners;[2] but the moral instinct in man imperiously calls for some penitential acknowledgment of wrong; and, if great German doctors are capable of great sins, they should be not less forward than the great poet-king of Jerusalem, or the great poet-ploughman of Scotland, to bewail and to confess their sins, in some worthy utterance, however short, of self-reproach. But Faust never repents. He submits himself to be led through a world of vain shows and juggleries by the evil spirit to whom he had sold himself in his early exit from his dreamy workshop; and not only does he employ his whole energy through the principal part of the piece in hunting after and finally winning to his embrace a phantasmal love, but at the very close of his career, as we have shown, he is represented as possessed by the lust of exclusive possession which leads a Highland deer-stalker or a big sheep-farmer to oust the peaceful crofter from his ancestral home. To whip up such a character into the region of the Blessed without further ceremony is a great moral mistake; and, if a moral mistake, a dramatic blunder; for the drama, like history, is merely morality teaching by example,

[2] Greatest saints were ever most kindly hearted to sinners;
Here I'm a saint with the best; sinners I never could hate.
Wisdom of Goethe, p. 38.

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and can never outrage the best feelings of our moral nature without at once exenterating itself of its own better soul, and defrauding the public of the great lessons which it is intended to teach.

There is another fault in this wonderful production that demands a passing word. It is said to be full of mysteries that, like the Book of the Revelations, call upon legions of commentators to expend their strength in expounding them, with only conjectural success. This, again, is bad art. It is always a mistake in literature to torment a reader, or a spectator, with puzzles, instead of stimulating him with suggestions. Good writing is the mean between patent shallowness and mysterious vagueness. The mysteries that our poet has thought fit to smuggle into his work are principally two—the Homunculus and Euphorion; and, though they may not be such very great mysteries after all, still they are faults; for readers of poetry are not generally in a humour to trouble themselves with guesses, and a dramatic poet has no right to be purposely obscure. The significance of Euphorion discloses itself to a very slight exertion of the thinking faculty; the bright offspring of the fairest woman the Greek world ever saw and the profound German philosopher can only be POETRY in its most perfect Avatar, comprising in well-blended harmony the chaste beauty of Greek art with the wild grandeur of Gothic. . . Homunculus is more doubtful; but when we bear in mind that he is the modern product of medieval alchemy, we can scarcely be far wrong in conjecturing that he ought to mean chemistry, and the more curious departments of physical science generally—a conjecture recommended by its consonance with one of the strongest differentiating features of modern culture on the one hand, and with the well-known personal predilections of the poet-scientist on the other.

The reader, of course, will not forget that these disparaging remarks which we have ventured on the work of the great master refer mainly to the structure of the work as a dramatic poem, impossible to be separated as a whole from the familiar tragedy of which it is a continuation. But, as already said, in spite of all the faults that obtrude themselves on the judgment of an unwilling criticism, the separate parts of the poem, taken to pieces, and presented independently to the reader or spectator, are redundant with moral interest and with imaginative luxuriance. In the artistic handling and rich decoration of every part there is no trace of senility. Like old Blücher on the field of Leipzig, Goethe, in all the essentials of his artistic faculty, is as young at eighty as he was at eighteen; and, so far as consummate skill in the craft of the Muses is concerned, the English translator of this second part has even a more difficult problem set before him than he encountered in the lyrical and dramatic variety of the first part; and this difficult task Sir Theodore has performed, not only with the accuracy and the living sympathy

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which from such an accomplished German scholar was to have been expected, but with an ease, a fluency and grace, and a richness of phrase that a Swinburne or a Browning in their happiest moments could scarcely have surpassed. Take, for instance, the following Titianesque picture from the classical Walpurgis Night, scene 4, on the lower Peneius, where Faust contemplates the array of the Nymphs in undulant procession on the bosom of those silver-swirling waters:

I wake indeed; I see them well,
These forms of grace unmatchable,
In beauty palpable to sight!
What transports strange my spirit seize!
Can these be dreams or memories;
The shadows of an old delight?
The limpid waters, as they stray,
Through bushes green that gently sway
Above them, scarce a murmur make;
An hundred rills together meet
In one broad, clear, unruffled sheet
Of waters deep—a crystal lake:
And female forms, young, sleek, and fair,
That fill the eye with rapture, there
Are glassed within the mirror bright;
They mix and dip with merry hum,
Some swimming, shyly wading some,
And shout and splash in sportive fight.
Could these content, mine eye should find
Enjoyment here; but no; my mind
Looks farther, and with vision keen
Would pierce yon thick embow'ring roof
Of clustering leaves, whose tangled woof
Conceals the glory of their queen.
Oh! wonderful! swans bright of hue,
From leaf-screened nooks, swim into view,
With slow majestic pace.
Two and two serenely steering,
Head and crest yet proudly rearing,
As conscious of their grace.
Yet one that breasts the glassy tide,
Outstripping all, a statelier pride
And bearing seems to vaunt;
With pinions all blown proudly out,
He cleaves the waves that curl about,
And nears the sacred haunt.

Not less rich in varied strains of serene rapture from the breasts of the blessed in heaven is the closing scene, in which the never-resting aspirant after transcendental bliss is at length welcomed to the abode of eternal peace by the marshalled bands and companies of the redeemed. Through the mountain defiles, forest, and rock of the celestial precincts the chorus, with far-sounding echo, rises:

Forests, they wave around,
Cliffs overhang the ground,

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Roots far their tendrils spread,
Trees interlace o'erhead;
Brooks leap and sparkle clear,
Sheltering caves darkle near;
Harmlessly gliding round
Dumb lions roam,
Honour the hallowed ground,
Love's blessèd Home.

Here we may remark, in passing, that it seems scarcely English to talk of the 'tendrils' of strong roots. Would it not be an improvement to say, Roots their long *arms* outspread, or *fangs*? But our space forbids us to expatiate on the details of this threshold of the New Jerusalem, which with the aid of music and appropriate scenery would make a most effective miniature oratorio. Only the verses sung by the angels as they bear the immortal part of Faust to its destined repose in the love of the penitent Gretchen may not be omitted, as they contain in a single stanza the poet's view of the philosophy of life and the moral of the story:

Rescued from the Evil One
Is our brother's soul here,
Who hath nobly wrestled, run,
Him can we console here;
And if 'twas Love divine's behest
That sin should not defeat him,
Then will the spirits of the blest
With cordial welcome greet him.

The concluding lines, sung by the Chorus Mysticus, contain no small difficulty, and run in the German thus:

Alles Vergängliche
  Ist nur ein Gleichniss;
Das Unzulängliche,
  Hier wird's Ereigniss;
Das Unbeschreibliche,
  Hier ist es gethan;
Das Ewig-Weibliche
  Zieht uns hinan.

This 'eternally female,' which may seem strange to some readers, is no doubt quite appropriate, being significant of love, at once the dominant soul of the Christian religion, the salient feature of the poet's genius, and the pervading tone of the poem. The difficulty lies in the translation. Sir Theodore gives the passage thus:

All in earth's fleeting state,
As symbol is still meant,
Here the inadequate
Grows to fulfilment.
What tongue may utter not
Here it is done,
The woman-soul draweth us
Upward and on;

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taking, as he informs us, the phrase of 'the woman-soul' from Bayard Taylor's version. But this is a Germanising sort of English which, if possible, ought to be avoided; and if 'the eternally female' of the original to English ears sounds only a trifle less strange, perhaps we may make another trial, thus:

Rapture unspeakable
Dwells and prevails,
Where the sweet womanly
Love never fails.

We may note, finally, in Sir Theodore's version of this passage that the practice of forming a double rhyme out of two separate words such as 'still meant,' however justified by the example of the Brownings, and however appropriate in *Don Juan*, and our British Aristophanes, *Punch*, is, in our opinion, for several reasons, not suitable to the genius of lofty lyric poetry. But, however this be, no fair critic, considering the extreme difficulty of the undertaking, will be willing to look with a severe eye on rhythmical shifts of this kind, but will rather say with Horace:

Ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis.

Sir Theodore, in the happy termination of this great work, can boast an achievement which, along with his versions from the great Roman poets, will secure him a place in the front line of our translated literature so long as the English language lasts.

JOHN STUART BLACKIE.

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THRIFT AMONG THE CHILDREN.

A FEW weeks ago, when I was talking with an influential friend about writing an article for this Review on 'Thrift among the Children,' he seemed rather surprised, and asked me what I meant—in what form thrift did or could exist among children. But when I began to tell him that thrift among the children had been inculcated and developed to such purpose in France that, since 1874, over twenty-three thousand School Savings Banks have been opened, numbering, in January 1885, no less than 488,624 depositors, with deposits amounting in the aggregate, formed of the *bonâ fide* pocket-money of the children, to a sum of 11,285,046 francs—viz. 451,000*l.*—he at once seized the wide issues involved in the question.

And when I went on to say that, though in the matter of ordinary Savings Banks we had led the way for all countries through the perfection of our Post-Office Savings-Bank system, out of the 18,761 elementary schools of England, with their four million children, less than two thousand—that is, 1,979—have school banks attached to them; and that this is the case, notwithstanding that the adoption of school banks is strongly advocated by the Education Department, and so far enforced that, in assessing the merit grant, her Majesty's Inspectors are instructed that those schools only are entitled to the mark 'Excellent' that, where circumstances permit, have their own Savings Bank; and when I further explained that, from evidence in my own possession, I was led, broadly speaking, to attribute our backwardness to the importance of the question not having been sufficiently brought home to people of all classes, as well as to the difficulty of getting at concise, comprehensive information on it, because such information is for the most part either scattered about or buried in the works of educationalists and specialists—he became anxious that the subject should be discussed in this Review; which, with the permission of the Editor, it may be.

The subject was first brought under my notice by a practical demonstration of the educational value of school banks, and of the aptitude of the poor to appreciate the advantages they afford, the moment they are put within their reach.

A month or two back a school bank was started in my own neighbourhood, through the initiation and efforts of the Clapham branch of the Society of St. Elizabeth of Hungary—one of those societies of

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ladies that in their particular sphere are doing almost as much for the education of women in the practical affairs and realities of daily life as Mr. Gladstone, in his now historic Manifesto, anticipates for the public education of the country from the reform of local government.

Without any special knowledge of School Savings Banks, their number, working, or results, the president of this Society was led by her observations amongst the poor to anticipate important results if she could succeed in establishing one in a large girls' school of her district. Having made sufficient inquiries to justify the experiment, she sought and obtained the permission and co-operation of the school authorities to start a School Savings Bank, in connection with the Post-Office Savings Bank, for the girls and infants of St. Anne's Schools.

In September last the bank was opened by the Secretary of the National Thrift Society. On the opening day, out of one hundred children thirty-four became depositors: the deposits amounted to 8*s.* 6*d.*, showing that they were the *bonâ fide* pocket-money of the children. Which is a thing to be noted, as there is frequently danger, especially at starting a school bank, of the parents making the children the medium of saving their own money; a proceeding that is fatal to the special object and permanent success of a school bank. I may add that in the month of November a Penny Savings Bank was opened for the mothers of the district, which removed all risk of neutralising the educational value of the children's bank by its being made a mere convenience for the family savings.

These facts, when they became known to me, struck me as a remarkable indication of the most hopeful possibilities: they promised great things. I began to make inquiries myself about the extent and working generally of the system of school banks. I made inquiries at the Education Department; I made inquiries about England, in Liverpool and Birmingham; also in Ireland; and then abroad—in Belgium and, above all, in France.

The result of my inquiries was strangely varied: by the side of what I had almost called the strongest confirmation of antecedent probability, strengthened by the short experience of St. Anne's Schools, I met profound apathy or complete ignorance of the whole subject. Without clear proof, this contradictory state of things would be incredible. But having the great good fortune to be brought into communication with M. de Malarce, whose authority on the question of school banks is second to none, I came to see, through his experience, why we are at present so far behind France in a matter of such grave practical consequence.

M. de Malarce may be said to have been inspired with the resolution of initiating a scheme of school banks on the basis of a definite and precise scholastic institution or educational system by the Hungarian patriot Francis Deak.

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In 1873 M. de Malarce was officially commissioned by the Minister of Public Instruction to go to Vienna during the International Exhibition for the special purpose of studying questions of popular economy. In the course of his examination of the large collection of documents on the Savings Bank institutions of various countries brought together on the occasion of the Exhibition, the attention of M. de Malarce was arrested by frequent allusions to school banks—the defects of the several systems adopted, the means employed to remedy them, and the general results, all were there treated at considerable length; and his official mission having brought him into relations with Francis Deak, whose interest in social questions had led him to devote special attention to the whole question of Savings Banks, M. de Malarce took occasion to discuss the particular branch of school banks with him. During one of these discussions the great patriot, in memorable words often since quoted, told the distinguished economist, that after having given much thought to the matter, he was convinced that Savings Banks were a most powerful instrument of civilisation, and above all school banks, which transformed the habits of a people through the moral and economical education they afforded the children.

These words did not fall by the wayside, or upon stony ground whence they could receive no life; they fell upon good soil all ready to receive them, and they grew up into the mighty tree that, with its twenty-three thousand branches, now covers the whole of France.

I am unable to say exactly when school banks were first started in England; but certainly there were several, though for the most part of inadequate efficiency, in operation in 1873. School banks also existed in Buda-Pesth in 1860, in Belgium in 1866, in Wurtemberg in 1846 and in France so long ago as 1834. These, however, except in the case of Belgium, were isolated cases of the institution; and in Belgium, whither economists from many lands have gone to learn their first lesson in the practical working of scholastic thrift, school banks, even at the present day, have nothing of the character of a national system.

M. Laurent, with strenuous and constant effort, has done wonders in establishing them in the communal schools of Ghent, in the face of many difficulties and much official, political, and parental opposition. But the success of school banks in Belgium is simply a local success: it has nothing of a national character. To France, and to France alone, belongs the distinction—a distinction of which she is justly proud—of having attained a national system of school banks.

Immediately on his return home in 1873 M. de Malarce determined to do his utmost without delay to establish Savings Banks on a thoroughly sound basis throughout the schools of France. For this purpose he visited England and Belgium in order to study and see in operation the systems pursued there. And it was not until he had

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learned all he could about them in both countries that he drew up the code of rules and formulated the system now known as the French system. Carefully guarding against the causes of failure that he had observed in the methods adopted in other countries, he framed his rules with a view to insure what he deemed the essential conditions of a sound plan: 1, the utmost ease and safety of mechanism; 2, the minimum of labour and responsibility for the teacher; 3, an educational exercise.

Having well ventilated the subject through the press—which faithfully seconded his efforts—and the monthly reviews, and by means also of lectures, M. de Malarce published his well-known *Manuel des Caisses d'Épargne scolaire*. This was at once addressed by the Minister of Public Instruction to all the inspectors of colleges and schools, and by the Minister of Commerce and Agriculture to the Savings Banks, Chambers of Commerce, and other public bodies under the control of his department; whilst the author himself gave them freely to all who asked for them: in this way he distributed gratuitously 22,000 copies.

In August 1876 the Société des Institutions de Prévoyance, which M. de Malarce had meantime founded, issued an appeal to the *Conseils-Généraux* for a small grant to cover the cost of printing, account-books, pass-books, and medals of encouragement to the teachers for their voluntary labours. In many instances this support was given; but from the first the principle laid down that everything was to be accomplished by free local effort and initiative was carefully adhered to.

The Central Administration of Education, as witnessed, for example, by the act of the Minister of Public Instruction in issuing the *Manuel*, showed warm interest in the scheme, and it carefully took note of its progress. In 1879 the Minister of Public Instruction went so far as to inscribe school banks amongst the *institutions auxiliaires facultatives d'instruction et d'éducation*; but, in the words of the official report of 1880, the department 'had been careful not to interfere by the issue of any direct orders, for fear of altering the character of an institution requiring very delicate treatment, like all institutions that have moral education for their object. It was necessary as a first condition of efficiency that the schoolmaster should open the Savings Bank and that the children should deposit their money in it entirely of their own accord.'

But before either master or child could act at all it was of course necessary that they should be made familiar with the subject. And once M. de Malarce's scheme and system were launched, nothing could have supplemented his efforts more effectually than the loyal and enthusiastic assistance he received from local authorities in all directions. Advice and encouragement met the teachers on every side: mayors, inspectors of both the higher and elementary schools,

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members of the General and Municipal Councils, all came forward with their voluntary services to aid in the establishment of school banks. Nor were the school masters and mistresses backward to avail themselves of such assistance by corresponding to it with their own intelligent and gratuitous labours. The first ten years' experience of M. de Malarce's method has certainly proved that it was for lack of a sound system that during the preceding forty years school banks were but failing tentatives; but it has also proved equally the generous devotion and wisdom of the French teaching staff.

In his report for 1884 the Minister of Public Instruction, whilst further expressing the satisfaction of the Central Administration at the progress the school banks were making, again emphasised the fact that it left the establishment of these banks wholly to the free option and voluntary efforts of the teachers, 'who act solely from professional devotion, without any selfish object.' But for the first time the statistics of the school banks had their place amongst the other statistics of the official report; and they showed that in the course of ten years—viz. from 1874, when M. de Malarce's method was first brought into operation, down to 1884—over twenty-one thousand school banks had been established: that is, 21,481, with 442,020 depositors, whose weekly average deposits of fifteen centimes amounted in January 1884 to over ten million francs—10,248,226. Which means that more than twenty-one thousand teachers in France, inspired by the voluntary counsels of a still greater number of economists and public-spirited men, were freely devoting themselves to the delicate and laborious task of training the children of the poor in practical habits of thrift; thereby spreading a spirit of foresight and economy throughout the labouring classes—amongst parents and grown-up brothers and sisters—through the 'contagion of good example.'

Nothing succeeds like success. The example of France was quickly followed in far-distant countries: in the United States, in Canada, Australia and Brazil, as well as in Europe, school banks were inaugurated. The International Congress of Provident Institutions, held in Paris in 1878, gave evidence of their wide spreading quite as remarkable as the ever-increasing evidence of the deep root they had struck in France, which was to be found alike in the annual reports of the school inspectors and of the Minister of Public Instruction. In fact, in 1876, just two years after M. de Malarce's method came into operation, one of the school inspectors in his report to the Conseil-Général of the department stated that, in l'Ouest, so thoroughly did the parents realise the advantages and importance of school banks, that they considered a school defective that was without one.

The annual report of the Minister of Public Instruction for 1885 showed a still greater progress than the preceding. There were then 23,222 school banks, 488,624 depositors, and a gross sum of deposits amounting at the date of the report to 11,285,046 francs.

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The following table, compiled from returns prepared at different times for M. de Malarce and the Minister of Instruction, shows at a glance the progressive success of school banks under the French method.

January	Number of School Banks	Number of Depositors	Aggregate of Deposits in francs
1877	8,033	177,040	2,983,352
1879	10,440	224,200	3,602,621
1881	14,372	302,841	6,403,773
1883	19,433	395,869	9,064,583
1884	21,481	442,021	10,248,226
1885	23,222	488,624	11,285,046

It would take me beyond the limits of a review article were I to attempt to show in detail the effects of the example and system of France in other countries, either by giving new life to waning or exhausted efforts, or by introducing school banks for the first time. But there is just one country in which they have operated under such exceptional circumstances, and under circumstances that exhibit in sostriking a manner the educational value of school banks, that it could neither be passed over nor included in a general statement without sacrificing a powerful argument that appeals directly to the reason and imagination of all classes: I allude to the adoption of savings banks in Brazil for the orderly and speedy abolition of slavery.

Viscount Rio Branco, when he framed his celebrated law of September 1871 for the enfranchisement of the slaves of Brazil, had learned from the terrible precedent furnished by the United States the dangers that attend the sudden liberation of masses of men who, incapable of distinguishing between liberty and license, confound the rights of a free man with false claims to an idle life and evil courses. By this law of 1871, based on a plan suggested by Hippolyte Passy, in 1834, for the gradual enfranchisement of the slaves of the French colonies, all children born of slave mothers, after the passing of the law, were declared free; and provision was made for an education that should render them capable of using their liberty.

By the continued watchfulness of Viscount Rio Branco, the educational safeguards that he had provided from the first for the welfare of his country in the great transition from slavery to freedom have been strengthened in these later years by the adoption of the practical training afforded by school banks, which was judged to be one of the best means to cope with the dangerous instincts of the offspring of slave parents against a well-ordered and thrifty life.

Equally careful provision was made for the emancipation of adult slaves. And in their case, even more than in that of their children, the training and educational value of the Savings Bank, as well as its influence in effecting their emancipation, is manifest.

By the Rio Branco law the slaves for a stated number of hours in

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the week may work for themselves; and the wages so earned are put in Savings Banks, which, like the school banks, have been developed and improved in recent years under the influence of Viscount Rio Branco and other eminent Brazilians who studied the whole subject in France under the guidance of M. de Malarce. When the wages so saved amount to a certain sum, the state or province completes the sum necessary for ransom out of a public emancipation fund.

On the 14th of last August the Brazilian Legislature passed a new law to hasten the accomplishment of the object of the famous law of 1871.

According to this new law, the slaves employed in agriculture can at once obtain their freedom by the grant of a loan from the emancipation fund, on the condition that they continue in the service of their master for five years: during this period they will receive from their master, in addition to food and lodging, wages regulated by the amount of their work, half of which will be deposited in a Savings Bank to repay the loan for their ransom.

Under this law it is calculated that the emancipation of all existing slaves, reckoned at about one million two hundred thousand, will be effected in less than seven years. That is to say (I am quoting freely from the *Manuel Général de l'Instruction Primaire*) in twenty years Brazil, which, from the agricultural nature of its industry and from the vast extent of its territory, had apparently the greatest reason to dread the crisis of the transition from slave labour to free labour, will have solved the problem of the abolition of slavery; and it will have accomplished this great work, not only without civil war, massacre, ruin, or any economic disturbance, but it will have accomplished it in peace and order and with increased strength to its productive forces, through the improved moral and material condition of its population.

I have entered into detail on this point even at the risk of being charged with digressing from my subject, because I believe that a moment's reflection will convince anyone that the system of Savings Banks, as applied to the case of the adult slaves of Brazil, is truly, if not literally, quite as much a branch of thrift among the children as the school banks of their free-born children; and from its educational value in such a momentous affair as enabling the slave—that is a child in the civilised scale—not simply to gain his personal liberty, but in gaining it to become a free man in the full sense of the word, through persevering and sustained habits of industry, order, sobriety, and economy, it brings out in the strongest light the enormous educational importance of such a system with respect to the future preservation of the masses from the slavery that disgraces the civilisation of free countries—the slavery of 'outcast London:' improvidence, vice, and intemperance.

In turning from France to England to consider the progress of

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thrift among the children, the prospect is certainly disappointing with regard to the present, though not without hope for the future.

Notwithstanding the signal lead that England has taken in the spread of thrift directly, through the marvellous facilities afforded by the Post-Office Savings Bank, as a nation she is far behind the vanguard of school banks.

I say as a nation advisedly; for Liverpool and Birmingham are such splendid exceptions to the country at large as to show that in a year or two England need be second to no other country in the number and success of her school banks.

In 1875, through the zeal and great practical judgment of Mr. Banner Newton and Mr. Oulton, school banks, on a sound basis, were started in the elementary schools of Liverpool in connection with the Liverpool Penny Savings-Banks Association. The annual report of the Association for the year ending the 20th of November, 1885, shows a total of fifty-eight schools with banks attached to them, numbering 17,386 depositors, who, during the year, in the course of 305,670 transactions, have deposited 7,023*l.*, withdrawn 5,004*l.*, and transferred 1,919*l.* to the Liverpool Penny Bank. On the 20th November, 1885, the school children of the elementary schools had an aggregate sum in the Liverpool Penny Bank of 2,559*l.* 6*s.* due to them.

No less than half this sum belonged to the children of the schools of the Liverpool School Board.

The following table shows the progress of the Liverpool Board School Banks, and gives an insight into their working during the last eight years ending the 20th of November, 1885.

	Number of Banks	Number of Departments	Number of Depositors	Amount of Deposits			Repayments to Depositors			Transfers to private accounts in Liverpool Savings Banks			Amount in Liverpool Savings Banks		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1878	11	39	3,980	1,996	7	0	1,282	11	0	473	12	1	762	8	9
1879	14	60	5,497	2,426	11	10	1,723	4	0	556	14	0	924	12	5
1880	15	64	6,552	2,751	0	7	1,930	2	0	664	2	6	1,106	6	9
1881	17	64	6,808	3,011	0	10	2,277	10	11	708	0	0	1,140	9	7
1882	17	69	8,065	3 332	8	6	2,451	9	11	860	2	2	1,157	5	2
1883	18	71	8,851	3,221	8	5	2,433	6	4	773	6	0	1,234	8	4
1884	18	70	9,402	3,516	12	5	2,593	14	8	914	12	0	1,269	11	6
1885	19	74	10,080	3,725	13	0	2,768	7	4	887	16	0	1,366	12	6

The number of banks would be much larger if, as in cases where the school banks are in connection with the Post-Office Savings Bank, each department had its separate bank. For instance, the report of the Liverpool Board School banks for the year ending the 20th of November, 1885, shows that there were seventy-four departments connected with the eighteen Board School banks. In Birmingham these seventy-four departments would count as seventy-four school banks. And this brings me to Birmingham.

I owe it to the kindness of Mr. Chamberlain and the courtesy of

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Mr. Davis, clerk to the Birmingham School Board, that I am able to give the subjoined very interesting and hitherto unpublished return of the Birmingham School Board banks. The return of the last year is up to the 14th of October only.

Birmingham Board School Penny Banks.

For the Year	Number of Banks	Number of Depositors	Aggregate of Deposits		
			£	s.	d.
1876	2	522	217	10	8½
1877	4	773	312	17	8½
1878	13	1,498	412	1	8½
1879	43	4,957	1,035	13	4½
1880	48	5,809	1,192	6	8
1881	56	7,460	1,417	6	8
1882	57	7,500	1,939	0	0
1883	62	8,100	2,346	6	5½
1884	65	8,671	2,757	17	8
1885[1]	68	9,000	3,000	0	0

[1] Up to the 14th of October.

Apropos of this return, Mr. Davis writes: 'You will see that, like all our other departments of work, it grows. I believe we shall soon have a bank in every boys', girls', and infants' school, notwithstanding that we still make it quite a voluntary undertaking on the part of the teachers.'

All the Birmingham Board School banks are in connection with the Post-Office Savings Bank; and they are managed solely by the teachers, though the account clerk of the Board has a general supervision of them. A member of the Board is treasurer, and personally signs all withdrawals.

Mr. Davis further tells me that 'the teachers have never complained of any inconvenience in managing the banks; that the increase in their number has been solely through the teachers' own applications; that in most of the schools where they exist the teachers show a great deal of interest in them;' and, finally, that he is 'sure that by working them the teachers improve the attendance and increase the interest of the children and their parents in the school.'

From returns procured for me by the secretary of the National Thrift Society, I find that out of the fifty denominational schools of Birmingham, thirty-one have not any banks, ten have banks connected with the Post Office, and eight have independent banks.

As regards the school banks of the metropolis, I will only say that, from information and returns kindly furnished me by a member of the London School Board and Mr. Bartley, M.P., they, on the whole, leave much to be desired.

And, apart from the examples of Liverpool and the Board School banks of Birmingham, the number of school banks in the United Kingdom is even more disappointing. According to the last reports of the Education Department, out of the 18,761 elementary schools in England and Wales, with their over four million children, only 1,979

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have Savings Banks. What a contrast to the 23,222 school banks of France! In Scotland, out of 3,435 elementary schools, only 123 have banks. And in the National Schools of Ireland Sir Patrick Keenan tells me there is not a school bank to be found.

Now this extraordinary difference and disproportion between the United Kingdom and France exists ten years after France began her successful course in the matter of school banks; eight years after the subject was so far agitated in England that a Parliamentary return of schools in receipt of annual grants with school banks attached to them was called for and made; and four years after the issue of a Circular of the Education Department urging the establishment of school banks.

In this Circular 'My Lords' pointed out the educational importance of these banks as a remedy to meet 'the serious evils of improvidence and want that weigh heavily on the industrial classes in this country' by the early training they afford children in the practical knowledge of 'how to economise slender resources, how to resist temptation to needless expense, and to make reasonable provision for future contingencies . . . . Such knowledge is calculated to protect its possessor from much trouble and humiliation, and to help him greatly in leading an honourable and independent life.'

These are weighty words, but the Circular goes even further when it proceeds to show that 'the value of the lesson of economy, so acquired, is not to be measured solely by its effect on the child's own character and welfare;' and traces its effects, through the close relation between thrift and temperance, in coming years 'in very greatly increasing the home trade and profitable employment of our people therein, now gravely injured by the enormous national waste caused by intemperance.' Then, having drawn attention to statistics proving the success of school banks wherever the experiment has been made on right principles, notably in Ghent and France, the Circular dwells on the facilities for establishing and working such banks in England; and though 'unwilling to cast upon the teachers of schools an additional labour and responsibility which might interfere with the proper discharge of their daily duties,' My Lords nevertheless 'believe that they may rely with some confidence on the good-will of school managers and teachers for help in devising and carrying out the needful arrangements,' and conclude by inviting 'to the whole subject the consideration of members of school committees and Boards, and those persons of leisure and influence interested in elementary schools and the future well-being of the scholars.'

Moreover the Circular of Instructions of the Education Department of the 9th of August, 1882, alike in this point to the Revised Instructions of 1885 addressed to Her Majesty's School Inspectors, expressly states that for the aid grant of 'Excellent,' a school, where circumstances permit it, must have its Savings Bank.

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And in the annual return form required by the new Code to be filled up by the manager, ready for the inspector on the day of his visit, the following specific questions occur :—

1. Is there a Savings Bank *connected with the School?*
2. If so, what is the number of *scholars* who are depositors?
3. What is the amount deposited by *scholars* during the year?
4. What is the total amount standing to their credit at this date?
5. Is the bank confined to the scholars?

With so many incentives to the establishment of school banks the question inevitably arises, What can be the cause of the great disproportion between the number of school banks in England and France?

The disproportion will, I believe, be found to be due to one, or more, or all, of the following causes :—

1. The teacher's ignorance of the whole matter: of the facility with which school banks can be managed; of the new interest that the working of the banks can give to their hard lives; of the close bond that the banks are the means of creating between teachers and children; of the positive material advantage the banks are to teachers.

2. To the indifference or prejudice of those who could enlighten and support teachers in the matter.

3. To the non-provision in the Code for the working of school banks in school hours.

4. To the discouragement arising from failure where bad systems have been adopted through an imperfect comprehension of the necessary conditions for the permanent success of school banks.

As regards the two first causes of failure, the teachers of our elementary schools would not have remained in ignorance of the importance of school banks—and I know for a fact that some have never given so much as a thought to the question, do not seem to have even known of the instructions, admonitions, and questions of the Education Department—had there been in England one-tenth part of the public spirit on the matter that was created by the wise policy and indomitable energy of M. de Malarce in France. And prejudice and indifference have probably had, if not a greater share than ignorance, at least an equal share with it in handicapping the progress of England in the matter.

Not that England is alone in having to meet objections and prejudices against school banks. In Belgium and Italy, for example, they have been opposed by parents and teachers, and even sharply attacked by politicians and the press. And very curious some of the grounds of resistance were. Again and again on the continent it has been held that to inculcate thrift upon children, to teach them to save and spend wisely, is to breed selfishness, to destroy the trusting disposition, the generous, uncalculating impulses of childhood; to rob children of their greatest grace, to replace their light-hearted,

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careless gaiety with avarice; to turn them into little sordid, narrow-minded, cold-hearted economists; to form a race of screws and misers; and then, with a flood of sentimental pity, heart-rending pictures have been drawn of the poor little things with their cheerless lives stripped of their one solace, the delights of the sweet-shop.

It has, however, yet to be shown that self-restraint, prudence, foresight, are synonymous with selfishness, avarice, meanness; that extravagance and recklessness are the same things as generosity and the spirit of honourable independence; that prudence, *i.e.* the virtue of thrift, grows of itself; or that the great lessons of self-restraint and self-reliance inculcated by the denial of a present factitious want or trifling—to say nothing of a pernicious—gratification in order to obtain a solid future good, cannot be taught at so early an age as, for instance, truthfulness and obedience, without imperilling the generous instincts of children.

Madame Carina Schrötér of Hungary, once an opponent but now from observation and experience a strong practical advocate of school banks, met these kinds of objections with singular force in an admirable paper read by her at the International Congress of Provident Institutions of 1878.

After having laid down, with a point and grace of her own, that thrift is a virtue, and that as such it cannot be commanded at pleasure, but must be cultivated from childhood, she turned to those opponents who would not have 'childhood spoiled of its illusions and shorn of its ideal;' and reminding them that they were wrong because happiness is not incompatible with a knowledge of economy, she went on to say that nevertheless she would not press this argument were perpetual ignorance of the matter possible; but that, as it is impossible, she preferred to awaken the child from its dream with a gentle hand and a soft voice, rather than leave it to be awakened in after years by the rough experience of life, often very rough for those who have lived only in their illusions. And then, with an equally light but effectual touch, demolishing the objection that avarice is the sister of thrift, she carried the whole Congress with her by asking whether, because every good is liable to abuse, the good on that account is to be renounced: 'Shall we prevent the child from praying to God for fear of his becoming a bigot? Must we prevent the little girl from wishing to be loved for fear of her becoming a coquette?'

As to what I must call the 'lollypop and goodies' argument, this at first sight scarcely seems to merit serious consideration. Nevertheless it has been one of the greatest difficulties that M. Laurent has had to contend with in Ghent. But he has conquered it to such a degree that the burgomaster told him one day that the school banks had ruined the sweet-shops of the town, for the children no longer went to them. Not that M. Laurent has set his face against the childish love of sugar-plums. He has repeatedly asserted that he would have

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children enjoy wholesome sweet things; but he would have them enjoy them without selfishness, with others, in the family circle. He has waged war only against the greedy, heedless spending of centimes on pernicious stuff.

And, to go much further than Ghent, in Japan the waste of money on sweetmeats has so far come to be regarded as a matter of public concern that the authorities of the Japanese General Post Office have recently been making arrangements to take on deposit very small sums with the direct object of affording school children and students such facilities for saving their pocket-money as shall win them from the habit of fooling it away on the national equivalent for toffee and bull's-eyes.

But the people who are so keen about the possible dangers of avarice and miserliness through school banks are very slow to see the possibility of mischief from the squandering of pocket-money on the rubbish of the apple woman's or ginger-beer man's stall. Yet if there were no greediness, no incipient thriftlessness in it, would the sugar-plum phase of child-life be an unmixed good? I have known a poor mother rejoice that she had not to take her children to the dispensary or physic them half so often since they had joined the school bank and had no money left for the sweet-shop.

As for the argument that the inculcation of thrift through school banks is destructive of generosity, experience has shown that it is quite the reverse. It not only confers on the poorest child a foretaste of the pleasant sense of honest independence, self-reliance, and responsibility that springs from the ownership of even the most slender 'personalty' in its appeal to the human instinct of 'possession,' but it actually trains the child in the way of generosity by bringing within the reach of the lowliest the luxury of giving.

Generosity, like any other virtue, withers up, perishes from want of exercise. And who can practise it that has nothing to give?

A few years since, when the floods spread desolation and want in the South of France, the poor children of the schools of Bordeaux freely gave for the relief of the sufferers 400*l.* out of their penny savings in the school banks. As the wealthiest nation in the world, the English have again and again won admiration and gratitude for the subscriptions with which at home and abroad they have met the great crises that have arisen when plagues, fires, earthquakes, or floods have brought ruin to the multitude. But when could we point to the poor children of any town in the kingdom helping in such relief—like the children of Bordeaux—with their hundreds, not of pence, but of pounds?

Again, M. Laurent, in his well-known *Conférence sur l'Épargne*, gives a touching proof of the generosity that is born of school banks.

Going to visit one of the adult schools of Ghent one day, he met a girl in tears at the school door. He knew her well—she was a

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regular depositor in the school bank: in fact, her savings had begun to increase so much as to make the managers of the bank uneasy. On inquiry, however, they found that she was looking forward to an early marriage, and was putting by both her own and the savings of her sweetheart. But now she was in tears: her father had died suddenly, and she had come for her bank-book in order to withdraw her hard-won savings to pay for her father's burial, and to get bread for her mother, her grandfather, an idiot brother, and her little sisters. She withdrew her savings as a matter of course, and without a word of regret at the sacrifice she was making; her only thought was of her dead father and her family, for whom she was giving up the prospect of an early settlement in life.

I could add to these striking facts, as well as show the reverse of the medal illustrating the misery of not training children in habits of saving; but I have said enough on the one hand for reflective people, and examples on the other must occur by the hundred to any-one that knows anything of the ways of the poor.

I do not doubt that in England as many people will at first sight object to school banks as M. de Malarce and M. Laurent had to contend within France and Belgium. I have met with such objectors myself. Indeed, quite recently one of our leading men, though he conceded that possibly the hateful state of thriftlessness, vice, and intemperance existing amongst our people afforded some argument for banks in our elementary schools, nevertheless seemed to think that it was a heavy price to pay; that the remedy was worse than the ill; that nothing but the magnitude of the existing evil could justify us 'in robbing childhood of the *abandon* that is its greatest charm,' and 'making children disagreeable little prigs;' and he almost retracted his reluctant concession with the final remark that he was quite sure that the little child that Christ set in the midst of His disciples as an example did not belong to a penny bank!

But I have said enough to objectors and prejudice: *usum non tollit abusus.* And if we waited for every rose to be rid of its thorns, we should never enjoy a rose.

In France, whilst the success of M. de Malarce's method has been largely due to the self-denying and voluntary efforts of the teaching staff, it cannot be too carefully borne in mind that no small part of it is owing to the interest of the teachers having been awakened, and their efforts afterwards supported by the counsels of a great body of public-spirited men.

Now, in almost every town and village of the United Kingdom where schools exist, there must be gentlemen and ladies that have both the time and ability to point out to the schoolmaster or school-mistress the importance and advantages of school banks; to instruct them in the simple working of such banks; and, if necessary, to undertake, with the consent and co-operation of the school manager, to open an account with the nearest Post Office Savings Bank, and to

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discharge the simple duties of treasurer or trustee. Or, if no such persons are to be found, even a hard-worked clergyman, as manager of the school, would not be quite overwhelmed if he undertook to do so himself. And with the facilities now offered through the Post Office, there is no reason why our schoolmasters and schoolmistresses throughout the land should not emulate Liverpool and Birmingham in the matter.

But, besides this means of meeting present ignorance on the part of teachers, I think that such hindrances could be altogether avoided in the future by providing that in all our training colleges the subject of school banks, their importance, working, and advantages, should form part of the college course of the students.

As regards the possible cause of failure that I have placed third, it seems to me an enormous pity that, notwithstanding the official recognition that is given to school banks, and all that the Education Department has urged about their importance as a part of elementary education, the Code does not provide for the working of the school banks in school hours; so that what is required, under certain circumstances, for the grant of 'Excellent' should, with the other conditions for that distinction, form part of the school curriculum.

In saying this I do not forget the danger of interference in what has been called a matter of great delicacy; or the necessity of voluntary action on the part of the teacher and freedom from all constraint with regard to the children, other than the kind counsels of their teachers and the 'contagion of good example.' But it having been abundantly proved that children readily enter into the spirit of school banks when explained to them, and willingly avail themselves of the advantages of the banks immediately they are put within their reach; it having also been acknowledged that on this inculcation of thrift as part of the educational training of our children depends in a great measure the independence, dignity, and happiness of their after lives, as well as the welfare, in no small measure, of the country—it seems to me that the weekly exercise required for this training is entitled to at least a quarter as much time as is freely accorded for drill.

School banks, as Mr. Oulton graphically put it, are to the lesson on thrift what pen, ink, and paper are to the lesson on writing. Children, even more than grown-up people, need the living force of acts to give reality to words. And to ply them in school hours with abstract lessons about saving, whilst the real practical lesson of the penny bank is left to take care of itself, is likely to be as fruitful as would be the attempt to teach them writing by sight only, without the use of pen, ink, and paper; or singing by hearing only without the articulate exercise of their own voices.

Experienced men like Mr. Banner Newton and Mr. Oulton urged in the strongest manner at the Congress of Education, in 1884, the practical recognition of school banks in the time-table; indeed they

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even went so far as to speak of the 'absolute necessity' of the bank being regarded as part of the school curriculum. And Mr. Banner Newton tells me—his experience on this point differing, it is true, from the experience of Mr. Davis—that the extra work of the bank out of school hours presses very heavily on some of the teachers; though so convinced are they of the benefit the banks are to themselves as well as to the children, that, if they were even more trouble than they are, they would not give them up.

On this point of the tenacity of the teacher once a bank is in operation, he is supported by the head-master of a school with an average attendance of 1,100 children, and having one of the largest and most successful penny banks in Liverpool, who in a letter to one of the Liverpool papers, after enumerating the advantages of a school bank—the interest that it gives a child in a school, the incentive the weekly transactions are to regular attendance on a day when many would otherwise be absent, the hindrance it is to capricious and un-notified removals for real or fancied grievance on the part of the child—went on to say that he should be 'sorry indeed if the usefulness of the school bank received any check.' And though the weekly transactions were over 500, he treated these lightly as an 'amount of business that does not occupy more than half an hour a week.'

Amongst the benefits to the teacher that have been experienced from the bank of St. Anne's Schools, I must mention the increase of the payment of school fees. Children that *could not* pay their school pence before St. Anne's Bank was started, pay them now: the children have joined the bank!

This experience, though I have not found it mentioned publicly, is to my certain knowledge not exceptional. And an incident related by Madame Carina Schròtér at the congress that I have already alluded to shows in a remarkable manner how this may be brought about.

A short time after the establishment of school banks in Hungary, Madame Schròtér noticed that one of the poorest children brought two-pence every day to the school bank. She was all the more surprised at this because the child's mother a few weeks previously had begged for a pair of shoes in order to be able to send the child to school; a request that Madame Schròtér firmly refused, because she knew that the husband was earning two francs a day. The mother said it was quite true, but that her husband spent it all at the public-house, and that she could scarcely keep herself on the few pence she earned at washing. Under these circumstances Madame Schròtér sent for the mother to ask where the child got the money from. With tears in her eyes the poor woman told how one day her husband, being in a good humour, had given the child a halfpenny to buy an apple. Whereupon the child had said, 'No,' she should put it in the school bank. And then in her childish fashion she explained the working of the bank to her father. It took the man's fancy, and he told the child to go every night to the workshop that he might give her two-

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pence as soon as he got his wages. 'And,' added the poor woman 'I am very careful to see that she goes. Sometimes when it was late he has brought our little one home himself, and he has not gone out again, but given me his wages to buy some supper. You may be sure I try my hardest to get a good one. And only yesterday he told me that after all he thought it was better than the public-house. And a little while after he said that as soon as we had got things a little straight, we should begin to save too, for it was a shame for the child to go without an apple whilst he was drinking up his money.'

As to the discouragement arising from failure, this can be prevented and remedied solely by the adoption of a sound system.

A School Savings Bank differs from an ordinary Penny Savings Bank in three distinct points: 1, it forms part of the school routine; 2, it is worked by the teaching staff; 3, children only are depositors in it, and deposit only their own pocket-money. If any one of these points is disregarded, a school bank loses its distinctive educational value, and ceases to be a school bank.

The object of these banks is to train children in foresight, and in provident, thrifty habits, so that as men and women they may be both able to save carefully and know how to spend wisely. No one can spend wisely that has not learned the self-restraint of careful saving.

It is as necessary to define the object of school banks as it is to define the meaning of the term; for misconception in both respects has led to failure. The large gross sums that the children's pence quickly mount to have a certain fascination; they appeal to our sense of wonder; it is amazing that the weekly farthings and pence of poor children should make such splendid aggregates. But large savings and splendid aggregates are not the end of school banks; the real end of school banks is the moral training of the children: and a child's regular farthings and pennies are more welcome to the intelligent manager of a school bank than the deposit of shillings and florins would be.

To ensure the successful working of a school bank two things are necessary: 1, a system involving the minimum expenditure of time and labour for the teacher; 2, the adoption of sufficient checks to provide against temptation to fraud on the part of teacher or child.

Now though, so long as the Code does not make provision in the time-table for working the banks in school hours, school banks may in some cases entail a certain strain on already heavily-taxed teachers, this need never be an insurmountable hindrance, since experience has proved that, with method and order, the weekly transactions with the children of a large school can on an average be easily accomplished in half an hour.

And excellent machinery providing the requisite checks and insuring the necessary economy in time and labour lies already to hand. To show this my best plan will be to describe briefly how easily, through the facilities offered by the Post Office, school banks

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fulfilling all the conditions essential to their permanent success can be and are started in England.

And, instead of taking as an example some large Board School, with its imposing committee of managers and staff of teachers presiding over the different departments of the school, I will take the case of an elementary school in a poor quarter of one of our large towns; for what can be done here can certainly be done in the Board and voluntary schools of provincial towns and villages.

I will suppose that the manager of such a school, with or without the co-operation of some gentlemen or ladies interested in the education of the people, awakens by explanation, counsel, and sympathy the interest of the schoolmaster[1] in the matter of school banks, so far as to determine him to start a bank in the school. On learning this decision the manager of the school should first write to the Controller of the Savings Bank Department, General Post Office, London, signify his intention of having a school bank in his school, and ask permission to deposit the funds of the bank in the nearest Post Office Savings Bank. On the receipt of this application, the Controller will forward a form to be filled in by the persons intending to act as trustees of the school bank, or by the treasurer, accompanied with explanations and a copy of rules that may be altered according to the requirements or wishes of individual managers, with the exception of one, which limits the deposits of individuals, retained in the school bank, to a sum not exceeding *5l.*

The explanations point out the special aid that is given to Penny Banks established in connection with the Post Office Savings Bank: 1, in furnishing specimen rules approved by the National Debt Commissioners, whose sanction is required before the funds of a Penny Bank can be received; 2, in supplying, *free of charge*, any number of pass-books for the use of depositors in the Penny Banks.

The explanations further show that the Controller will forward account-books specially prepared for the managers of Penny Banks, on the receipt of a trifling sum in postage stamps to defray the cost: viz. *9d.* each for the smaller size cash-book and ledger, and *1s.* each for the larger size. And, to simplify everything to the utmost, a description of the books and of the manner in which they are intended to be used is annexed.

The following is a copy of the specimen rules:—

1. Deposits of One Penny and upwards will be received at .....
....every.....from.....
till.....o'Clock.

2. The money received will be invested in the Post Office Savings Bank, on behalf of the above-named Penny Bank, in the following Names, being those of the Trustees of the said Penny Bank:—

.....
.....
.....
.....

[1] What I say of a schoolmaster applies throughout to a schoolmistress.

3. Depositors may withdraw all, or a portion, of their deposits, on giving One Week's Notice any..... the Deposit Book to be left with the Trustee in attendance.

4. Women and Children may deposit and withdraw Money in their own Names.

5. No person will be allowed to have in this Penny Bank, at one time, more than £5 in all. So soon as the amount paid by any Depositor reaches £1, he will be assisted to open a separate Account in his own Name, at the Post Office Savings Bank; and he will thus be able, if he wish it, to make his subsequent payments direct to the Post Office. As, however, no deposit of less than One Shilling can be received at the Post Office Savings Bank, he may continue to pay into the Penny Bank as before.

6. Each Depositor will be furnished with a Bank Book free of charge; but should it be lost, he will be charged Twopence for a new one.

7. Strict secrecy will be observed respecting all deposits.

8. Interest will be allowed at the rate of.....

These rules, framed for Penny Banks in general, and excellent for simplicity and practicability, need but few alterations to make them thoroughly suitable for School Banks. The following will, I think, be found to be all that are necessary. In 3 'manager' should be substituted for 'trustee.' 4 should be struck out. In 5 the first sentence may be struck out; and 10*s.* may be substituted for 1*l.* in the second sentence. 7 and 8 may be struck out wholly.

On the receipt of these rules, filled in and amended as desired, the Controller, if, as accepted and amended by the trustees, the rules meet with the approval of the authorities, forwards to the trustees the necessary authorisation for opening an account with the Post Office Savings Bank, together with the children's deposit-books and the ledger and cash-books. If due notice is given to the Post Office authorities, the name of the school bank will be printed free of cost on the children's books.

And now we come to the important day of opening the bank.

The children, of course, will have been duly instructed as to the meaning and advantages of the bank; and it will be an exceptional school if a considerable number do not present themselves to claim a depositor's book; learn their first lesson in personal thrift by depositing a penny, and seeing their names entered in cash-book, ledger, and their own little pass-book; and thus take their first step towards having a stake in the national interests of the country through the Post Office Savings Bank.

The routine of the bank is easily learned: The manager of the bank and the ledger-keeper—that is, the schoolmaster or teacher and the assistant—take their places at a table with their respective books before them; and the children come up in their 'bank order,' which they soon learn. The bank manager then takes its deposit-book and deposit from each child in succession, enters the date, the child's number, and amount of deposit and withdrawal, if any, in the cash-book, as in the following specimen of entries:—

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ACCOUNT OF TRANSACTIONS ON *Monday*, THE *4th* DAY OF *January*, 1886.

Number of Book	Amount Deposited			Name of Depositor	Amount Withdrawn		
1			*1*	*Jane Brown*			
2			*3*	*Anne Green*			

And then makes the same entries in the child's book, which he initials as below:—

No. 1.

Depositor's Name,
Jane Brown.

Date of Deposit or Withdrawal	Amount of Deposit			Amount of Withdrawal			Signature
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1886 January 4			*1*				*N. B.*

The child's book is then handed to the ledger-keeper, who will post the deposit in the ledger as follows:—

Deposits *Withdrawals*

Depositor's Name	Address	Number of Account	Balance brought forward	January	January	February
				4		
Jane Brown	*3 White Square*	*1*		*1*		
Anne Green	*8 Grey Court*	*2*		*3*		

And then return the pass-book to the child.

At the end of the exercise with the children the money received by the manager of the bank is handed over to the manager of the school, or one of the other trustees appointed to receive it, who on the same day or the day after puts the entire sum into the Post Office, with the exception of what may fall short of a shilling, which sum should be placed in a box for the special purpose till the following week.

So soon as any child's deposits in the school bank amount to ten shillings or a pound, this sum must be withdrawn from the lump sum placed in the name of the trustee in the Post Office, and transferred—that is, deposited afresh—in the Post Office in the child's name.

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From that day the child has a separate account of its own in the Post Office Savings Bank, and keeps its own pass-book, which it brings to the manager of the school bank from time to time when further transfers are made from the school bank or withdrawals are required.

And here we have a striking example of the incalculable advantages of having school banks connected with the Post Office Savings Bank: when a child leaves school, wherever it may go, in whatever position it may be, boy or girl, it can continue without break or change through the same channel the habit of thrift acquired at school.

The machinery and process that I have described will be found to answer fully to the definition of a school bank, and to provide in every respect for its successful and continuous working: 1, in requiring the minimum expenditure of time and labour on the part of the teacher; 2, in securing the fullest educational advantages to the child; 3, in protecting both teacher and child from the danger of fraud.

It has taken many words to describe it, but one experiment will prove that in half an hour sixty children can be taken through the weekly exercise of the school bank. So that even in a large Board School, its several hundred children would need no more time, since, as at Birmingham, each division would have its separate bank under the separate management of its own teachers, though the moneys of the several banks could be paid in one sum into the Post Office by the school manager or trustee.

Each child, standing by the teachers and watching them whilst the three separate entries are made, becomes more and more familiarised with the means of an orderly life, with the value of money and the importance of thrift; whilst on the occasion of a transfer of 1*l.* or 10*s.* to the Post Office Bank or the withdrawal of a sum for some useful object—a hat, jacket, or boots, books, or other school requirement, or an outing in the summer—an opportunity is afforded the teacher of making the child's special lesson a general one of an impressive character for the whole school.

Nor does the lesson end with the children. It reaches far, far beyond. And the circles of hope that it forms in the deep sullen sea of poverty and misery widen and widen until, like the ever-spreading circles of the little stone that stirs the broad bosom of the lake into which it has been cast, the eye can no longer follow them.

Finally, it will have been observed that the simple plan of book-keeping devised by the Post Office authorities constitutes a perfect safeguard against mistakes and fraud on either teacher or child. The parents and child can see each week whether its savings have been correctly entered, whilst—a check as well as a protection to one another—the manager of the bank and assistant have their separate books to produce should the parents or children ever be tempted to tamper with the child's pass-book. Moreover the responsibility of the

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teachers is reduced to the minimum not only in their being required to receive the savings of the children solely, but also in their being obliged to pay over the deposits to the trustee on the day of the transaction.

I cannot conclude without pointing out that, necessary as school banks are to the boys of the working classes, they are even more useful to the girls. In saying this I am supported by authority such as that of M. de Malarce and Cardinal de Bonnechose. On the woman almost invariably devolves the management of the expenditure of the husband's earnings for the good of the humble household, and, therefore, it behoves her above all to know how to economise, to spend wisely and to save carefully. And when such economy becomes general, who can tell what will be its ultimate effects? Gambetta said that he believed that the strength of France was, to a great extent, due to the thrifty and industrious character of the Frenchwomen.

In this rapid review of thrift among the children, what I have said has had regard chiefly to the children of the poor; but, *mutatis mutandis*, it is applicable also to the children of the rich, and here again I am glad to say that the conclusions drawn from my own observations are confirmed by the first authority.

I should like to see the boys and girls of all our colleges and upper schools taught, as part of their educational training, to put regularly into the nearest Post Office Savings Bank some portion of their pocket-money.[2] Above all should I rejoice to see this practical acquaintance with the *meaning* of money taught the girls of the well-to-do and upper classes. This, I am persuaded, would be a great step in the way of meeting the inexactitude, the instability and vagueness, the helpless dependence and extravagance, that pervade the lives of so many women, who thereby carry disorder into the households they were destined to rule, or become an easy prey to the first adventurer, unscrupulous speculator, or bubble company that chances to gain their attention.

But it will be much more difficult to convince people on this last point than on my first. The extravagance of wealth is less tractable than the waste of want. Nevertheless I do not despond. For I believe that the more the whole subject is discussed, the more evident will become the importance of inculcating, for the future well-being of our commonwealth, thrift among the children of the rich and the poor.[3]

AGNES LAMBERT.

[2] Cardinal de Bonnechose was so convinced of the importance of this early economic training that in 1878 he caused over nine hundred school banks to be established in his diocese.

[3] Since this article was in type I have been informed that school banks have already been introduced in colleges and other schools of the upper classes in France, Algeria, and Belgium.

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

It must often have occurred to the advocates of women's suffrage in England that one great reason why their cause has till now made slow progress, in proportion to the zeal and ability enlisted in it, is the indifference with which it is regarded by large numbers of Englishwomen. I dare say they are fully aware of that which they must esteem a deplorable apathy; but it seems to me worth while to inquire, from another point of view than theirs, whether this attitude of Englishwomen on the question is to be stigmatised as apathetic, or, indeed, to be deplored at all.

Probably, although many women have thought on the subject, and drawn a conclusion adverse to female suffrage, there are a greater number who are opposed to it instinctively rather than deliberately. They have not the time, nor perhaps often the materials, for forming a definite opinion. But one thing is clear—viz. that neither among educated nor uneducated women, among those who think most nor those who work most, among rich women nor among poor, is there any great and pressing and genuine desire for the suffrage. The evidence of petitions to Parliament will not alone count for much with any one who has witnessed the ease with which signatures can be obtained, by mere importunity, from the great multitude of unthinking persons—in which category must be included the numbers who 'think' in strict obedience to the last person who has addressed them. But if there were a genuine, wide, and pressing desire for the Parliamentary franchise among women, the large female population would assuredly make itself heard in very different fashion from those reports of meetings for women's suffrage which are from time to time to be seen in the newspapers, and seem to interest principally those who attend and address the meetings. The subject would be frequently and eagerly discussed amongst women by themselves, the prospects of the measure in Parliament would be eagerly scanned, and constant efforts would be made by women in their families to press the claim for female suffrage on their male relatives. Now, whatever may be the case in the large towns among certain coteries, things are not thus in the country at large.

This attitude of the female sex in England is not, I think, to be explained, as our female reformers would perhaps have it, as mere

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ignorance resulting in apathy. Women, no doubt, are still as a rule less instructed than men. But they have as much mother-wit as men; they are as conversant, in their own way, with the practical needs and difficulties of life; and in judging *les questions intimes*, the questions of what is likely to be good or bad for their daughters and sisters, they are probably in the main just as competent as men in judging for their sons and brothers. Indeed, the absolute 'equality' of the sexes in mental ability is strongly insisted on by the advocates of 'women's rights' as a main ground for the concession of the franchise to women. It behoves them, then, seriously to consider the fact that large numbers of these competent female persons have no wish for political equality with men. Especially is it to be noted that married women are for the most part indifferent if not opposed to it.

I now wish (so far as an obscure person like myself can argue for my sex) to show why women are to be reckoned wise and prudent in declining to grasp at direct political power. I hope it will appear that this by no means involves their having no interest in the affairs of their country, but that their interest and also their influence in those affairs will be best exercised by other means than by voting at parliamentary elections.

I will begin by admitting that which I should have thought too clear to be ever in dispute, but which seems to be thought by many contenders for 'women's rights' necessary to be insisted upon—viz. that if this question is to be decided by (1) mere intellectual capacity, or (2) the qualifications of property-holding, labour-employing, tax-paying, the case for admitting women to the parliamentary franchise is plain. As to the first, it is certain that there are numbers of women far more competent intellectually to exercise the franchise than are very many of the present electorate. And though (*pace* the contenders aforesaid) the mental power of the average woman is probably distinctly below that of the average man, the difference could not be made out so great as to justify the withholding of the franchise from one sex while it is granted to the other. As to the second test, it is undeniable that women do (and probably will in an increasing number of cases) exercise functions which are held to be 'notes' of the capable citizen in the case of men. Why, it is asked, should they be debarred from benefiting by the natural corollary of public rights to public duties, capacities, responsibilities? Surely it is an artificial, anomalous arrangement which debars them.

An artificial arrangement, I suppose, is one bearing on a given set of conditions from without, and for reasons foreign to the natural demands of those conditions. Now in this sense any human arrangement must seem artificial, if regard be had only to one set of facts out of the various and complicated sum-total of life. Actually, all our arrangements are in the nature of compromises between the exi-

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gencies of this consideration and that; for it is impossible to pick out any one set of facts, and then draw a conclusion on the merits without coming into conflict with equally legitimate conclusions from other picked-out facts. But these compromises are mostly made unconsciously, though our sense of them is witnessed to by the distrust which all practical people feel for paper theories untested in the wear and tear of life. The actual position of women is the result of such a compromise, between the demands that might logically be made for them as intellectual, property-holding, wage- and tax-paying persons, and certain other considerations; and the compromise has been arrived at unconsciously and gradually. If by calling that position artificial people mean that it is the result of a deliberate scheme, planned by men for the exclusion of women from power, they can be contradicted with absolute security. All the evidence of mankind's history goes to show that the relative position of the sexes as we know it has slowly worked itself out in obedience to deep underlying laws, which, unawares to us, have shaped its main outlines. That there ever was a time when men as a sex said of the other sex, 'These women may become too powerful; we must see to it and keep them down,' there is no evidence whatever.[1] No, the insistence has always been on what is fitting and beneficial to women in themselves, and as mothers, wives, and daughters of men; and the ideas of what is so have slowly shaped themselves according to the great unalterable facts of human nature.

Now (though it may appear to some people pompous to say so) it is by appeal once more to these great unalterable facts, underlying all our arrangements, that the question of conceding the parliamentary franchise to women ought to be decided. A human being is, so to speak, 'all of a piece'; and it is really impossible to separate warp from woof—to draw distinct lines dividing its living organism into sections, however for convenience' sake we may distinguish things mental from things physical, things moral from things intellectual, and so on. And though in spite of popular science numbers of us still think and speak as if the mind and soul made up a kind of separate machine, fitted into the body like a travelling-clock in a box, yet we are more and more aware that the attempt to deal with any so-called 'part' of human nature without reference to other parts always results in disaster. We are familiar with warnings against cultivating the mind at the expense of the body, or indulging the body to the clogging

[1] This is said advisedly, spite of the instances to be cited of the opposition by male workers to the intrusion of women upon their trade or profession. These seem to me not the opposition of sex to sex, but mere cases of a class and trade exclusiveness which has the sole purpose of maintaining a certain rate of wages, and is exercised quite as often by men against men as by men against women. Again, the often-quoted absorption by the male sex of educational endowments intended for both sexes cannot be shown to have resulted from any plan to oust girls from schools: it resulted rather from the fact that there was no demand for female education.

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of the mind. Keeping all this in view, we shall recognise that if in one department (so to speak) of human nature a certain plan of life is indicated by experience and reason, we ought to look for its indication in other departments.

Now can any one seriously argue that, on the physical side, divergence of pursuits and habits is not indicated for the sexes? The common-sense of mankind has long ago answered the question, and even our female reformers I believe admit that ploughing and driving cattle, soldiering and sailoring, are not appropriate to women, nor feeding and rocking children, nursing the sick and keeping house, to men. Not that women have not as much physical strength and energy in their own kind as men in theirs, but that energy appears to have a different scope. Men would find the common tasks of women desperately fatiguing and irksome; a man, for instance, would certainly not cultivate manly strength and energy as a child's nurse; yet the nurse exercises a great deal of strength, carrying and nursing a heavy child. The ignoring of this differentiation of physical energy in the two sexes is always the note of barbarism or degradation among mankind. Where you find women put to tasks which do not suit with their physical constitution and functions—a practice always evidenced by premature decrepitude—there you have a people low in the scale of humanity.

Now, human nature being all of a piece, it is but reasonable to think that a divergence as between the sexes in pursuits and habits, which is strongly indicated, and admittedly wise on one side of it, is likely to be wise on the other. The energy of women, as it differs in kind and in scope from that of men in physical matters, so differs in moral and intellectual matters. No doubt it is not so easy to discriminate between the intellectual and moral powers of men and women as between their bodily powers; but there is a real difference throughout their being, and it ought to be (as at present it practically is) recognised in the scope of their action as members of the commonwealth.

As it affords a very clear illustration of my meaning, I will refer, painful though it is, to a subject which perhaps more strongly than any other excites the horror and at the same time the remedial activity of good women. I allude to the vice of impurity and the crimes which spring from it. It is, I believe, often urged by pleaders for female enfranchisement that the state both of the law and of the public conscience in regard to these evils would be greatly bettered if women had a direct voice in legislation. I cannot but think they make a grave mistake. If physiological considerations have any meaning, it must always be impossible for women to view these subjects *in lumine sicco*. If they were invested with the power of dictating legal methods, we should have, with the best and purest intentions, all the worst errors committed which marked the attempt

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of some persons to deal with these evils last summer. But if it is asked, Do you mean, then, that women should look indifferently on these terrible subjects, or turn their eyes away from them and ignore them? the answer is, God forbid. The very qualities in the nature of women which unfit them for devising legislation denote their proper office in raising morality, of which legislation is the follower and servant. The consciences of even good men are apt to be blunter in respect of these evils than those of women, blunted by past transgression of their own, or by frequent knowledge of transgression in others; and in no case can a man have as keen and painful sense of the harm wrought as a woman. It is the office of women to use this keen and painful sense to quicken the conscience of men in the matter. If women of the upper classes, instead of being idle and cowardly, disinclined to consider any grave subject, and mostly occupied with dress and amusement, use the many opportunities they have of influence with husbands and sons, brothers and near friends, to urge the cause of purity and high-mindedness, they are helping forward that cause as no legislation could help it. If wives and mothers among them refuse to admit to their houses, much more to be the husbands of their daughters, men known to be viciously given, they are helping forward that cause in a yet larger sphere. And if all well-to-do women resist mere luxury and self-indulgence in themselves, not

> Compound for sins they are inclined to
> By damning those they have no mind to—

they are influencing the whole nation against the sins of the flesh, for example filters downwards in these matters most rapidly of all. If women of the working classes, instead of indulging their young sons and daughters in every freak of self-will, keeping no order in the family as to hours and associates, and then angrily resenting the daughter's 'losing her character,' or the son's having to pay for an illegitimate child—if instead of all this they hold up before their children, by example and precept, the blessing of a godly, righteous, and sober life, they are exercising in the cause of purity and goodness a power far greater than any franchise can confer, and a power which they are fitted by their own womanly nature to wield. And to women of all classes the due exercise of these womanly influences gives the right and the power to press on the consideration of their male relations any need they may see for alteration in the law.

The same kind of action is open to women, and ought to be exercised by them, in other matters of the commonweal. If men are apt to lean rather to the 'business' side of things, to think too exclusively of 'what will pay,' to be satisfied with general rules, and careless if these bear hardly on particular cases, the fit office of women is to keep alive ideals, to speak for a wise generosity as the best economy, and to insist that general rules are but conclusions from

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the wide observation of individual cases. If an able woman, with a kind heart and an accurate mind, will take trouble to investigate the details of any subject of social interest, the whole country will listen to her; such names as Miss Nightingale, Miss Octavia Hill, and the late Mrs. Nassau Senior will occur to everyone. But ordinary women can, if they will, exercise each in her degree and her own range the same kind of influence as those distinguished women. That kind of influence is germane to the natural constitution of women, and suited to the main conditions of female life as marked out by their bodily, mental, and moral characteristics.

Nor need this influence be confined to social questions, though no doubt it will in the main be so. Wise women will offer their opinion with diffidence where (as in foreign politics, for instance) they can have but a very imperfect knowledge of data, and probably also strictly limited powers of estimating what they do know. But IF they are able to take intelligent interest in (say) the foreign affairs of the country, it can but be to the good that they should discuss such subjects with their male friends and relations, and bring to bear those characteristics of feminine minds which, as I have tried to show, have a true value in counselling the masculine. But surely the more careful they are in thinking and speaking, the more they will recognise that questions of peace and war, trade and commerce, belong as appropriately to masculine minds as questions of household management, the care of children, and the care of sick belong to feminine.

In few words, if I might hazard definition in so large a field, I should say that the fitness of men is to discern the larger issues of life and conduct, to connote facts, to infer principles and lay down rules of action; and the fitness of women, to care for the daily needs and claims of individuals which, trifling as they may seem to triflers, make up a large part of life to the dutiful—to raise the sympathies, the charities, and (in the widest sense) the grace of life to the same level of importance as its necessary business, its necessary rivalries, contentions, ambitions. And what I would urge is this, that the entrance of women into the strife of the political arena would be their adventuring upon controversies with which, by nature and necessary habits of life, they are unfit to deal, and would, moreover, hinder, if it did not extinguish, the exercise of their proper womanly influences.

It will probably not be denied that women have, as things are now, immense influence in this country's affairs. It was acknowledged by Mr. Mill, in his book on *The Subjection of Women*; but, as he there urged, he desired that they should through the franchise exercise with openness and a sense of responsibility a power which they now exercise irresponsibly and unavowedly.[2] It is of course with extreme diffidence

[2] I have not *The Subjection of Women* at hand, so that I cannot quote Mr. Mill's own words; but I have, I believe, given their substance accurately.

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that I challenge any dictum of Mr. Mill's; but I cannot help asking on what grounds it can be held that the sense of responsibility has anynatural connection with the parliamentary franchise. To judge by experience old and new, the sense of responsibility is conspicuous rather by absence than presence in large numbers of the male electorate; while it would be hard to find better examples of its power than among dutiful though unenfranchised women. The sense of responsibility is deeper and older than representative institutions, popular government, or any of the other political means which it is now the fashion to adore as if they were ends in themselves: it is, in fact, the end to which all the machinery of franchises and legislatures is addressed, and experience proves that it can flourish under very diverse political systems. As things are in England, it is not more deficient in women than in men. Conscientious women will exercise their influence, be it what it may, conscientiously, the selfish will exercise it selfishly, and the careless carelessly, or not at all. And the relative proportions of these classes would not be likely to alter because women got the power of shouting out questions to candidates at political meetings, and filling up voting papers in the polling booths.

But, it is often said, you have given women the municipal and the School Board franchises. How anomalous and inconsistent, then, to deny them the parliamentary franchise! I submit that upon the principles I have endeavoured to set forth there is no inconsistency. Municipal affairs are in their nature non-political, however much political considerations may be intruded upon them. The functions are administrative, not legislative, and concerned with local, not national, interests; they are in the nature merely of outside housekeeping, and it would be hard to find any reason in feminine nature why female householders should not share in them with male. For the election of guardians of the poor, again, and for the office of guardian also, the distinguishing feminine characteristics are strong qualifications. The right administration of the Poor Law demands attention to details of housekeeping, comfort and decency, care of children, care of sick, above all individual discrimination in dealing with the very diverse cases included under the general term 'pauper.' For all these purposes women are by nature better fitted than men; and while the general conduct of business will no doubt be best committed to male guardians, no Board can be truly complete and efficient unless some women serve on it. The same reasoning applies to the School Board franchise, and service on School Boards. If there be one subject with which, by common consent, women are peculiarly qualified to deal, it is the training and education of young children. Every consideration of the nature of women and the nature of children confirms the conclusion. When women can be seen as constantly, as spontaneously, and as successfully occupied with political

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matters as with talking to, training, and informing children, in a hundred ways, we might be ready to accept the feminine exercise of the School Board franchise as an argument for conceding to them the parliamentary.

So far for the argument as advanced for sex compared with sex, for women's claim beside men's possession. But it would appear that some at least of those who advocate female suffrage are aware of practical objections to a female franchise coextensive with the male, as the present Bill limits the extension to female householders. Surely the limitation is significant. I do not know if it is intended to be final, or is really the 'thin end of the wedge'; but whether put forth as a principle or a temporary expedient, it is evidence of the impossibility of parallel reasoning between the sexes in this matter. Who could ever have dreamt of such an absurdity as confining any public right to bachelors and widowers? And yet the proposed enfranchisement is practically limited to spinsters and widows. The fact is that it is impossible to deal with this or any other question of moment as between the sexes without opening up the widest question of all, that of the marriage relation. Unless we are prepared to make of marriage a mere civil partnership, dissoluble at will, it is certain that the normal relation between husband and wife must be one of control and decision on the husband's side, and deference and submission on the wife's. 'Where two ride on a horse, one must needs ride behind.' This remains inevitable so long as the marriage is not dissolved, notwithstanding any means devised for protecting wives from wrong. Now, to give that which is a subject of keenest divergence of opinion, the exercise of the political franchise, to married women, would certainly introduce into married life a fruitful source of dispute and discord. It is, doubtless, the perception of this which is largely responsible for the proposed limitation of the franchise to women-householders. But of all anomalies and inconsistencies, that limitation would be surely one of the greatest conceivable. It is alleged to be unjust that sensible and intelligent women should not have the franchise, and then it is gravely proposed to except from enfranchisement precisely that half of the female sex which has most experience of life, most training in practical affairs, most sense of the claims of others. It is most true that there are numbers of single women who are efficient and valuable members of society; for my part I do not see how society as at present constituted could prosper without them. But speaking generally, those persons who fulfil all the normal relations of life will be, *cæteris paribus*, wiser, more experienced, more informed than those who do not. It is a monstrous proposal to exclude all wives and nearly all mothers from the franchise and to give it to single women, numbers of whom have hardly any experience of life beyond managing each her own maid-servant and her own cat—if indeed the cat and the maid-servant do not manage

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her. And the proposal can only be made upon a basis which, as I contend, is unreasonable and unphilosophic—namely, the singling out of one set of facts from the complex and varied aggregate of life, by considering women merely as householders and taxpayers, and ignoring other and weighty facts of their nature and constitution to which the former are but partially incidental.

What may be the prospects of female enfranchisement, partial or complete, it is not for me to prophesy. I am indeed convinced that there is no genuine or strong desire for it among Englishwomen at large; and I strongly suspect that the majority of Englishmen would be against it, if fairly laid before them. But it is unfortunately evident that part of the price we pay for our present 'broadened basis' of the electorate is the possibility that measures even of great moment may be 'rushed' over the heads of the majority in the country if such measures are but pushed by a compact and determined minority. Yet it will be nothing short of a scandal in English politics if even the present Bill, involving as it does a totally new departure in principle of such moment, should pass the Legislature in any such wise as its second reading has just been carried (on February 19) through the House of Commons.

My earnest hope is that the political franchise will not be given to any women. To give it may be 'progress;' but there is a progress in a wrong direction.

THEO. CHAPMAN.

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THE FACTORS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION.

I.

WHILE recognising in full the process brought into clear view by Mr. Darwin, and traced out by him with so much care and skill, we may fitly ask whether those are right who conclude that, taken alone, it accounts for organic evolution? Has the natural selection of favourable variations been the sole factor, as it is now commonly supposed to have been? On critically examining the evidence, we shall find reason to think that it by no means explains all that has to be explained. Omitting for the present any consideration of a factor which may be distinguished as primordial, it may be contended that one of the factors alleged by Dr. Erasmus Darwin and by Lamarck must be recognised as a co-operator. Unless that increase of a part resulting from extra activity and that decrease of it resulting from inactivity are transmissible to descendants, we are without a key to many phenomena of organic evolution. Utterly inadequate to explain the major part of the facts as is the hypothesis of the inheritance of functionally-produced modifications, yet there is a minor part of the facts, very extensive though less, which must be ascribed to this cause.

We will consider, first, the classes of difficulties which meet us if we recognise no other factor than the survival of the fittest—difficulties which disappear if the inherited effects of use and disuse are recognised. And we will then consider what evidence there is that the structures of offspring are affected by special kinds of activity and inactivity in their parents.

When discussing the question more than twenty years ago (*Principles of Biology*, § 166), I instanced the decreased size of the jaws in the civilised races of mankind as a change not accounted for by the natural selection of favourable variations; since no one of the decrements by which, in thousands of years, this reduction has been effected, could have given to an individual in which it occurred such advantage as would cause his survival, either through diminished cost of local nutrition or diminished weight to be carried. I did not then exclude, as I might have done, two other imaginable causes. It may be said that there is some organic correlation between increased size of brain and decreased size of jaw: Camper's doctrine of the

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facial angle being referred to in proof. But this argument may be met by pointing to the many examples of small-jawed people who are also small-brained, and by citing not infrequent cases of individuals remarkable for their mental powers, and at the same time distinguished by jaws not less than the average, but greater. Again, if sexual selection be named as a possible cause, there is the reply that, even supposing such slight diminution of jaw as took place in a single generation to have been an attraction, yet the other incentives to choice on the part of men have been too many and great to allow this one to weigh in an adequate degree; while, during the greater portion of the period, choice on the part of women has scarcely operated: in earlier times they were stolen or bought, and in later times mostly coerced by parents. Thus, reconsideration of the facts does not show me the invalidity of the conclusion drawn, that this decrease in size of jaw can have had no other cause than continued inheritance of those diminutions consequent on diminutions of function, implied by the use of selected and well-prepared food. Here, however, my chief purpose is to add an instance showing, even more clearly, the connexion between change of function and change of structure. This instance, allied in nature to the other, is presented by those varieties, or rather sub-varieties, of dogs, which, having been household pets, and habitually fed on soft food, have not been called on to use their jaws in tearing and crunching, and have been but rarely allowed to use them in catching prey and in fighting. No inference can be drawn from the sizes of the jaws themselves, which, in these dogs, have probably been shortened mainly by selection. To get direct proof of the decrease of the muscles concerned in closing the jaws, or biting, would require a series of observations very difficult to make. But it is not difficult to get indirect proof of this decrease by looking at the bony structures with which these muscles are connected. Examination of the skulls of sundry indoor dogs contained in the Museum of the College of Surgeons proves the relative smallness of such parts. The only pug-dog's skull is that of an individual not perfectly adult; and though its traits are quite to the point, they cannot with safety be taken as evidence. The skull of a toy-terrier has much restricted areas of insertion for the temporal muscles; has weak zygomatic arches; and has extremely small attachments for the masseter muscles. Still more significant is the evidence furnished by the skull of a King Charles's spaniel, which, if we allow three years to a generation, and bear in mind that the variety must have existed before Charles the Second's reign, we may assume belongs to something approaching to the hundredth generation of these household pets. The relative breadth between the outer surfaces of the zygomatic arches is conspicuously small; the narrowness of the temporal fossæ is also striking; the zygomata are very slender; the temporal muscles have left no marks whatever, either by limiting lines or by

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the character of the surfaces covered; and the places of attachment for the masseter muscles are very feebly developed. At the Museum of Natural History, among skulls of dogs there is one which, though unnamed, is shown by its small size and by its teeth to have belonged to one variety or other of lap-dogs, and which has the same traits in an equal degree with the skull just described. Here, then, we have two, if not three, kinds of dogs which, similarly leading protected and pampered lives, show that in the course of generations the parts concerned in clenching the jaws have dwindled. To what cause must this decrease be ascribed? Certainly not to artificial selection; for most of the modifications named make no appreciable external signs: the width across the zygomata could alone be perceived. Neither can natural selection have had anything to do with it; for even were there any struggle for existence among such dogs, it cannot be contended that any advantage in the struggle could be gained by an individual in which a decrease took place. Economy of nutrition, too, is excluded. Abundantly fed as such dogs are, the constitutional tendency is to find places where excess of absorbed nutriment may be conveniently deposited, rather than to find places where some cutting-down of the supplies is practicable. Nor, again, can there be alleged a possible correlation between these diminutions and that shortening of the jaws which has probably resulted from selection; for in the bull-dog, which has also relatively short jaws, these structures concerned in closing them are unusually large. Thus there remains as the only conceivable cause the diminution of size which results from diminished use. The dwindling of a little-exercised part has, by inheritance, been made more and more marked in successive generations.

Difficulties of another class may next be exemplified—those which present themselves when we ask how there can be effected by the selection of favourable variations, such changes of structure as adapt an organism to some useful action in which many different parts co-operate. None can fail to see how a simple part may, in course of generations, be greatly enlarged, if each enlargement furthers, in some decided way, maintenance of the species. It is easy to understand, too, how a complex part, as an entire limb, may be increased as a whole by the simultaneous due increase of its co-operative parts; since if, while it is growing, the channels of supply bring to the limb an unusual quantity of blood, there will naturally result a proportionately greater size of all its components—bones, muscles, arteries, veins, &c. But though, in cases like this, the co-operative parts forming some large complex part may be expected to vary together, nothing implies that they necessarily do so; and we have proof that in various cases, even when closely united, they do not do so. An example is furnished by those blind crabs named in the *Origin of Species* which inhabit certain dark caves of Kentucky, and which,

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though they have lost their eyes, have not lost the foot-stalks which carried their eyes. In describing the varieties which have been produced by pigeon-fanciers, Mr. Darwin notes the fact that along with changes in length of beak produced by selection, there have not gone proportionate changes in length of tongue. Take again the case of teeth and jaws. In mankind these have not varied together. During civilisation the jaws have decreased, but the teeth have not decreased in proportion; and hence that prevalent crowding of them, often remedied in childhood by the extraction of some, and in other cases causing that imperfect development which is followed by early decay. But the absence of proportionate variation in co-operative parts that are close together, and are even bound up in the same mass, is best seen in those varieties of dogs named above as illustrating the inherited effects of disuse. We see in them, as we see in the human race, that diminution in the jaws has not been accompanied by corresponding diminution in the teeth. In the catalogue of the College of Surgeons' Museum, there is appended to the entry which identifies a Blenheim spaniel's skull, the words—'the teeth are closely crowded together,' and to the entry concerning the skull of a King Charles's spaniel the words—'the teeth are closely packed, p. 3, is placed quite transversely to the axis of the skull.' It is further noteworthy that in a case where there is no diminished use of the jaws, but where they have been shortened by selection, a like want of concomitant variation is manifested: the case being that of the bull-dog, in the upper jaw of which also, 'the premolars . . . are excessively crowded, and placed obliquely or even transversely to the long axis of the skull.' [1]

If, then, in cases where we can test it, we find no concomitant variation in co-operative parts that are near together—if we do not find it in parts which, though belonging to different tissues, are so closely united as teeth and jaws—if we do not find it even when the co-operative parts are not only closely united, but are formed out of the same tissue, like the crab's eye and its peduncle; what shall we say of co-operative parts which, besides being composed of different tissues, are remote from one another? Not only are we forbidden to assume that they vary together, but we are warranted in asserting that they can have no tendency to vary together. And what are the implications in cases where increase of a structure can be of no service unless there is concomitant increase in many distant structures, which have to join it in performing the action for which it is useful?

As far back as 1864 (*Principles of Biology*, § 166) I named in

[1] It is probable that shortening has here resulted not directly but indirectly, from the selection of individuals which were noted for tenacity of hold; for the bull-dog's peculiriaty in this respect seems due to relative shortness of the upper jaw, giving the underhung structure which, involving retreat of the nostrils, enables the dog to continue breathing while holding.

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illustration an animal carrying heavy horns—the extinct Irish elk; and indicated the many changes in bones, muscles, blood-vessels, nerves, composing the fore-part of the body, which would be required to make an increment of size in such horns advantageous. Here let me take another instance—that of the giraffe: an instance which I take partly because, in the sixth edition of the *Origin of Species*, issued in 1872, Mr. Darwin has referred to this animal when effectually disposing of certain arguments urged against his hypothesis. He there says:—

'In order that an animal should acquire some structure specially and largely developed, it is almost indispensable that several other parts should be modified and co-adapted. Although every part of the body varies slightly, it does not follow that the necessary parts should always vary in the right direction and to the right degree' (p. 179).

And in the summary of the chapter, he remarks concerning the adjustments in the same quadruped, that 'the prolonged use of all the parts together with inheritance will have aided in an important manner in their co-ordination' (p. 199): a remark probably having reference chiefly to the increased massiveness of the lower part of the neck; the increased size and strength of the thorax required to bear the additional burden; and the increased strength of the fore-legs required to carry the greater weight of both. But now I think that further consideration suggests the belief that the entailed modifications are much more numerous and remote than at first appears; and that the greater part of these are such as cannot be ascribed in any degree to the selection of favourable variations, but must be ascribed exclusively to the inherited effects of changed functions. Whoever has seen a giraffe gallop will long remember the sight as a ludicrous one. The reason for the strangeness of the motions is obvious. Though the fore limbs and the hind limbs differ so much in length, yet in galloping they have to keep pace—must take equal strides. The result is that at each stride the angle which the hind limbs describe round their centre of motion is much larger than the angle described by the fore limbs. And beyond this, as an aid in equalising the strides, the hind part of the back is at each stride bent very much downwards and forwards. Hence the hind-quarters appear to be doing nearly all the work. Now a moment's observation shows that the bones and muscles composing the hind-quarters of the giraffe, perform actions differing in one or other way and degree from the actions performed by the homologous bones and muscles in a mammal of ordinary proportions, and from those in the ancestral mammal which gave origin to the giraffe. Each further stage of that growth which produced the large fore-quarters and neck, entailed some adapted change in sundry of the numerous parts composing the hind-quarters; since any failure in the adjustment of their respective strengths would entail some defect in speed and consequent loss of

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life when chased. It needs but to remember how, when continuing to walk with a blistered foot, the taking of steps in such a modified way as to diminish pressure on the sore point, soon produces aching of muscles which are called into unusual action, to see that over-straining of any one of the muscles of the giraffe's hind-quarters might quickly incapacitate the animal when putting out all its powers to escape; and to be a few yards behind others would cause death. Hence if we are debarred from assuming that co-operative parts vary together, even when adjacent and closely united—if we are still more debarred from assuming that with increased length of fore-legs or of neck, there will go an appropriate change in any one muscle or bone in the hind-quarters; how entirely out of the question it is to assume that there will simultaneously take place the appropriate changes in *all* those many components of the hind-quarters which severally require re-adjustment. It is useless to reply that an increment of length in the fore-legs or neck might be retained and transmitted to posterity, waiting an appropriate variation in a particular bone or muscle in the hind-quarters, which, being made, would allow of a further increment. For besides the fact that until this secondary variation occurred the primary variation would be a disadvantage often fatal; and besides the fact that before such an appropriate secondary variation might be expected in the course of generations to occur, the primary variation would have died out; there is the fact that the appropriate variation of one bone or muscle in the hind-quarters would be useless without appropriate variations of all the rest—some in this way and some in that—a number of appropriate variations which it is impossible to suppose.

Nor is this all. Far more numerous appropriate variations would be indirectly necessitated. The immense change in the ratio of fore-quarters to hind-quarters would make requisite a corresponding change of ratio in the appliances carrying on the nutrition of the two. The entire vascular system, arterial and venous, would have to undergo successive un-buildings and re-buildings to make its channels every where adequate to the local requirements; since any want of adjustment in the blood-supply to this or that set of muscles would entail incapacity, failure of speed, and loss of life. Moreover the nerves supplying the various sets of muscles would have to be proportionately changed, as well as the central nervous tracts from which they issued. Can we suppose that all these appropriate changes, too, would be step by step simultaneously made by fortunate spontaneous variations, occurring along with all the other fortunate spontaneous variations? Considering how immense must be the number of these required changes, added to the changes above enumerated, the chances against any adequate re-adjustments fortuitously arising must be infinity to one.

If the effects of use and disuse of parts are inheritable, then any

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change in the fore parts of the giraffe which affects the action of the hind limbs and back, will simultaneously cause, by the greater or less exercise of it, a re-moulding of each component in the hind limbs and back in a way adapted to the new demands; and generation after generation the entire structure of the hind-quarters will be progressively fitted to the changed structure of the fore-quarters: all the appliances for nutrition and innervation being at the same time progressively fitted to both. But in the absence of this inheritance of functionally-produced modifications, there is no seeing how the required re-adjustments can be made.

Yet a third class of difficulties stands in the way of the belief that the natural selection of useful variations is the sole factor of organic evolution. This class of difficulties, already pointed out in § 166 of the *Principles of Biology*, I cannot more clearly set forth than in the words there used. Hence I may perhaps be excused for here quoting them.

'Where the life is comparatively simple, or where surrounding circumstances render some one function supremely important, the survival of the fittest may readily bring about the appropriate structural change, without any aid from the transmission of functionally-acquired modifications. But in proportion as the life grows complex—in proportion as a healthy existence cannot be secured by a large endowment of some one power, but demands many powers; in the same proportion do there arise obstacles to the increase of any particular power, by "the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life." As fast as the faculties are multiplied, so fast does it become possible for the several members of a species to have various kinds of superiorities over one another. While one saves its life by higher speed, another does the like by clearer vision, another by keener scent, another by quicker hearing, another by greater strength, another by unusual power of enduring cold or hunger, another by special sagacity, another by special timidity, another by special courage; and others by other bodily and mental attributes. Now it is unquestionably true that, other things equal, each of these attributes, giving its possessor an extra chance of life, is likely to be transmitted to posterity. But there seems no reason to suppose that it will be increased in subsequent generations by natural selection. That it may be thus increased, the individuals not possessing more than average endowments of it, must be more frequently killed off than individuals highly endowed with it; and this can happen only when the attribute is one of greater importance, for the time being, than most of the other attributes. If those members of the species which have but ordinary shares of it, nevertheless survive by virtue of other superiorities which they severally possess; then it is not easy to see how this particular attribute can be developed by natural selection in subsequent generations. The probability seems rather to be, that by gamogenesis, this extra endowment will, on the average, be diminished in posterity—just serving in the long run to compensate the deficient endowments of other individuals, whose special powers lie in other directions; and so to keep up the normal structure of the species. The working out of the process is here somewhat difficult to follow; but it appears to me that as fast as the number of bodily and mental faculties increases, and as fast as the maintenance of life comes to depend less on the amount of any one, and more on the combined action of all; so fast does the production of specialities of character by natural selection alone, become difficult. Particularly does this seem to be so with a species so multitudinous in

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its powers as mankind; and above all does it seem to be so with such of the human powers as have but minor shares in aiding the struggle for life—the æsthetic faculties, for example.'

Dwelling for a moment on this last illustration of the class of difficulties described, let us ask how we are to interpret the development of the musical faculty. I will not enlarge on the family-antecedents of the great composers. I will merely suggest the inquiry whether the greater powers possessed by Beethoven and Mozart, by Weber and Rossini, than by their fathers, were not due in larger measure to the inherited effects of daily exercise of the musical faculty by their fathers, than to inheritance, with increase, of spontaneous variations; and whether the diffused musical powers of the Bach clan, culminating in those of Johann Sebastian, did not result in part from constant practice; but I will raise the more general question—How came there that endowment of musical faculty which characterises modern Europeans at large, as compared with their remote ancestors. The monotonous chants of low savages cannot be said to show any melodic inspiration; and it is not evident that an individual savage who had a little more musical perception than the rest, would derive any such advantage in the maintenance of life as would secure the spread of his superiority by inheritance of the variation. And then what are we to say of harmony? We cannot suppose that the appreciation of this, which is relatively modern, can have arisen by descent from the men in whom successive variations increased the appreciation of it—the composers and musical performers; for, on the whole, these have been men whose worldly prosperity was not such as enabled them to rear many children inheriting their special traits. Even if we count the illegitimate ones, the survivors of these added to the survivors of the legitimate ones, can hardly be held to have yielded more than average numbers of descendants; and those who inherited their special traits have not often been thereby so aided in the struggle for existence as to further the spread of such traits. Rather the tendency seems to have been the reverse.

Since the above passage was written, I have found in the second volume of *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, a remark made by Mr. Darwin, practically implying that among creatures which depend for their lives on the efficiency of numerous powers, the increase of any one by the natural selection of a variation is necessarily difficult. Here it is:—

'Finally, as indefinite and almost illimitable variability is the usual result of domestication and cultivation, with the same part or organ varying in different individuals in different or even in directly opposite ways; and as the same variation, if strongly pronounced, usually recurs only after long intervals of time, any particular variation would generally be lost by crossing, reversion, and the accidental destruction of the varying individuals, unless carefully preserved by man.'—Vol. ii. p. 292.

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Remembering that mankind, subject as they are to this domestication and cultivation, are not, like domesticated animals, under an agency which picks out and preserves particular variations; it results that there must usually be among them, under the influence of natural selection alone, a continual disappearance of any useful variations of particular faculties which may arise. Only in cases of variations which are specially preservative, as, for example, great cunning during a relatively barbarous state, can we expect increase from natural selection alone. We cannot suppose that minor traits, exemplified among others by the æsthetic perceptions, can have been evolved by natural selection. But if there is inheritance of functionally-produced modifications of structure, evolution of such minor traits is no longer inexplicable.

Two remarks made by Mr. Darwin have implications from which the same general conclusion must, I think, be drawn. Speaking of the variability of animals and plants under domestication, he says:—

'Changes of any kind in the conditions of life, even extremely slight changes, often suffice to cause variability. . . . Animals and plants continue to be variable for an immense period after their first domestication; . . . In the course of time they can be habituated to certain changes, so as to become less variable; . . . There is good evidence that the power of changed conditions accumulates; so that two, three, or more generations must be exposed to new conditions before any effect is visible. . . . Some variations are induced by the direct action of the surrounding conditions on the whole organisation, or on certain parts alone, and other variations are induced indirectly through the reproductive system being affected in the same manner as is so common with organic beings when removed from their natural conditions.'—(*Animals and Plants under Domestication*, vol. ii. p. 270.)

There are to be recognised two forms of this effect produced by changed conditions on the reproductive system, and consequently on offspring. Simple arrest of development is one. But beyond the variations of offspring arising from imperfectly developed reproductive systems in parents—variations which must be ordinarily in the nature of imperfections—there are others due to a changed balance of functions caused by changed conditions. The fact noted by Mr. Darwin in the above passage, 'that the power of changed conditions accumulates; so that two, three, or more generations must be exposed to new conditions before any effect is visible,' implies that during these generations there is going on some change of constitution consequent on the changed proportions and relations of the functions. I will not dwell on the implication, which seems tolerably clear, that this change must consist of such modifications of organs as adapt them to their changed functions; and that if the influence of changed conditions 'accumulates,' it must be through the inheritance of such modifications. Nor will I press the question—What is the nature of the effect registered in the reproductive elements, and

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which is subsequently manifested by variations?—Is it an effect entirely irrelevant to the new requirements of the variety?—Or is it an effect which makes the variety less fit for the new requirements? —Or is it an effect which makes it more fit for the new requirements? But not pressing these questions, it suffices to point out the necessary implication that changed functions of organs *do*, in some way or other, register themselves in changed proclivities of the reproductive elements. In face of these facts it cannot be denied that the modified action of a part produces an inheritable effect: be the nature of that effect what it may.

The second of the remarks above adverted to as made by Mr. Darwin, is contained in his sections dealing with correlated variations. In the *Origin of Species*, p. 114, he says:—

> The whole organisation is so tied together during its growth and development, that when slight variations in any one part occur, and are accumulated through natural selection, other parts become modified.

And a parallel statement contained in *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, vol. ii. p. 320, runs thus:—

> Correlated variation is an important subject for us; for when one part is modified through continued selection, either by man or under nature, other parts of the organisation will be unavoidably modified. From this correlation it apparently follows that, with our domesticated animals and plants, varieties rarely or never differ from each other by some single character alone.

By what process does a changed part modify other parts? By modifying their functions in some way or degree, seems the necessary answer. It is, indeed, imaginable, that where the part changed is some dermal appendage which, becoming larger, has abstracted more of the needful material from the general stock, the effect may consist simply in diminishing the amount of this material available for other dermal appendages, leading to diminution of some or all of them, and may fail to affect in appreciable ways the rest of the organism: save, perhaps, the blood-vessels near the enlarged appendage. But where the part is an active one—a limb, or viscus, or any organ which constantly demands blood, produces waste matter, secretes, or absorbs—then all the other active organs become implicated in the change. The functions performed by them have to constitute a moving equilibrium; and the function of one cannot, by alteration of the structure performing it, be modified in degree or kind, without modifying the functions of the rest—some appreciably and others inappreciably, according to the directness or indirectness of their relations. Of such interdependent changes, the normal ones are naturally inconspicuous; but those which are partially or completely abnormal, sufficiently carry home the general truth. Thus, unusual cerebral excitement affects the excretion through the kidneys in

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quantity or quality or both. Strong emotions of disagreeable kinds check or arrest the flow of bile. A considerable obstacle to the circulation offered by some important structure in a diseased or disordered state, throwing more strain upon the heart, causes hypertrophy of its muscular walls; and this change which is, so far as concerns the primary evil, a remedial one, often entails mischiefs in other organs. 'Apoplexy and palsy, in a scarcely credible number of cases, are directly dependent on hypertrophic enlargement of the heart.' And in other cases, asthma, dropsy, and epilepsy are caused. Now if a result of this interdependence, as seen in the individual organism, is that a local modification of one part produces, by changing their functions, correlative modifications of other parts, then the question here to be put is—Are these correlative modifications, when of a kind falling within normal limits, inheritable or not. If they are inheritable, then the fact stated by Mr. Darwin that 'when one part is modified through continued selection,' 'other parts of the organisation will be unavoidably modified' is perfectly intelligible: these entailed secondary modifications are transmitted *pari passu* with the successive modifications produced by selection. But what if they are not inheritable? Then these secondary modifications caused in the individual, not being transmitted to descendants, the descendants must commence life with organisations out of balance, and with each increment of change in the part affected by selection, their organisations must get more out of balance—must have larger and larger amounts of re-organisation to be made during their lives. Hence the constitution of the variety must become more and more unworkable.

The only imaginable alternative is that the re-adjustments are effected in course of time by natural selection. But, in the first place, as we find no proof of concomitant variation among directly co-operative parts which are closely united, there cannot be assumed any concomitant variation among parts which are both indirectly co-operative and far from one another. And, in the second place, before all the many required re-adjustments could be made, the variety would die out from defective constitution. Even were there no such difficulty, we should still have to entertain a strange group of propositions, which would stand as follows:—1. Change in one part entails, by reaction on the organism, changes in other parts, the functions of which are necessarily changed. 2. Such changes worked in the individual, affect, in some way, the reproductive elements: these being found to evolve unusual structures when the constitutional balance has been continuously disturbed. 3. But the changes in the reproductive elements thus caused, are not such as represent these functionally-produced changes: the modifications conveyed to offspring are irrelevant to these various modifications functionally produced in the organs of the parents. 4. Nevertheless, while the

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balance of functions cannot be re-established through inheritance of the effects of disturbed functions on structures, wrought throughout the individual organism, it can be re-established by the inheritance of fortuitous variations which occur in all the affected organs without reference to these changes of function.

Now without saying that acceptance of this group of propositions is impossible, we may certainly say that it is not easy.

'But where are the direct proofs that inheritance of functionally-produced modifications takes place?' is a question which will be put by those who have committed themselves to the current exclusive interpretation. 'Grant that there are difficulties; still, before the transmitted effects of use and disuse can be legitimately assigned in explanation of them, we must have good evidence that the effects of use and disuse *are* transmitted.'

Before dealing directly with this demurrer, let me deal with it indirectly, by pointing out that the lack of recognised evidence may be accounted for without assuming that there is not plenty of it. Inattention and reluctant attention lead to the ignoring of facts which really exist in abundance; as is well illustrated in the case of prehistoric implements. Biassed by the current belief that no traces of Man were to be found on the Earth's surface, save in certain superficial formations of very recent date, geologists and anthropologists not only neglected to seek such traces, but for a long time continued to pooh-pooh those who said they had found them. When M. Boucher de Perthes at length succeeded in drawing the eyes of scientific men to the flint implements discovered by him in the quaternary deposits of the Somme valley; and when geologists and anthropologists had thus been convinced that evidences of human existence were to be found in formations of considerable age, and thereafter began to search for them; they found plenty of them all over the world. Or again, to take an instance closely germane to the matter, we may recall the fact that the contemptuous attitude towards the hypothesis of organic evolution which naturalists in general maintained before the publication of Mr. Darwin's work, prevented them from seeing the multitudinous facts by which it is supported. Similarly, it is very possible that their alienation from the belief that there is a transmission of those changes of structure which are produced by changes of action, makes naturalists slight the evidence which supports that belief and refuse to occupy themselves in seeking further evidence.

If it be asked how it happens that there have been recorded multitudinous instances of variations fortuitously arising and reappearing in offspring, while there have not been recorded instances of the transmission of changes functionally produced, there are three replies. The first is that changes of the one class are, many of them, conspicuous, while those of the other class are nearly all inconspicuous.

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If a child is born with six fingers, the anomaly is not simply obvious but so startling as to attract much notice; and if this child, growing up, has six-fingered descendants, everybody in the locality hears of it. A pigeon with specially-coloured feathers, or one distinguished by a broadened and upraised tail, or by a protuberance of the neck, draws attention by its oddness; and if in its young the trait is repeated, occasionally with increase, the fact is remarked, and there follows the thought of establishing the peculiarity by selection. A lamb disabled from leaping by the shortness of its legs, could not fail to be observed; and the fact that its offspring were similarly short-legged, and had a consequent inability to get over fences, would inevitably become widely known. Similarly with plants. That this flower had an extra number of petals, that that was unusually symmetrical, and that another differed considerably in colour from the average of its kind, would be easily seen by an observant gardener; and the suspicion that such anomalies are inheritable having arisen, experiments leading to further proofs that they are so, would frequently be made. But it is not thus with functionally-produced modifications. The seats of these are in nearly all cases the muscular, osseous, and nervous systems, and the viscera—parts which are either entirely hidden or greatly obscured. Modification in a nervous centre is inaccessible to vision; bones may be considerably altered in size or shape without attention being drawn to them; and, covered with thick coats as are most of the animals open to continuous observation, the increases or decreases in muscles must be great before they become externally perceptible.

A further important difference between the two inquiries is that to ascertain whether a fortuitous variation is inheritable, needs merely a little attention to the selection of individuals and the observation of offspring; while to ascertain whether there is inheritance of a functionally-produced modification, it is requisite to make arrangements which demand the greater or smaller exercise of some part or parts; and it is difficult in many cases to find such arrangements, troublesome to maintain them even for one generation, and still more through successive generations.

Nor is this all. There exist stimuli to inquiry in the one case which do not exist in the other. The money interest and the interest of the fancier, acting now separately and now together, have prompted multitudinous individuals to make experiments which have brought out clear evidence that fortuitous variations are inherited. The cattle-breeders who profit by producing certain shapes and qualities; the keepers of pet animals who take pride in the perfections of those they have bred; the florists, professional and amateur, who obtain new varieties and take prizes; form a body of men who furnish naturalists with countless of the required proofs. But there is no such body of men, led either by pecuniary interest or the interest of

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a hobby, to ascertain by experiments whether the effects of use and disuse are inheritable.

Thus, then, there are amply sufficient reasons why there is a great deal of direct evidence in the one case and but little in the other: such little being that which comes out incidentally. Let us look at what there is of it.

Considerable weight attaches to a fact which Brown-Séquard discovered, quite by accident, in the course of his researches. He found that certain artificially-produced lesions of the nervous system, so small even as a section of the sciatic nerve, left, after healing, an increasing excitability which ended in liability to epilepsy; and there afterwards came out the unlooked-for result that the offspring of guinea-pigs which had thus acquired an epileptic habit, such that a pinch on the neck would produce a fit, inherited an epileptic habit of like kind. It has, indeed, been since alleged that guinea-pigs tend to epilepsy, and that phenomena of the kind described occur where there have been no antecedents like those in Brown-Séquard's case. But considering the improbability that the phenomena observed by him happened to be nothing more than phenomena which occasionally arise naturally, we may, until there is good proof to the contrary, assign some value to his results.

Evidence not of this directly experimental kind, but nevertheless well worth noting, is furnished by other nervous disorders. There is proof enough that insanity admits of being induced by circumstances which, in one or other way, derange the nervous functions—excesses of this or that kind; and no one questions the accepted belief that insanity is inheritable. Is it alleged that the insanity which is inheritable is that which spontaneously arises, and that the insanity which follows some chronic perversion of functions is not inheritable? This does not seem a very reasonable allegation; and until some warrant for it is forthcoming, we may fairly assume that there is here a further support for belief in the transmission of functionally-produced changes.

Moreover, I find among physicians a conviction that nervous disorders of a less severe kind are inheritable. Men who have prostrated their nervous systems by prolonged overwork, or in some other way, have children more or less prone to nervousness. It matters not what may be the form of inheritance—whether it be of a brain in some way imperfect, or of a deficient blood-supply; it is in any case the inheritance of functionally-modified structures.

Verification of the reasons above given for the paucity of this direct evidence is yielded by contemplation of it; for it is observable that the cases named are cases which, from one or other cause, have thrust themselves on observation. They justify the suspicion that it is not because such cases are rare that many of them cannot be cited,

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but simply because they are mostly unobtrusive, and to be found only by that deliberate search which nobody makes. I say nobody; but I am wrong. Successful search has been made by one whose competence as an observer is beyond question, and whose testimony is less liable than that of all others to any bias towards the conclusion that such inheritance takes place. I refer to the author of the *Origin of Species*.

Now-a-days most naturalists are more Darwinian than Mr. Darwin himself. I do not mean that their beliefs in organic evolution are more decided; though I shall be supposed to mean this by the mass of readers, who identify Mr. Darwin's great contribution to the theory of organic evolution with the theory of organic evolution itself, and even with the theory of evolution at large. But I mean that the particular factor which he first recognised as having played so immense a part in organic evolution has come to be regarded by his followers as the sole factor, though it was not so regarded by him. It is true that he apparently rejected altogether the causal agencies alleged by earlier inquirers. In the Historical Sketch prefixed to the later editions of his *Origin of Species* (p. xiv, note), he writes:—'It is curious how largely my grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, anticipated the views and erroneous grounds of opinion of Lamarck in his "Zoonomia" (vol. i. pp. 500–510), published in 1794.' And since, among the views thus referred to, was the view that changes of structure in organisms arise by the inheritance of functionally-produced changes, Mr. Darwin seems, by the above sentence, to have implied his disbelief in such inheritance. But he did not mean to imply this, for his belief in it as a cause of evolution, if not an important cause, is proved by many passages in his works. In the first chapter of the *Origin of Species* (p. 11 of the first edition), he says respecting the inherited effects of habit, that 'with animals the increased use or disuse of parts has had a marked influence;' and he gives as instances the changed relative weights of the wing-bones and leg-bones of the wild duck and the domestic duck, 'the great and inherited development of the udders in cows and goats,' and the drooping ears of various domestic animals. Here are other passages taken from the latest edition of the work.

I think there can be no doubt that use in our domestic animals has strengthened and enlarged certain parts, and disuse diminished them; and that such modifications are inherited (p. 108). [And on the following pages he gives five further examples of such effects.] Habit in producing constitutional peculiarities and use in strengthening and disuse in weakening and diminishing organs, appear in many cases to have been potent in their effects (p. 131). When discussing special cases, Mr. Mivart passes over the effects of the increased use and disuse of parts, which I have always maintained to be highly important, and have treated in my 'Variation under Domestication' at greater length than, as I believe, any other writer (p. 176). Disuse, on the other hand, will account for the less developed condition

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of the whole inferior half of the body, including the lateral fins (p. 188). I may give another instance of a structure which apparently owes its origin exclusively to use or habit (p. 188). It appears probable that disuse has been the main agent in rendering organs rudimentary (pp. 400–401). On the whole, we may conclude that habit, or use and disuse, have, in some cases, played a considerable part in the modification of the constitution and structure; but that the effects have often been largely combined with, and sometimes overmastered by, the natural selection of innate variations (p. 114).

In his subsequent work, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, where he goes into full detail, Mr. Darwin gives more numerous illustrations of the inherited effects of use and disuse. The following are some of the cases, quoted from vol. i. of the first edition.

Treating of domesticated rabbits, he says:—

The want of exercise has apparently modified the proportional length of the limbs in comparison with the body (p. 116). We thus see that the most important and complicated organ [the brain] in the whole organisation is subject to the law of decrease in size from disuse (p. 129).

He remarks that in birds of the oceanic islands 'not persecuted by any enemies, the reduction of their wings has probably been caused by gradual disuse.' After comparing one of these, the water-hen of Tristan d'Acunha, with the European water-hen, and showing that all the bones concerned in flight are smaller, he adds:—

Hence in the skeleton of this natural species nearly the same changes have occurred, only carried a little further, as with our domestic ducks, and in this latter case I presume no one will dispute that they have resulted from the lessened use of the wings and the increased use of the legs (pp. 286–7). As with other long-domesticated animals, the instincts of the silk-moth have suffered. The caterpillars, when placed on a mulberry-tree, often commit the strange mistake of devouring the base of the leaf on which they are feeding, and consequently fall down; but they are capable, according to M. Robinet, of again crawling up the trunk. Even this capacity sometimes fails, for M. Martins placed some caterpillars on a tree, and those which fell were not able to remount and perished of hunger; they were even incapable of passing from leaf to leaf (p. 304).

Here are some instances of like meaning from volume ii.

In many cases there is reason to believe that the lessened use of various organs has affected the corresponding parts in the offspring. But there is no good evidence that this ever follows in the course of a single generation. . . . Our domestic fowls, ducks, and geese have almost lost, not only in the individual but in the race, their power of flight; for we do not see a chicken, when frightened, take flight like a young pheasant. . . . With domestic pigeons, the length of the sternum, the prominence of its crest, the length of the scapulæ and furcula, the length of the wings as measured from tip to tip of the radius, are all reduced relatively to the same parts in the wild pigeon.

After detailing kindred diminutions in fowls and ducks, Mr. Darwin adds:—

The decreased weight and size of the bones, in the foregoing cases, is probably the indirect result of the reaction of the weakened muscles on the bones (pp.

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297-8). Nathusius has shown that, with the improved races of the pig, the shortened legs and snout, the form of the articular condyles of the occiput, and the position of the jaws with the upper canine teeth projecting in a most anomalous manner in front of the lower canines, may be attributed to these parts not having been fully exercised. . . . These modifications of structure, which are all strictly inherited, characterise several improved breeds, so that they cannot have been derived from any single domestic or wild stock. With respect to cattle, Professor Tanner has remarked that the lungs and liver in the improved breeds 'are found to be considerably reduced in size when compared with those possessed by animals having perfect liberty.' . . . The cause of the reduced lungs in highly-bred animals which take little exercise is obvious (pp. 299–300).

And on pp. 301, 302, and 303, he gives facts showing the effects of use and disuse in changing, among domestic animals, the characters of the ears, the lengths of the intestines, and, in various ways, the natures of the instincts.

But Mr. Darwin's admission, or rather his assertion, that the inheritance of functionally-produced modifications has been a factor in organic evolution, is made clear not by these passages alone and by kindred ones. It is made clearer still by a passage in the preface to the second edition of his *Descent of Man*. He there protests against that current version of his views in which this factor makes no appearance. The passage is as follows :—

I may take this opportunity of remarking that my critics frequently assume that I attribute all changes of corporeal structure and mental power exclusively to the natural selection of such variations as are often called spontaneous; whereas, even in the first edition of the 'Origin of Species,' I distinctly stated that great weight must be attributed to the inherited effects of use and disuse, with respect both to the body and mind.

Nor is this all. There is evidence that Mr. Darwin's belief in the efficiency of this factor became stronger as he grew older and accumulated more evidence. The first of the extracts above given, taken from the sixth edition of the *Origin of Species*, runs thus :—

I think there can be no doubt that use in our domestic animals has strengthened and enlarged certain parts, and disuse diminished them; and that such modifications are inherited.

Now, on turning to the first edition, p. 134, it will be found that instead of the words—'I think there can be no doubt,' the words originally used were—'I think there can be *little* doubt.' That this deliberate erasure of a qualifying word and substitution of a word implying unqualified belief, was due to a more decided recognition of a factor originally under-estimated, is clearly implied by the wording of the above-quoted passage from the preface to the *Descent of Man*; where he says that '*even* in the first edition of the 'Origin of Species,' " &c.: the implication being that much more in subsequent editions, and subsequent works, had he insisted on this factor. The change thus indicated is especially significant as having occurred at a time of life when the natural tendency is towards fixity of opinion.

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During that earlier period when he was discovering the multitudinous cases in which his own hypothesis afforded solutions, and simultaneously observing how utterly futile in these multitudinous cases was the hypothesis propounded by his grandfather and Lamarck, Mr. Darwin was, not unnaturally, almost betrayed into the belief that the one is all-sufficient and the other inoperative. But in the mind of one so candid and ever open to more evidence, there naturally came a reaction. The inheritance of functionally-produced modifications, which, judging by the passage quoted above concerning the views of these earlier inquirers, would seem to have been at one time denied, but which, as we have seen, was always to some extent recognised, came to be recognised more and more, and deliberately included as a factor of importance.

Of this reaction displayed in the later writings of Mr. Darwin, let us now ask—Has it not to be carried further? Was the share in organic evolution which Mr. Darwin latterly assigned to the transmission of modifications caused by use and disuse, its due share? Consideration of the groups of evidences given above, will, I think, lead us to believe that its share has been much larger than he supposed even in his later days.

There is first the implication yielded by extensive classes of phenomena which remain inexplicable in the absence of this factor. If, as we see, co-operative parts do not vary together, even when few and close together, and may not therefore be assumed to do so when many and remote, we cannot account for those innumerable changes in organisation which are implied when, for advantageous use of some modified part, many other parts which join it in action have to be modified.

Further, as increasing complexity of structure, accompanying increasing complexity of life, implies increasing number of faculties, of which each one conduces to preservation of self or descendants; and as the various individuals of a species, severally requiring something like the normal amounts of all these, may individually profit, here by an unusual amount of one, and there by an unusual amount of another; it follows that, as the number of faculties becomes greater, it becomes more difficult for any one to be further developed by natural selection. Only where increase of some one is *predominantly* advantageous does the means seem adequate to the end. Especially in the case of powers which do not subserve self-preservation in appreciable degrees, does development by natural selection appear impracticable.

It is a fact recognised by Mr. Darwin, that where, by selection through successive generations, a part has been increased or decreased, its reaction upon other parts entails changes in them. This reaction is effected through the changes of function involved. If the changes of structure produced by such changes of function are inheritable, then the re-adjustment of parts throughout the organism, taking

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place generation after generation, maintains an approximate balance; but if not, then generation after generation the organism must get more and more out of gear, and tend to become unworkable.

Further, as it is proved that change in the balance of functions registers its effects on the reproductive elements, we have to choose between the alternatives that the registered effects are irrelevant to the particular modifications which the organism has undergone, or that they are such as tend to produce repetitions of these modifications. The last of these alternatives makes the facts comprehensible; but the first of them not only leaves us with several unsolved problems, but is incongruous with the general truth that by reproduction, ancestral traits, down to minute details, are transmitted.

Though, in the absence of pecuniary interests and the interests in hobbies, no such special experiments as those which have established the inheritance of fortuitous variations have been made to ascertain whether functionally-produced modifications are inherited; yet certain apparent instances of such inheritance have forced themselves on observation without being sought for. In addition to other indications of a less conspicuous kind, is the one I have given above—the fact that the apparatus for tearing and mastication has decreased with decrease of its function, alike in civilised man and in some varieties of dogs which lead protected and pampered lives. Of the numerous cases named by Mr. Darwin, it is observable that they are yielded not by one class of parts only, but by most if not all classes—by the dermal system, the muscular system, the osseous system, the nervous system, the viscera; and that among parts liable to be functionally modified, the most numerous observed cases of inheritance are furnished by those which admit of preservation and easy comparison—the bones: these cases, moreover, being specially significant as showing how, in sundry unallied species, parallel changes of structure have occurred along with parallel changes of habit.

What, then, shall we say of the general implication? Are we to stop short with the admission that inheritance of functionally-produced modifications takes place only in cases in which there is evidence of it? May we properly assume that these many instances of changes of structure caused by changes of function, occurring in various tissues and various organs, are merely special and exceptional instances having no general significance? Shall we suppose that though the evidence which already exists has come to light without aid from a body of inquirers, there would be no great increase were due attention devoted to the collection of evidence? This is, I think, not a reasonable supposition. To me the *ensemble* of the facts suggests the belief, scarcely to be resisted, that the inheritance of functionally-produced modifications takes place universally. Looking at physiological phenomena as conforming to physical principles, it is difficult to conceive that a changed play of organic forces, which in many cases of different kinds produces an inherited change of struc-

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ture, does not do this in all cases. The implication, very strong I think, is that the action of every organ produces on it a reaction which, usually not altering its rate of nutrition, sometimes leaves it with diminished nutrition consequent on diminished action, and at other times increases its nutrition in proportion to its increased action; that while generating a modified *consensus* of functions and of structures, the activities are at the same time impressing this modified *consensus* on the sperm-cells and germ-cells whence future individuals are to be produced; and that in ways mostly too small to be identified, but occasionally in more conspicuous ways and in the course of generations, the resulting modifications of one or other kind show themselves. Further, it seems to me that, as there are certain extensive classes of phenomena which are inexplicable if we assume the inheritance of fortuitous variations to be the sole factor, but which become at once explicable if we admit the inheritance of functionally-produced changes, we are justified in concluding that this inheritance of functionally-produced changes has been, not simply a co-operating factor in organic evolution, but has been a co-operating factor without which organic evolution, in its higher forms at any rate, could never have taken place.

Be this or be it not a warrantable conclusion, there is, I think, good reason for a provisional acceptance of the hypothesis that the effects of use and disuse are inheritable; and for a methodic pursuit of inquiries with the view of either establishing it or disproving it. It seems scarcely reasonable to accept without clear demonstration the belief that, while a trivial difference of structure arising spontaneously is transmissible, a massive difference of structure, maintained generation after generation by change of function, leaves no trace in posterity. Considering that unquestionably the modification of structure by function is a *vera causa*, in so far as concerns the individual; and considering the number of facts which so competent an observer as Mr. Darwin regarded as evidence that transmission of such modifications takes place in particular cases; the hypothesis that such transmission takes place in conformity with a general law, holding of all active structures, should, I think, be regarded as at least a good working hypothesis.

But now, supposing the broad conclusion above drawn to be granted—supposing all to agree that from the beginning, along with inheritance of useful variations fortuitously arising, there has been inheritance of effects produced by use and disuse; do there remain no classes of organic phenomena unaccounted for? To this question I think it must be replied that there do remain classes of organic phenomena unaccounted for. It may, I believe, be shown that certain cardinal traits of animals and plants at large are still unexplained. To show this, however, will require another paper.

HERBERT SPENCER.

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THE FREE-TRADE IDOLATRY.

NOTHING, it is truly said, succeeds like success—and nothing satisfies so many people that the system of 'Free Imports' is a thing to be cherished, and creates so many 'True Free Traders,' as a reference to the vast progress and prosperity of the nation since 'Free Imports' became the inflexible law of our finance. Look, it is said, at the results of the system—compare the dire distress of the years before 1845 with the ease and affluence of those that followed it, and then pronounce your verdict for or against the system that brought about the change. Popular orators, and even great statesmen, are never weary of pointing this out. The fact indeed of the prosperity is undoubted. I need not refer to figures; it is patent and notorious.

But was that prosperity owing to the abolition of the Corn Laws, and the removal of all duties on foreign goods which followed that repeal? Here is just the question. It is easy enough to assume it. Worshippers of 'Free Imports' quietly lay claim to it as a matter of course. 'Free Imports' were established in 1846 and the following years, and trade revived and prosperity set in just about the same time—the one must surely have been the cause of the other! There is no more dangerous form of reasoning than the *cum hoc, propter hoc* argument; for where a dozen possible causes exist for any result, a dozen different people will each, with apparently equal reason, claim the result in favour of the theory in which he believes. The force of such an argument depends upon circumstances. It is precisely because the circumstances of the present case do not tend to make the argument cogent—indeed, go far to refute it altogether—that I venture to question the correctness of this inference in favour of 'Free Imports' which has been so confidently drawn from the prosperity that followed it.

Before you attribute a result to any particular cause, it is reasonable to consider whether there were any other matters or events which might have been the cause with equal reason. Now it so happens that, precisely at the time when Sir Robert Peel inaugurated the reign of 'Free Imports,' another reign began in the accession of 'King Hudson.' All who remember the aspect of the Parliamentary Committee Rooms in the sessions of 1844 and 1845, when they were literally choked with counsel, witnesses, and 'traffic takers,' all engaged

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on bills for the promotion of new lines of railway, will recognise that period as the time when railway construction had become almost a madness in this country.

Of all the events, changes, inventions, and improvements of the present century, it will hardly be denied that none equal the establishment of the railway system in its tendency to increase and develop trade. Where England led the way the Continental nations rapidly followed. A few figures will show how rapidly the railway system advanced, and how notably its establishment took place after 1840. In 1840 the whole of Europe had only 5,000 miles of railway, and America had 4,090. In 1850, Europe had 24,200, and America 20,160. In 1870, Europe had 60,400, and America 56,300; while the figures for 1880 stand at: Europe, 95,271 miles, and America at 92,840.

Within the same period (I am unable to give details of dates or figures) have occurred the development of ocean-going steam traffic, the electric and cable telegraph, and the considerable discoveries of gold in Australia and elsewhere—all of which events were calculated to exercise a favourable influence on trade second only to that produced by railways.

Here, then, are some of the causes which spring to one's mind on the instant, as capable of increasing prosperity, manufacture, and commerce; and it is not to be doubted that there exist others, for it is hardly possible to exhaustively enumerate the causes upon which prosperity depends. As far as this country is concerned, another cause was, I think, calculated to exercise a most potent influence on trade and production—I allude to the alteration which took place in the law of partnership. The statute under which 'limited' companies have been formed and people have been enabled to unite their individual savings, however small, in some industrial enterprise without the risk of partnership losses and liabilities, which might be ruinous to them, drew down into the great stream of capital available for the support of manufacturing industry millions of money that had theretofore lain idle for want of the means of investment. This must have given, I think, a considerable stimulus to manufacturing industry; the measure of which may be surmised by a glance at the modern Stock Exchange Share List in comparison with that of 1846. But setting aside this, which concerns this country alone, what are we to say of the other matters to which I have called attention, and which concern the whole commercial world? Is it possible that these enormous additions to the facilities of communication, locomotion, and the economy and despatch of transport should not have added largely to the wealth and prosperity of the world, and of this country more, perhaps, than any other? 'Free Importers' allow nothing for it; all goes to the credit of 'Free Trade.'

Let me apply a test to ascertain how far this is a right conclusion.

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Great Britain is the only Free Trade country. The rest of the world in varying degrees are Protectionists: our worshippers of 'Free Trade' here assure us that Protection cramps and enfeebles manufactures and commerce in a high degree, and even bids fair to be ruinous. If the system of 'Free Imports' is really the cause of our prosperity, we alone ought to have experienced that prosperity, and other nations, who repudiate that system, ought not to have experienced the like. But here is the remarkable fact. The *progress of other nations in wealth and prosperity during the last fifty years has not only equalled, but has exceeded our own.*

In making this assertion of a fact to which public attention is rarely drawn in this country when 'Free Trade' is discussed, and which is all-important in that discussion, I wish at once to give my authority. In the volume entitled *The Progress of the World*, by Mr. Mulhall, I find (at page 45) this passage. Speaking of the whole world he says: 'In the last fifty years commerce has grown twelve times faster than population, having multiplied eightfold, as follows'; and he then gives the figures and the rate of increase for each country separately.

The commerce of the United Kingdom has increased	7-fold.
The British Colonies	14½ „
France	9 „
Germany	8 „
The Low Countries	9 „
The United States	6½ „
Austria	13 „
Russia	5½ „
South America	7 „
Italy	9 „
Scandinavia	8 „
Spain and Portugal	3½ „
Turkey and the East	6 „

And then, adding the figures together, he brings out the progress of the whole world at eightfold. So that the advance of this country, which was only sevenfold, is rather below than above that of the rest of the world.

These figures of Mr. Mulhall's, it will be observed, cover the advances made in commerce by the whole world during the last fifty years.

But the matter is so important that one would like to know how matters have been going of late times.

The figures I am about to quote will show the state of things in the ten years between 1870 and 1880. They are drawn from another volume of Mr. Mulhall's, entitled *Balance Sheet of the World.* At page 14 he gives a table headed 'Industries of Nations in millions sterling in 1870 and 1880.' The table is arranged so as to include six heads: 'Commerce,' 'Manufactures,' 'Mining,' 'Agri-

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culture,' 'Carrying Trade,' and 'Banking,' so that it embraces pretty well every source and indication of prosperity.

The figures are too long to quote in detail, but the result is that the industries of the whole world in 1880 amounted to a sum which was one-fourth greater than the amount of the same industries in 1870. In other words, the world had advanced during the decade in round numbers, and avoiding smaller fractions, by one-fourth.

Then follow the figures for each country separately, and calculating from them it appears that France advanced approximately by one-eighth, Germany by one-third, Russia by one-fifth, all Europe together by one-fifth, and Great Britain also by one-fifth. It has to be added that during the same period the United States advanced by not far short of one-half.

Those who care to pursue the inquiry further under the separate heads of 'Commerce,' 'Manufactures,' &c., will find in Mr. Mulhall's book the necessary figures, of which I will only say here that, speaking generally, they nowhere show any marked superiority on the part of this country, while they exhibit an inferiority to Germany and a progress little better than half that of the most Protectionist country in the world, the United States of America.

I do not suppose that these calculations are absolutely accurate, but they are the result of the researches of a very competent investigator, and are published in support of no political party or commercial creed. I say competent, for I find Mr. Mulhall's book quoted in the House of Commons by the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) with, however, the reservation that he had not had the opportunity of verifying the figures, and several times referred to and relied upon in the pamphlets of the Cobden Club. But if correct, or anything like correct, what do these figures show? What a flood of light they shed upon the causes of the great advance in commercial activity and prosperity which this country has undoubtedly experienced! It is no longer possible to set it down to the system of 'Free Imports.' For the advance is general, and is found to exist in all countries, and the system of 'Free Imports' is particular, and exists only in one. Whatever the cause, or rather the causes—for such a result is pretty sure to spring from more causes than one—they must needs be such as have been in action in the countries where the result appears. The railway, the electric cable, the ocean-going steamer, and the ever-increasing substitution of steam-power for the muscular labour of horse and man, are all of them causes of that character; while the tariff of duty on importation is nowhere alike, and uniform exemption from duty exists in no country but this. If, in the face of the above facts, it is possible to uphold the policy of 'Free Imports' by an appeal to the prosperity which has succeeded its adoption, the fact that a like prosperity has

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occurred in countries where protection prevails is an equally good argument for upholding a system of protective duties.

Thus far I have endeavoured to show two things—first, that it is a delusion to imagine that by increasing our imports we are necessarily and inevitably securing an increase of a similar character to the exports; and, secondly, that the great increase in prosperity which we have experienced since we took to 'Free Imports' has been equalled in some countries, and exceeded in others, where an opposite policy has been adopted, and is, consequently, not to be attributed to the 'Free Import' system.

I conceive that in the establishment of these two propositions the two main supports of a system of 'Free Imports' are withdrawn. But they do not exhaust the question. It remains to be considered whether a system of 'Free Imports' can be maintained on its own merits, so to speak—that is to say, by an appeal to the benefits of cheapness, which, by introducing foreign competition, it confers upon the community. I will endeavour to take account of those benefits.

In the first place, the benefits of cheap bread, which will be acknowledged by all; in the next, cheap raw material, whereby a most direct and most powerful stimulus is given to everything that comes under the head of 'manufacture'; and, in the third place, the employment and wages of all the classes concerned in the operations of trade and transport in connection with these imported goods. To them must of course be added the particular benefit attaching to the cheap price of each particular article beyond those already mentioned which is imported, a benefit which chiefly concerns the wealthier classes.

But this, in substance, as far as I can see, is all that 'Free Imports' can give us. It is cheapness, and nothing but cheapness.

We must be content to part with the general, though somewhat hazy, belief hitherto much entertained, that in some mysterious way we are promoting manufacture and securing markets for our produce by the system of 'Free Imports'—at least, so it seems to me.

What the measure may be of the benefit conferred by this cheapness cannot, it is obvious, be ascertained in the lump; it must be calculated separately for each article of import, and against it must be set the loss or injury suffered by the home producer owing to the competition in each individual case of the foreigner.

Whether or not it is desirable, therefore, to purchase this cheapness in respect of any particular article of import by abstaining from taxing it, must also be a separate question for each such article, and cannot be regulated by any sweeping abstract principle.

I contend for no more than this, as I do not desire to argue for the establishment of any general system of protection or the imposition of a duty on any particular article, nor do I contend for the adoption of any general principle of taxation or exemption whatever applicable to all foreign imports. I wish to do battle alone with the

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abstract dogma that all imports of articles the like of which we produce at home ought to be free of duty, which is what I venture to call the idol of modern 'Free Trade.'

In a national point of view the benefits of cheapness vary greatly with the character of the thing imported.

It is quite possible, and reasonable, to contend that cheapness is all-important in respect of some articles and of little moment, comparatively, in others; that it is of prime importance that articles of general consumption by all classes, rich and poor, and especially all sorts of food, and all raw materials needed for our manufactures, should be cheap; while it is of much less importance, and sometimes of very little importance indeed, whether an article consumed only by the wealthier classes, and even with them a mere matter of taste or luxury, is cheap or dear. Of course it would be desirable that everything should be cheap, but there may be reasons why that cheapness should not be bought at the expense of other advantages which are greater. It may be doubted whether *cheapness* ever made a nation wealthy or is capable of doing so.

The true mainspring of prosperity and wealth is employment. Wealth is born of exertion and skill, of both of which there is plenty in this country; but, to reap any advantage from them, a third thing is needed—a means of bartering or selling their produce —in one word, a market.

I have been much struck, in reading the literature of the Cobden Club, with the almost total absence of allusion to this fact. In many instances it is ignored altogether. It is common to read allusions to the dreadful distress that existed in this country at times before the repeal of the Corn Laws, and to refer our relief from that distress to the repeal of those laws and the cheap bread obtained thereby. The poor rates of one parish, it is said, in 1816, reached 52*s.* in the pound. In 1817, a parish containing 575 inhabitants had as many as 409 receiving relief. In 1829, in Yorkshire, 13,000 families were reduced to semi-starvation. In 1842 the reports of the factory inspectors showed that 10 per cent. of the cotton mills and 12 per cent. of all the woollen mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire were standing idle, and that, of the rest, only three-fourths were working 'full time'—and so of other places. But while descanting on these calamities, I find little or no reference to the immediate cause of them—want of work, want of market for the sale of willing labour. We have up to the present time emerged from this terrible and dreadful state of things, which used to visit us from time to time. But what was the immediate cause of the distress? Not dear bread, but lack of wages. And what was the remedy? Not cheap bread, but employment. The blessings of cheap bread can hardly be exaggerated, provided the statement of them is confined to results of which cheap bread may be the possible cause. But cheap bread will

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not create wages. It is difficult to imagine that it could. At any rate, it was not cheap bread that preserved us from distress in the years succeeding the repeal of the Corn Laws; for it is a surprising fact that the price of wheat in 1846, when that repeal took place, was 54*s.* a quarter, and the average price during the next ten years, up to 1856, was precisely the same amount. So that the repeal of the Corn Laws did very little in the ten years succeeding its adoption in the way of alleviating the national troubles. It is right to look these things in the face. Many of us, I think, have a natural and general impression that the misery of former times melted away under the genial influence of cheap food, which was really not the case. It is of the utmost value that we should try to refer results to their true causes. To fail in this is for the Legislature to aggravate the evils it strives to diminish, and to intensify where it labours to assuage.

In this connection it may be doubted whether the relative value of cheapness on the one side and improved wages on the other have always been borne in mind. The range of cheapness rarely exceeds a small percentage of price; and, as far as the wage-earning classes are concerned, if it were secured for all articles of foreign import, its benefits would speedily be swallowed up in the event of a comparatively slight fall of wages. The comparative value to our working population, and indeed to the nation, of cheapness as contrasted with employment and wages may be illustrated by taking an individual article of manufacture, say a pianoforte. Let me assume that in this country it cannot be made and sold at a remunerative price for less than 30*l.*, and that it can be made in France, and imported, and sold here, with a fair profit to the makers, for 27*l.* The gain to the consumer in buying the foreign article would be 3*l.* The loss to those who live by wages here in making a similar article would be the amount of wages earned by those that make it. In respect of such an article the value of the labour as compared with material must be considerable; it is perhaps two-thirds of the price, but let me say one-half. This gives 13*l.* or 14*l.* lost in wages, as against 3*l.* gained by the consumer. Now, if a contrast of this kind is applied to an article of such a character that the wage-earner is himself also the consumer of it, the bargain is still a bad one, for he has gained 3*l.* and lost the chance of selling his labour to the extent of, say, 13*l.* But then it may be said that he has got his labour unsold and may sell it to someone else. Just so; but this is precisely what he *cannot* do. If it might be assumed with truth that a market can always be found for labour, and that a man taught and brought up to one special manufacture can always turn his hand to something else, and, having done so, can always find a market for his labour and skill, what I am now insisting upon would fall to the ground. But this is far from being the case in fact. In times of pressure, such as

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do and must occur, to find a market for all willing and competent labour, even at largely reduced wages, is notoriously difficult, and often impossible. If it were otherwise there would be no such thing as distress—at least among men able and willing to work. His labour then remains unsold, and if so his loss, and the loss to the community is measured by the value of it. The foreign article, then, is a bad speculation for the wage-earning class, even when they reap the benefit of its cheapness by being themselves consumers of that class of goods.

But how does the account stand if the loss of wages is all theirs, and the benefit of cheapness is realised by others, as is the case in fact with the imaginary instance of the pianoforte, and with all articles of luxury consumed by the wealthier classes alone? I do not mean to suggest that *because* the consumers of such articles are wealthier, therefore they are not entitled to consideration. But, looking to the welfare of the whole of the community, and weighing the benefits of the import by way of cheapness in one scale and the injury by way of lost employment, and thereby lost wages, in the other scale, I cannot help thinking that a duty on an article of luxury such as the imaginary foreign pianoforte might possibly be a judicious item in the raising of public revenue.

On reflection, it will, I think, be found that this matter of securing a market for labour ought to be by far the most prominent aim of the Legislature, and, in respect at least of all articles of luxury, far to transcend in importance any degree of cheapness that by allowing the foreigner to compete with us free of duty can possibly be attained. A day's labour unsold is a day's labour lost, and a day's wages lost to the wealth of the community; for the wealth of the community is the product of labour on materials provided by capital, and is also a day's wages withdrawn from the purchasing fund which sets in motion and provides a market for the labour and skill of others.

In considering the question of duty or no duty, therefore, the Legislature must needs ask itself, Does the community, as a whole, gain more by the cheap price than it loses by the lost market for its industry? It is not possible to answer this question, except in relation to the nature and quality of the article in question, the wants it supplies, the classes by whom it is consumed, and by whom articles of a like character are made in this country.

The revenue has to be raised, and if, duly weighing the interests of the consumer on the one hand and the producer on the other, it can be raised with more advantage and less distress to the community by placing the duty on one article rather than another, surely it ought to be so placed. I will illustrate what I mean by an example, and, if those who vouch for the figures which I am about to quote are correct, it is a very cogent one.

Some few years ago, a lady, struck with the great injury done to

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all classes interested in the production of British woollen goods by the import, free of duty, of French woollen fabrics, appealed to her countrywomen, in a pamphlet which she published, to be content with the fabrics of British wool and give up their preference for the corresponding class of French goods, which only differed in softness, I believe, and a less glossy appearance, and which it had become the fashion to wear. This fashion, she alleged, became established in 1874, and before that the British woollen goods had been extensively worn both here and abroad. The effect was to depress the value of British wool to an alarming extent; the farmers could hardly obtain one-half of what they used to get for their 'clip' of wool, and where 1,400*l.* used to be obtained by a large farmer for his yearly 'clip' of wool, he could not, after this fashion had set in, obtain for the same weight more than 600*l.* It is not necessary to follow the figures given in this printed appeal into detail. The entire loss to the farmers she asserted to be not less than six and a half millions per annum.

Now, if the nation were not bound in the fetters of the modern 'Free Trade' dogma, the question might have been discussed whether it was expedient to raise a small portion of the public revenue by laying a tax upon the import of these French goods. If it had been so proposed, let us see what might have been said against it, and what in its favour. The *worst* that could be said against it would have been that the price of the French goods would have been increased to the consumer by the amount of the duty. I purposely avoid here entering upon the question, which I find has been hotly disputed, whether in such a case the price would be raised to the whole amount of the duty. I assume that it would, and if so of course the consumer would have to pay it. The next result would be that some consumers might not be able to afford it, and would be obliged to go without the French article and put up with the English one—which is quite as good, I believe, in respect of warmth or wear, but lacks the charm to the eye of its foreign competitor. This would not be a very terrible misfortune, as it was the common lot of all before the period of the French invasion. Other ladies would, perhaps, continue to use the French goods, and upon them the self-imposed tax would fall. This, I believe, would be the sum of the injury done by the duty, if we add to it the loss of the profit of transit, which is probably effected in English steamers, and the profits of a trade operation.

On the other side we have to put the employment of many thousands of our countrymen, not only in raising but in working up the wool, and manufacturing the finished fabric, the payment of hundreds of thousands of pounds in wages, and the lucrative employment of a capital of very considerable amount, if Lady Bective's figures have even an approach to exactitude. Can any one doubt upon which side the balance inclines, or deny that the interests of the community would be best served by

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imposing so reasonable a tax in aid of the public purse? But this, I shall be told, is downright rank 'Protection'—not a general system of 'Protection' it is true—but 'Protection' as applied to a specific article. I believe that it is 'Protection,' but I strongly suspect that it is common sense also. And if that terrible name is to condemn it, I should like to point out what 'Protection' of this character really amounts to. It is the withdrawing of foreign competition from the article in question, whilst *leaving it exposed to the free and open competition of the 'home' grower and manufacturer.* There is capital enough and enterprise enough in this country to secure to the consumer of any article of manufacture that it shall be sold at the lowest price at which it can be produced with fair profit at home. And there is no question, therefore, of hurtful monopoly or an artificially supported industry. An industry which has been 'protected' from foreign competition by taxation stands precisely in the same position as any other industry which is also relieved from that competition by any other cause, such as the inability of the foreigner to compete. In both cases the industry is open to the competition of the 'home' market and none other; and if the one is enfeebled by shelter from the bracing air of foreign competition, so is the other. Are all trades and manufactures, then, in which for any reason whatever no competition with the foreigner is practically felt, weakly creatures, nourished and maintained in the sickly atmosphere of an exotic? If so, I fear there are not many sturdy ones in England, for the number of articles consumed in this country in respect of which the foreigner competes with us is comparatively very small—a fact particularly and constantly insisted upon in the Cobden Club pamphlets as a reason why it would not be worth while, if otherwise unobjectionable, to impose a duty on them.

It seems to me, then, that there is of 'Protection' what there is of most other things—more than one variety. Protection may be good and wholesome as applied to one class of imports or even one particular import, and bad and hurtful as applied to others. The case of the woollen fabrics above referred to is, in varying degree, the case of most articles of luxury consumed by those who have money to waste upon them, and as to them, or some of them, a duty which, as well as performing the first office of all taxes, the raising of revenue, does indirectly help to give employment to our own people, may be a very desirable thing; whilst a duty the effect of which is to enhance the cost of living or clothing, or which falls unduly upon the poorer classes of the community, or which impedes manufacture by increasing the cost of raw material, may be a very bad and undesirable thing. An indiscriminate taxation of foreign goods in favour of our own—in other words, the old system of general 'Protection' all round—might be a much worse thing than indiscriminate immunity from taxation, such as that imposed upon us by the unbending dogma of modern 'Free

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Trade.' But what need is there for acting upon a general system in either direction? Why should not the question of duty or no duty be considered as it ought to be—separately for each article or class of articles? The reasons for or against the imposition of a duty, either of Customs or Excise, upon any given article are multifarious. The fact that such a duty in any case would have the indirect effect of upholding or stimulating any of our industries ought surely to take its place among such reasons in favour of the duty; whereas, under the present system, the moment it becomes clear that this benefit is to be obtained from it, the 'Free Trade' dogma condemns it. For, say the Cobden Club pamphlets, 'The test that shall draw the line between true "Free Traders" and sham "Free Traders" is simple and easy of application. "Free Trade" does not allow of any import duties being imposed on such articles as are likewise produced at home.'

It sounds a harsh doctrine—that a duty otherwise desirable in itself should be at once pronounced noxious if it indirectly benefits our productive industries—but so it is, and this is the absolute dogma which we are required to accept if we are 'true Free Traders.'

To prevent misconception, I wish to add that what I have said respecting particular articles of import, such as woollen fabrics, has been said only by way of illustration, and for the purpose of showing what the result of a duty on such articles, if imposed, might be. I have not verified the figures given in Lady Bective's pamphlet, nor have I inquired what the condition of this trade in woollen fabrics is now, or how far by improvement or alteration in the manufacture the English fabric has been able to withstand the effect of the French competition. I am content that the case of the English woollen goods as stated by Lady Bective should be taken as imaginary, which would serve the purposes of illustration as well as if it were founded on fact.

But, without having formed any opinions of my own as to what changes, if any, should be made in our tariff, I know what has been proposed by others, and I believe that the highest interests of this country are involved in a free, full, and fair discussion of them.

It is asserted, then, that in the expenditure of the classes which form the bulk of the population there are some items, such as rent, clothing, and firing, in which the foreigner does not compete with the home producer; that there are others, such as tea, coffee, cocoa, and tobacco, in which there is no home producer to compete with the importer; and that the expenditure upon these two classes of articles together forms the bulk of the people's expenditure.

A duty then, it is said, might be imposed upon any of the articles in which the foreigner does compete with the industry of our own people without affecting the cheapness of the articles above enume-

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rated, while it would tend to secure for our own people the employment and wages which we now hand over to the foreigner. It has been further asserted that, if every article of foreign manufacture which now enters our ports were taxed with a duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, it would not sensibly raise the cost of living to the wage-earning classes, for that the greater part thereof consists of articles consumed by the wealthier classes alone, many of them articles of mere luxury.

By others again it is said that, by a rearrangement of import duties, involving the taxation of several articles in which the foreigner now competes successfully with us, and thereby securing for our own people the wages which we now pay to the foreigner, it would be possible to make equivalent deductions in the duties now necessarily levied for the purposes of revenue upon articles much consumed by the people at large without any loss to the public purse.

These things may or may not be true. They are asserted by those whose avocations and experience ought to enable them to judge.

Lastly, it is strongly urged, and this, as it seems to me, is by far the most important suggestion, that by giving our brethren in the Colonies and British dependencies an advantage over the foreigner in our own markets we could, without inflicting sensible injury upon our population by enhancing the price of the things they consume, induce and foster a freer commercial interchange than now exists between them and the mother country, thereby binding in the ties of a common interest those who are already bound together in the lasting ties of race, and enlarging the narrow limits of the British Isles by the wide lands of every clime that lie under the British Crown.

No one can deny that such a project has a fascinating aspect—the achievement of it might alone suffice to satisfy the ambition of the greatest statesman. We have in the British Isles a redundant population and redundant wealth. Our colonies and dependencies have boundless land, soil, and climate of every variety, and lack nothing but capital and labour to turn them to account. If a market were once assured in this country, it is said, for colonial produce, British capital and enterprise would quickly be engaged in its development. In some places, such as India for instance, nothing is wanted but the means of transit to bring within our reach, at very low prices, great supplies of corn and other grain. There is hardly anything, I believe, which our teeming millions consume that our colonies and dependencies might not produce under the influence of adequate labour and adequate means. They want what we have, and they have, or might have, in their cereal and other produce, the food we so grievously want. We live under the beneficent sway of the same gracious sovereign, speak the same tongue, and look back upon the same ancestry. All that a real 'Free Trade' ever promised, had

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the world chosen to adopt it, might be realised to the full, though on a smaller scale, within the limits of the British Empire; and, self-supporting, self-contained, who shall put a limit to the grandeur, power, and prosperity to which that empire might attain?

To how many of our pressing troubles would not such a scheme, if practicable, offer a cure! The earth hunger of Ireland, the newly-born passion for small holdings of land in England, might be gratified without trampling under foot the principles of political economy. To thousands of our labouring classes it might offer the employment which the decline of agriculture at home is year by year reducing. To how many of the youth of the educated and more prosperous classes might it not offer a career, and a chance of devoting their energies and such capital as they have at command to an end profitable to themselves and of infinite value to their country! Steam and electricity have bridged the distances that in times gone by would have rendered such a project hopeless. Physical impediments to its realisation can hardly be said now to exist; and though there may well be moral difficulties hard to surmount, it is scarcely credible that, where the means of co-operation to a great end of mutual advantage are at hand, prudence and discretion might not suffice to bring it within our reach.

Above all, there are no feelings of hostility between us and our Colonies to bar the way: witness their generous and chivalrous offer to come to our aid on a late occasion. Their offer met with a warm appreciation by our people here, though the tepid and cautious acceptance of it by our Government did (as far as that acceptance was made public) so little to evince it.

The future of this Greater Britain, I confess, dazzles the imagination, and it may well be that, after all, the rearing of such an edifice is impracticable, for where human concord is an essential element of success there is much to be feared from human jealousies and the promptings of a misdirected self-interest. I do not feel myself competent to uphold or condemn this great project. But there are others —men well competent by their experience in commercial matters to form an opinion—who thoroughly believe in it, and who have devoted much of their time and energies to its realisation. Under the name of 'Fair Trade' they have endeavoured to promote a tariff which would strongly tend to unite the mother country to her Colonies without increasing the cost of living to the wage-earning classes or diminishing the public income. But they labour in vain so long as the idol of 'Free Imports' is worshipped in the land, and its unbending precepts close the door upon all discussion. In vain did Mr. Farrar Ecroyd lay before the House of Commons in the Session of 1883, in a speech of singular clearness and force, the details of the 'Fair Trade' plan; the ears of his audience were indeed open, but

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their minds were closed to him by the foregone conclusion of the system under which we live.

I think it reasonable then to ask for inquiry. Has not enough been urged in these observations to justify those who are not satisfied with the present state of things in calling upon the 'Free Traders,' or rather 'Free Importers,' to point out how and in what direction this country is compensated under their system of taxation for the losses inflicted on our working classes by the import of foreign manufactures?

Do they really mean to say that the power of buying cheaply is a full recompense for the loss or diminution of those wages which enable the workman to buy at all? Before expenditure must come production, and production, to be fruitful, must be sold. A man must sell before he can buy. It is his labour and skill which must support him, and it is the sale of this labour and skill which alone provides the wherewithal to buy the necessaries of life. If it is important to his welfare that these necessaries he should buy cheap, it is not less, but more, important that his labour he should sell dear. 'Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market' was once the shibboleth of Free Traders. Does it cease to be true because the thing to be sold is labour and not goods?

I have said, then, that 'Free Imports' give us cheapness and nothing but cheapness. Do the 'Free-Importers' claim anything else for it?—any incidental advantages which the above remarks fail to meet? It is hardly possible that they will rely upon the long-since exploded notion that cheap food will lessen the cost of production by directly inducing lower wages, and thus enable us, in our manufactures, to compete with the outside world; for surely it will not at this time of day be denied that the price of labour, like the price of everything else, is settled by the contrast between supply and demand.

Those who approach this subject of 'Free Imports' with an earnest desire to arrive at the truth (of whom I claim to be one) find their chief difficulty in ascertaining from any authorised source what the principles are upon which the system is founded. If they turn, as they naturally do, to the speeches and writings which preceded its adoption, and the arguments used in Parliament in 1846, they find on all hands the assumption that foreign nations would surely follow our lead, and that the result would be a universal trade free from restriction all over the world. It is the falsification of this hope that deprived us of the benefits then contemplated and so loudly extolled; and it is natural and reasonable to ask that some definition, not to say some proof, should be given of the benefits which the system of free imports is still supposed to secure to us, now that that hope has vanished.

But if the principles of so-called Free Trade are too sacred to be inquired into, let us at least inquire into facts.

For forty years this country has regulated its import duties upon

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a system different from that of other nations; has not the time arrived when we may profitably take stock of our commercial position, compute our gains, and see what 'Free Imports' have done for us. This is all the more necessary because there are many who assert that on a balance of advantages there are no gains at all. Meanwhile not a day passes that the public press does not record some fresh and startling complaint of the suffering and losses that foreign competition entails. In this matter it is more than probable that some exaggeration prevails. When things are going wrong it is almost in the nature of a popular cry that it should be unjust.

But one would like to know the truth—one would like to know, for instance, whether it is true that import of Spanish and other foreign lead has resulted in the closing of nearly every lead mine in this country. Or, again, whether it is the fact that in 1862 there were 110 iron furnaces in Staffordshire, and that there are now no more than forty-one, and as fast as the furnaces are extinguished in England others are lighted abroad to replace them. Nay, more, is it true of the iron trade that those who used to be our purchasers have become our competitors, and not only sell against, but undersell, us not merely in neutral markets, but in the very heart of our iron-making districts? In Sheffield, the home of the cutlery trade, it is asserted, I know not with what truth, that foreign-made goods (chiefly German) are largely sold at a price with which we find it impossible to compete, and a similar tale is told of many other trades in which we used to enjoy a marked ascendency. What is the truth about watches, silks, ribbons, guns, and even bulky articles like furniture and joiners' work? How many of the complaints daily made are well founded, and to what extent? We ought at least to know the price that we have to pay for the blessing of purchasing cheap.

If our leading statesmen and politicians care not to insist upon an inquiry into these things, depend upon it there are those who will. There is too much intelligence in the artisan and other working classes whose interests are the first to suffer from the competition which cripples home manufacture for them to be content to remain any longer in the dark.

And from official sources they have no light to guide them. For it must be remembered that this system of importing all foreign goods free of duty, without reference to any reciprocal action on the part of foreign countries, has never been recommended or even discussed (after full inquiry into the facts) by any Royal Commission or any Committee of either House of Parliament, still less in Parliament itself. Such an inquiry, if fairly instituted and pursued, will at least set at rest much uneasy feeling that now exists on this subject, and must result either in the confirmation of the present system or in setting us free to establish our tariff upon such principles

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as will give the largest aid to our manufacturing industries compatible with the general interests of the community.

In the meanwhile I offer to those who care to think of these things the following propositions as worthy of discussion.

1. That the question of duty or no duty on any import is a separate question for each import, and cannot be rightly answered by the application of any general rule.

2. That no duty should be imposed save for the purpose of revenue.

3. That in selecting the articles upon which duties should be imposed it is advantageous to the community, *cæteris paribus*, that the duty should fall on any article in which the foreigner competes in our markets with the labour and skill of our own people.

4. That it may be desirable, if practicable, so to regulate our tariff as to favour the productions of our own colonies and dependencies in comparison with those of foreign countries.

Lastly. That the rule prohibiting the imposition of a duty on any foreign article the like of which is produced at home, which now goes by the name of 'Free Trade,' has no good reason for its support, and was only adopted by this country as our part of that system of free and unfettered interchange of commodities which it offered to the rest of the world, an offer which, after the lapse of forty years, has never been accepted, and a system, in consequence, which has never existed.

PENZANCE.

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LIBERAL ELECTION ADDRESSES.

It is hardly six months since Mr. Gladstone's manifesto appeared, and the country took it for granted that if he were returned to power the authorised programme which he had put in the forefront of his address would immediately occupy the attention of Parliament. It was well known that at least seventy or eighty Nationalist members would be returned, and a good many must have foreseen that they would not allow Irish questions to be ignored; yet, judged by their speeches and election addresses, there were few statesmen and fewer candidates who impressed the public with their fears, fewer of either who put the question of Home Rule before the constituencies, and no one who ventured to suggest that the now well-worn phrase as to the supremacy of the Crown, the unity of the Empire, and the authority of Parliament, might cover schemes incompatible with the maintenance of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland.

He would have been indeed a bold man who had ventured to tell a Liberal audience that a member of that Irish party which Mr. Gladstone denounced in 1881 as marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire, would confidently assert in 1886 that the leader of the Liberal party, who had then had no language too severe for the Land League, was 'bound by his public declarations to grant the Nationalist claims for practical legislative independence.'[1]

That, however, is the situation, and Mr. Harrington's reading of Mr. Gladstone's speech on the Address has never been challenged.

It has been argued that Home Rule should be yielded as a matter of course because it is demanded by five-sixths of the Irish members, representing a large majority of the Irish population. No doubt, as far as Ireland is concerned, the issue tried before them was separation *versus* union: but even if the voters had not been biassed by any other considerations, and if the system under which the verdict was obtained were unimpeachable—two rather large admissions—it would not be right under the circumstances to accept the judgment of the Irish constituencies as conclusive.

[1] Mr. Harrington, *Times*, February 3, 1886.

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There were two parties to the Act of Union; and though Ireland may have made up her mind that the time has come for separation, that is no reason in itself why the representatives of Great Britain should give way on a question which was not before the English and Scotch constituencies at the late general election.

Nobody pretends that England or Scotland gave an opinion on Home Rule last November:[2] and it occurred to the writer that the election addresses of Liberal M.P.'s would afford a fair test of the degree to which the question was before either candidates or constituencies at that time; and that they would show with what ideas candidates had then approached the Irish problem, and to what extent, if any, the constituencies of Great Britain had been asked at the general election to decide upon the maintenance of the legislative union with Ireland.

For, as every one had to state his views upon the 'authorised programme,' 'free education,' and 'three acres and a cow,' it is but natural to suppose that both electors and candidates would have wished to understand each other, had they been led to believe by their leaders that so grave a constitutional question would occupy the attention of the new Parliament as soon as ever it assembled.

It has not been found possible to examine the addresses of all the Liberal members, but a large proportion of them have been got together, and some striking facts are at once apparent.

In the first place, over one third of the gentlemen whose addresses I have obtained made *no reference whatever* in them to Ireland; secondly, but a small proportion of the other half thought it worth while to notice that 'widely prevalent desire for self-government extending beyond what is felt in Great Britain as to local affairs,' of which Mr. Gladstone speaks in his February address to the electors of Midlothian; thirdly, those who then declared themselves plainly in favour of Home Rule were very few indeed.

There were gentlemen who maintained a prudent silence as to Ireland throughout their contests, but doubtless most had something to say about her in one or other of their speeches. From some indeed I hope to quote later on. But though it has not been possible to examine everybody's speeches, yet I believe from what I have seen that the majority said little or nothing about the future in Ireland. They contented themselves with condemning the policy of Lord Randolph Churchill: and then, as Ireland occupied only a subordinate place in the Midlothian manifesto and had but few attractions for the average British voter, they returned to the authorised programme, or whatever subject outside of it had most interest for their constituents.

The addresses which do refer to Ireland are about 140 in number, but before examining them in detail it may be of interest to see what was the Irish policy on which the present Ministry and the

[2] See Mr. Heneage's letter to the *Times*, January 2, 1886.

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members of former Liberal administrations sought the confidence of their constituents a few months ago.

In several cases the addresses give no information.

Mr. Mundella spoke only of the past.

Mr. Chamberlain, whose views of course were well known, issued a very short address, which contained no reference to any special question.

Mr. Collings and Sir L. Playfair took a similar course. Mr. Asher, the Lord Advocate, Mr. Flower, Mr. Fowler, Lord Kilcoursie, Mr. Mellor, Mr. Spencer, and Mr. Woodall, though they discuss other subjects, say nothing about Ireland.

Others, however, were not so reticent.

Mr. Gladstone: 'To maintain the supremacy of the Crown, the unity of the Empire, and all the authority of Parliament necessary for the conservation of that unity, is the first duty of every representative of the people. Subject to this governing principle, every grant to portions of the country of enlarged powers for the management of their own affairs is not a source of danger, but a means of averting it.'

Sir W. Harcourt did not mention Ireland in his brief address, but his opinions on the unsavouriness of Parnellite juice have been often quoted.

Mr. Campbell Bannerman: 'I am desirous of seeing at the earliest possible moment a large extension of local self-government in Ireland, but I would give no countenance to the schemes of those who seek to injure this country, as they would assuredly ruin their own, by separation under one name or another.'

Mr. Childers: 'I am in favour of a large measure of local self-government being granted to Ireland. While Imperial affairs should be regulated and managed by the Imperial Parliament and the Imperial Government, purely local affairs may be safely left to deliberative and administrative authorities representing the Irish people.'[3]

Mr. Trevelyan trusted that the task of dealing with Ireland might be committed to a party strong enough to disregard the effect which its policy might have on Parliamentary divisions or electoral contests. In a speech delivered on the 31st of December, he said that while he would place education under central, and highways, poor law &c. in the hands of local, elected bodies, yet 'unless we intend to keep the care of law and order in all its departments in the hands of the Central Government, we had much better go in at once for repealing the Union.'

Mr. John Morley said that 'to build up self-government in Ireland' was one of the tasks before us.

Mr. Heneage favoured the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy, and a system of well-defined local self-government, with a view to a firmer

[3] Pontefract Address.

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and more solid union. Subsequently, in a letter which appeared in the *Times* of the 2nd of January, he said, 'I cannot see my way to grant to Ireland a separate Parliament without giving real Home Rule, and therefore I shall vote against any proposal to establish an Irish Parliament in Dublin.'

Among the subordinate members of the Government, Mr. C. T. D. Acland and Sir U. Kay Shuttleworth were vague.

Mr. Broadhurst desired a comprehensive measure of local government for all parts of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Bryce, while putting either separation or federation out of the question, said that, 'subject to the ultimate control of the Imperial Parliament, the further we go in letting the people of Ireland conduct their own affairs the better.'

Mr. J. B. Balfour, speaking at Kinross, said that the result of the combination between the Conservatives and Mr. Parnell would, if it were successful, be one of two things, either concessions to Mr. Parnell and his party which would endanger the integrity of the Empire and tend to separation, or the impotence of Parliament.[4]

Mr. Collings, speaking on behalf of Mr. H. Bass,[5] claimed the Irish vote for him, because the Radicals would give the Irish the power of managing their own concerns to the greatest extent compatible with the integrity of the Empire.

Mr. Duff, I believe, was silent in his address; but in a speech reported in the *Aberdeen Free Press* of the 22nd of October he expressed his desire for a Liberal majority strong enough to make the party independent of an alliance repugnant to the feelings of every right-thinking man.

Mr. G. Leveson Gower, while anxious to extend to Ireland the same rights of local self-government as the rest of Great Britain, and to avoid exceptional legislation, when not essential, would resolutely withstand any scheme which should withdraw from the British Parliament the control of Imperial questions, or imperil the unity of the Empire.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone would concede frankly and fully to the Irish people the right to manage their own affairs in accordance with national wishes and national sentiment.

Mr. Marjoribanks favoured a large measure of local government, by which the remaining just grievances of Ireland might be removed.

Mr. O. Morgan would give the same rights of local government to Ireland as to Great Britain.

Sir E. Reed, while in favour of giving the Irish people the fullest possible powers of local government, could not consent to any dismemberment of the United Kingdom.

The addresses of the Attorney-General, Mr. Hibbert, and Mr. A. Morley were not obtainable. Sir C. Russell's opinions were well known

[4] *Scotsman*, October 31.

[5] *Staff Chronicle*, October 10.

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in the last Parliament; and speaking in Shoreditch Town Hall, he declared his opinion that Irishmen ought to have the power to discuss and manage their own local affairs on their own soil. But it is a little strange that only he and Mr. H. Gladstone of all the members of the Government should have been ready when first elected to declare a leaning to Home Rule.

Turning now to those who were members of former Liberal administrations.

Lord Hartington: 'I am convinced that the legislative union of the two countries must in the interests of both be maintained, and I will give no support to any measure which directly or indirectly menaces its existence.'

Mr. Goschen desired 'firmness in maintaining the integrity of the Empire.'

Mr. Forster only mentioned his desire to speak on Ireland.

Mr. Stansfeld, in reply to a question, would not give Ireland as much Home Rule as Australia or Canada, 'but he desired to give her every law and liberty that we possessed, and every amount of Home Rule consistent with Imperial and legislative liberty.'[6]

Mr. Bright's and Sir C. Dilke's addresses were very short indeed, and did not go into any details.

Sir H. James expressed himself as hostile to the creation of a separate Parliament for Ireland.

Mr. Courtney: 'I believe the maintenance of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland will immediately and imperatively claim our attention.'

Mr. Brand: 'Convinced of the paramount political necessity of maintaining the union with Ireland, I regret the attitude which the present Government has seen fit to adopt towards a political party which openly endeavours to effect a separation between the two countries.'

Sir T. Brassey: 'I am ready not only to remedy tangible grievances, but to make such concessions as may be practicable to national sentiment. Any scheme, however, of local self-government must be framed with due consideration for the paramount necessity of preserving the integrity of the Empire.'

Mr. Villiers's short address contained no reference to Ireland.

Mr. Whitbread: 'Ireland should participate in the reform of the laws relating to land and local government to the fullest extent compatible with the integrity and stability of the United Kingdom.'

Such were the opinions expressed by the members of the present and of former Liberal administrations. With regard to the rest of the Party, some whose views previous to election I have been unable to ascertain, subsequently answered the 'Home Rule' circular of the Press Association; Messrs. Arch, Beith, Brown, Dillwyn, Hunter,

[6] *Leeds Mercury*, November 28.

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and Williamson giving replies which have been summed up as 'Watching' (W. E. G.) and 'Waiting.'

Mr. Duckham, Mr. Story-Maskelyne and Mr. Wayman gave cautious answers; and Messrs. Kinnear and Jacoby declined to give the matter serious consideration.

Mr. Carbutt and Mr. Palmer favoured Home Rule; and Messrs. Brinton, R. Chamberlain, B. Hingley, R. J. More and Esslemont, with Sir Charles Tennant, declared against a separate Parliament.

Extracts from speeches of others will be found below. These have been necessarily taken at haphazard; often from somewhat short reports; and where a few words are quoted apart from context there is always danger of misrepresentation. Yet I hope they will not be unfair evidence of the feelings which their authors entertained toward the Home Rule question at the time they were delivered. Where no reference is given, the quotations are from addresses.

Of the addresses which make reference to the future in Ireland, those issued by the following members are vague, but have generally a sympathetic leaning toward the Irish case:

Armitage, R.	Illingworth, A.	Saunders, W.
Cobb, H. P.	Ince, H. B.	Spensley, H.
Cook, E. R.	Lawson, H. L.	Stuart, Professor J.
Glyn, Hon. P. C.	McArthur, A.	Wardle, H.
Goldsmid, Sir J.	Paulton, J. M.	

Hon. R. Bruce: 'We should endeavour to reconcile the Irish to a friendly union and co-operation with ourselves.'[7]

Mr. Blake desired equal laws for all parts of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Grafton, while in favour of doing justice to Ireland, would not support any measure for making her independent.[8]

Captain O'Shea, when standing for an English borough, only said in his address that Mr. Gladstone had spoken cheering words.

Mr. Picton said: 'I am opposed to coercion whether by bayonets or boycotting, and I would supply its place by allowing Irish opinion to make Irish laws on purely Irish affairs.'

Mr. Priestley would endeavour by wise legislation to secure the contentment and prosperity of Ireland, but would strenuously resist any attempt to break the bond which united her with England.

Mr. Talbot made the pregnant statement that the abolition of the law by which Great Britain is united to Ireland would shortly engage the attention of the elected.

Those who, while generally favourable to local government reform in Ireland, either declared themselves expressly opposed to a separate Parliament, or censured the Conservatives for their dealings with the Nationalists, were the following:

Sir R. Anstruther thought Ireland in sadly weak hands.

[7] At Burntisland: *Scotsman*, October 31. [8] *Daily Chronicle*, November 2.

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Mr. H. Bass: 'The Liberal Party has striven to remove every just cause of discontent in Ireland, but is not prepared to make concessions to crime or violence, or consent to the dismemberment of the Empire.'

Mr. Beaumont heartily approved of the course adopted by the late Liberal Government toward Ireland, and would strongly oppose the legislative independence of the country.

Mr. Biddulph would 'steadfastly oppose any measure giving to Ireland a separate Legislature.'

Mr. Buchanan: 'The demand [of Ireland] for legislative independence cannot be conceded.'

Mr. Buxton, in view of the price paid by the Conservatives to Mr. Parnell for his Parliamentary support, thought the only escape from the dictatorship of the Irish leader lay in the return of a Government strong enough to cope with their opponents and the Home Rulers combined.

Lord E. Cavendish, speaking at Sudbury on the 7th of September, endorsed Lord Hartington's statements as to Ireland.

Mr. Coote: 'The policy of the present Government in attempting to conciliate by questionable concessions the leaders of Irish discontent is unlikely to succeed, while we have still to regret that the efficiency of the law appears to be seriously impaired.'

Mr. Cornwallis West: 'I will strongly oppose the demand for the legislative independence and complete separation of Ireland from England.'

Mr. Cozens Hardy [9] thought that the policy of the Conservative leaders in allying themselves with the Parnellites tended to the dismemberment of the Empire; and was sure the Liberals would have no part in any policy which would tend to dissever Ireland from the Union.

Mr. Crossley said that 'encouraged by the Tories, Mr. Parnell . . . was now aiming at a separate Parliament for Ireland, and a separate existence apart from this country. . . . They knew the response this manifesto had met with. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain had spoken plainly. . . . He need not remark further on the propositions of Mr. Parnell.' [10]

Sir D. Currie: 'The apparent association of Conservative and Irish Separatists makes the present moment one of serious crisis.'

Mr. R. Davies (Anglesey) was opposed to the Nationalist demand for Repeal.

Hon. A. Elliot: 'In my judgment Ireland must always remain a portion of the United Kingdom, and subject to the same Parliament which is supreme over England and Scotland.'

Mr. Ellis (Leicestershire): 'Lord Spencer did a noble work in Ireland. His treatment by some of the Conservatives was simply

[9] *Lynn News*, October 10.

[10] Speech at Clayton West.

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abominable. The Liberals may be trusted to do justly by the sister Island, but I believe they will never consent to the dismemberment of the Empire.'

Mr. Fitzwilliam was strongly opposed to any measure that would imperil the legislative union.

Mr. Gurdon claimed the votes of all patriotic electors as a supporter of the only Government which could rule without the assistance of Mr. Parnell.

Mr. Haldane condemned Lord R. Churchill's intrigues with the Irish.[11]

Mr. Hobhouse considered that Englishmen of all parties should unite to maintain the Union, and to discourage any corrupt bargains with disaffected Irish Nationalists.

Mr. H. C. Howard was glad to find both parties were united in refusing to grant Ireland legislative independence.[12]

Mr. W. H. James: 'Any federal arrangement would be fraught with evils scarcely less in magnitude than those that would attend actual separation; but subject to the control of the Imperial Parliament, the further we go in allowing the Irish to manage their own affairs the better.'

Sir R. Jardine: 'I shall be prepared to treat the claims of Ireland in a generous spirit, but will support no measure which would tend directly or indirectly to impair the integrity of the United Kingdom.'

Mr. C. Kenny regarded the integrity of the United Kingdom as of paramount importance, but would give the Irish provincial councils for non-Imperial matters.

Mr. Leake: 'Irish representatives will yet work . . . in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The disintegration of Parliament would be a retrograde policy and a fatal mistake.'

Lord Lymington: 'The coalition of Lord Salisbury's Government with Irish Nationalists is a matter of serious import to those who, like myself, place loyalty to the constitution of the United Kingdom, and a maintenance of the property, liberties, and rights of loyal Irishmen above allegiance to Party.'

Mr. Milnes Gaskell said: 'A powerful and united band under the leadership of Mr. Parnell is claiming national independence for Ireland, and endeavouring to dissever the ties that bind that country to our own. Attempts of such a character will meet with my strenuous opposition.'

Mr. MacInnes, in reply to a question, said he would not vote for a Parliament to sit at Dublin on purely Irish affairs.[13]

Mr. Mappin was opposed to a separate Parliament for Ireland.

Mr. Mildmay: 'The question of Ireland threatens the dismember-

[11] Speech at Elphinstone: *Edinburgh Courant*, September 18.
[12] Speech at Catterlen: Carlisle paper, October 13.
[13] *Newcastle Leader*, October 12.

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ment of the Empire. It cannot be safely entrusted to a Minister in league with the Irish Nationalists or to a Government whose majority in the House of Commons will depend on the support of Irish representatives hostile to the Union.'

Mr. Paget: 'I have no hesitation in making a most distinct promise to resist by every means in my power the dismemberment of the Empire, and to oppose the proposals of Mr. Parnell.'

Mr. Pitt Lewis: 'I would resist any scheme for giving to the Irish people a separate Parliament.'

Mr. Ramsay believed it was for the good of Ireland that she ought not to have a Legislature independent of the Imperial Parliament.[14]

Mr. Rendal: 'The Tory programme is *not* to touch Mr. Parnell —to say or do anything whereby the Tory party may lose the Irish vote at these elections.'

Mr. Seale Hayne echoed Lord Lymington.

Mr. Wiggin was opposed to a separate Parliament for Ireland.

Mr. Winterbotham thought the country had to consider whether the maintenance of the Union would not be seriously endangered by entrusting the Government to a party which obtained office by the votes of the Home Rulers, and could only hope to remain in power by the same means.

Mr. Wodehouse: 'The encouragement given to the avowed purposes of the Irish separatist party by the evident eagerness of the present Government to retain the support of that revolutionary faction to whose aid they owe their accession to office, is a source of public danger.'

Mr. Watson hoped there would be a good Liberal majority to frustrate the expressed intentions of Mr. Parnell, who had recently said that with a following of eighty members, if he could not secure an independent Parliament in Dublin, he could at least prevent English legislation. . . . It would not be right to allow such a shameful mode of procedure as that suggested by Mr. Parnell to be carried out. . . . He was of opinion that it would not be satisfactory to this country if ever Ireland was severed from these isles, and the men who now represented Ireland in the English Parliament held high office in Ireland, and dictated, perhaps, to England terms as to the mutual government of the two countries.[15]

Mr. Woodhead said that 'Mr. Parnell, emboldened by the Tory concessions, told the Irish people that he and his party were bent on having a separate Parliament, that in fact they were going to divorce England from Ireland. But England would not allow it; and he should vote steadily and persistently at any cost against this disinte-

[14] *Scotsman*, October 7.

[15] Speech at Long Eaton: *Birmingham Express*, November 1.

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gration of the Empire. Let Ireland be placed on an equality with England in all respects, and be content with that equality.'

The following members declared themselves in their addresses to be in favour of extending to Ireland whatever powers of local self-government might be granted to Great Britain, so far as could safely be done. Some of them made rather a virtue of going so far, and were equally prepared to vote at Mr. Gladstone's bidding for coercion. Others again were for making the reform of local government wide-reaching in both countries.

Acland, A. H. D.	Foster, Dr. B.	Pease, A. E.
Agnew, W.	Fry, L.	Roscoe, Sir H.
Allen, W. S.	Hingley, B.	Ruston, J.
Cameron, J. McD.	Howell, G.	St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Cobbold, F. T.	Johns, J. W.	Schwabe, Col. Salis
Corbett, J.	Joicey, J.	Seely, C.
Craig-Sellar, A.	Kenrick, W.	Sutherland, T.
Ellis, J. E.	McLagan, P.	Williams, J. Carvell
Fairbairn, Sir A.		

The speeches of Sir E. Grey, Mr. B. Pickard, and Mr. T. Shaw place them also in the above category.[16]

Mr. Borlase, while advocating the abolition of 'the Castle,' and the extension to Ireland of the same form of county government as we proposed for ourselves, thought that Home Rule in any more extended sense had been rendered impossible by the action of those who professed to desire it.

Mr. W. Bright did not think Mr. Parnell's proposals for an Irish Parliament altogether unreasonable, and was in favour of giving a measure of local government so far as practicable and safe.

Mr. Brunner desired the same reforms for Ireland as for England.

Mr. W. Cook: 'To make Ireland contented, we must give her every equality we have in England.'[17]

Sir. W. Crossman would do the same, 'but is totally opposed to any measures that would lead to a disruption of the Empire.'

Mr. Finlayson, 'in order to strengthen and maintain the Union,' would do likewise.

Mr. Harker, whilst disposed to give Ireland the same freedom that England and Scotland possessed, would on no account allow her to become an independent nation. They could not permit Ireland to make her own laws and put excessive duties on the importation of English products.[18]

Mr. Lockwood: 'In November 1883, Lord Salisbury accused me of promising Home Rule because I pledged myself to extend the franchise to Ireland. . . . To secure equal rights for her with England, I will spare no effort.'

[16] Speech: *Leeds Mercury*, October 28.
[17] *Birmingham Post*, October 30.
[18] *Leeds Mercury*, November 17.

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Mr. McDonald (Ross) would give Ireland the same laws as the rest of the country, but would on no account agree to separation under any guise.

Mr. E. Noel would give equality, but was strongly opposed to the proposal of such legislative separation as would infallibly lead to civil war.

Mr. H. Pease (Cleveland): 'The extension of the system of local self-government, both in Great Britain and Ireland, by popularly elected bodies will have my hearty support.'

Mr. Potter: 'I am not prepared to concede Home Rule as Mr. Parnell describes it, although I would support every proposal which would place Irishmen on an equality with Englishmen and Scotchmen. I will never give a vote for the disintegration of the Empire.'

Mr. Pulley: 'With regard to Ireland, whilst anxious to give her the same rights as those enjoyed in England and Scotland in the matter of local government, I will never support any measure of separation so far as the Imperial Parliament and Imperial interests are concerned.'

Mr. Warmington, in reply to a question, said he was in favour of granting the same privilege to Ireland as they possessed in England. He was in favour of local government, but he was not in favour of a separation of Ireland from England.[19]

Mr. Yeo alone of the foregoing had a soul above county boards, and wished to enable the people of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland to manage more directly and effectually their own affairs by means of national councils.

The following gentlemen declared themselves in their addresses to be prepared to vote for giving the Irish as much self-government as was in their opinion consistent with the unity and integrity of the Empire. A wide formula; and one which could be accepted alike by Lord Salisbury and, for English consumption, by Mr. Parnell.

Ashton, T. G.
Bolton, J. C. (in reply to a question).[20]
Burt, T.
Cohen, A. ('but will not support any measure of Home Rule').
Compton, Lord W.[21]
Corbett, A. C.
Fry, T.
Fuller, G. P.
Gibb, T. E.[22]
Green, H. ('at the right time').
Henry, Mitchell.
Howard, E. S.
Lacaita, C. C.
McCullogh, J. ('the same as to Scotland').
Mather, W. ('as in the United States').
Montagu, S.
Price, T. P.
Richardson, T.
Rogers, J. E. Thorold.
Russell, E. R.
Wason, E.
Watt, H.
Wilson, Isaac.
Wright, C.

[19] *Merthyr Express*, October 3.
[20] *Daily Chronicle*, October 1.
[21] *Warwick Advertiser*, October 31.
[22] Speech, August 15, 1885.

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It now only remains to account for those gentlemen who six months ago had the courage of opinions which have since become fashionable, and who declared themselves before their constituents to be in favour of Home Rule.

They are not very numerous; nor are they generally recognised as leaders of public opinion: the views on Ireland of Messrs. Cowen, Bradlaugh, and Labouchere, are well known, and they may be shared by some of those whose speeches I have not got, and whose addresses give no information; but I have only found the following members who used language which seemed to commit them in that direction. Two of them are in the Government (Mr. H. Gladstone and Sir C. Russell); the others are:

Crawford, W.	Robson, W. S.	Storey, S.
Gourley, E. T.	Sheridan, H. B.	Wilson, J.
Peacock, R.		

These gentlemen spoke to the following effect:—

Mr. W. Crawford would vote for any measure of independent self-government for Ireland which did not carry with it the disintegration of the Empire.

Mr. Gourley said that, without endangering the Imperial Union, Ireland should be governed in accordance with national Irish ideas rather than with Castle rule.

Mr. Peacock would support any scheme for granting to Ireland such a management of its own affairs . . . as would be consistent with the maintenance of the Union and the sovereignty of the Queen.

Mr. Robson said that this (the present) system should be abolished and 'Ireland entrusted with the management of all affairs relating to itself, and not imperilling the unity of the Empire.'

Mr. Sheridan desired to give the people of Ireland direct control over Irish home affairs . . . and such further local government as could with prudence be conceded; having due regard to the integrity of the Empire.

Mr Storey: 'Ireland should be governed in all its internal affairs by Irishmen possessing the confidence of the Irish people, and according to Irish ideas.'

Mr. John Wilson would support any measure which would give the Irish people the management of their own affairs.

To summarise, then, the result of this inquiry: There are 330 Liberal members, and the addresses or speeches of nearly 300 have been examined. Some 100 of the addresses contain no reference whatever to the Irish question. Many speeches have been searched which were delivered by gentlemen whose addresses were silent on this point, but among all these, and among all the addresses, there are but fourteen whose authors seemed prepared last November to concede legislative independence to Ireland.

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No Liberal wants to prejudge Mr. Gladstone's proposals, but surely Lord Hartington was justified in saying at the Eighty Club dinner, 'These [Home Rule ideas] are the opinions and impressions of Mr. Gladstone alone. They have never been submitted to the Liberal party, still less have they been adopted by the Liberal party at the last election. Up to a recent time the English people were practically united in the opinion that a concession to the Irish people, by whatever strength it might be demanded, for the establishment of an independent Legislature, was one that could not be granted.'

And though Mr. Parnell may speak now with studied moderation, yet we are surely bound to remember that when he wanted the American money and the Irish votes to which, especially the former,[23] he owes his present position, he issued the following among other similar manifestoes to his supporters on either side of the Atlantic:

'Speaking for myself, and, I believe, for the Irish people and for all my colleagues, I have to declare that we will never accept, either expressly or implied, anything but the full and complete right to arrange our own affairs and make our land a nation—to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own course among the peoples of the world.'[24]

EBRINGTON.

POSTSCRIPT.

The annexed list of the Liberal members of the present Parliament who made *no reference whatever* in their addresses to coming Irish difficulties may be of interest. It is, however, right to mention that in a few cases the addresses were very short indeed, and express little more than the author's intention to seek election as a Liberal.

Acland, Sir T. D.	Collings, J.	Harker, W.
Allen, H. G.	Colman, J. J.	Hastings, G. W.
Asher, A.	Cossham, H.	Hunter, Dr. W. A.
Balfour, Rt. Hon. J. B.	Cowen, J.	Jenkins, D. J.
Barbour, W. B.	Cozens-Hardy, H.	Kilcoursie, Lord.
Barclay, J. W.	Cremer, W. R.	Kitching, A. G.
Bass, Sir H.	Crompton, C.	Leatham, E. A.
Beith, G.	Davies, D.	Lyell, L.
Bennett, J.	Duncan, D.	McFarlane, D. H.
Blades, J. H.	Elliot, Hon. H. F.	McInnes, M.
Bolton, J. C.	Esslemont, P.	McIver, L.
Bright, Rt. Hon. J.	Everett, R. L.	McLaren, C. B. B.
Brinton, J.	Farquharson, Dr. R.	McPherson-Grant, Sir G.
Bruce, Hon. R.	Flower, C.	Magniac, C.
Cameron, Dr.	Foster, Sir C.	Mason, S.
Campbell, R. F.	Fowler, H. H.	Mellor, J.
Carbutt, E. H.	Gardner, H.	Milbanke, Sir F.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J.	Grafton, F. W.	Mundella, Rt. Hon. A. J.

[23] See his letter acknowledging remittances.

[24] Speech at Castlebar, November 4, 1885, *Freeman* Report.

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Otter, F.
Palmer, C. M.
Playfair, Sir L.
Portman, Hon. E. B.
Pugh, D.
Ramsay, J.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Richard, H.
Robertson, H.
Roe, T.
De Rothschild, Baron
Rylands, P.
Shaw, T.
Simon, Serjeant
Spencer, Hon. C. R.
Stafford, Lord
Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. J.
Stevenson, F. C.
Taylor, F.
Tennant, Sir C.
Thomas, A.
Vanderbyl, P.
Villiers, Rt. Hon. C.
West, H. W.
Westlake, J.
Weston, J. D.
Williams, A. J.
Williamson, S.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, H. J.
Wilson, Sir M.
Woodale, W.

In addition to the foregoing I believe that the following also said nothing in their addresses about Ireland; and I know there were others who were very chary of mentioning the question either in addresses or speeches. One gentleman, indeed, carried his abstinence so far that he does not remember now whether he referred to Ireland or not.

Arch, J.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Balfour, Sir G.
Craven, J.
Dillwyn, L.
Duckham, T.
Durant, J. C.
Ferguson, R.
Jacoby, J. A.
James, C. H.
Jenkins, Sir J.
Swinburne, Sir J.
Vivian, Sir H.

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THREE ATTEMPTS TO RULE IRELAND JUSTLY.

SINCE the subjugation of Ireland by William the Third, three honest and earnest attempts have been made to govern the country on principles of justice, to repair the wrongs of conquest, to obliterate the memory of defeat. The first attempt was made by William himself on the surrender of Limerick; the second by Lord Melbourne in 1835; the third by Mr. Gladstone in 1868.[1] The history of these attempts deserves to be recorded.

I. WILLIAM THE THIRD.

Lord Bacon said that three things were necessary for the reduction and pacification of Ireland—(1) 'the extinguishing of the relics of war;' (2) 'the recovery of the hearts of the people;' (3) 'the removing of the root and occasions of new troubles.' The views of Lord Bacon were the views of William the Third. The humane and sagacious Dutch warrior and statesman believed that, the work of conquest done, the work of reparation should commence; that the loss of national independence should be counterbalanced by the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of a common citizenship. Political incorporation, not national extirpation, was the basis of the Irish policy of William the Third. The principles of this policy were embodied in the Treaty of Limerick, by which the Irish people were granted freedom of worship, allowed the use of arms, the possession of their estates, the right to sit in Parliament, to vote at elections, to practise law and medicine, to engage in trade and commerce. 'The upshot of the whole struggle,' as Professor Ranke has well expressed it, 'was this: the Irish and Catholics must renounce all thought of acquiring independence, for which they had taken up arms; on the other hand, Protestantism could not have that exclusive mastery which many desired.' In other words, it was the wish of William that the popular liberty should survive national overthrow.

[1] Mr. Gladstone received the seals of office in December 1868. He introduced and carried the Irish Church Bill in 1869.

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But the peace of Limerick was hateful to the English colonists, who resolved to destroy or reduce to a condition of abject serfdom the whole of the native population. And the conflict, which has endured for two hundred years, between the party of coercion and the party of conciliation—between those who wished that 'Protestantism should have the exclusive mastery' and those who believed that Catholic freedom should be upheld—began as soon as the last Irish soldier had sailed with Sarsfield for France.

A few weeks after the solemn compact signed on the banks of the Shannon, Dr. Dopping, the Bishop of Meath, sounded the key-note of intolerance, injustice, and bad faith. He declared from the pulpit, in the presence of the Lords Justices, that the Treaty of Limerick should not be kept; that no privileges, no rights, should be extended to the native race; that Irish papists should not be trusted nor recognised. But Dr. Moreton, the Bishop of Kildare, mindful of the honour of his sovereign, and influenced by sentiments of justice and morality, repudiated the doctrines preached by his brother of Meath, protesting that the public faith pledged at Limerick should not be violated; that Catholics should be permitted to remain within the pale of the Constitution, and to enjoy the full rights of fellow-subjects and fellow-countrymen.

Both sermons were sent to William, who acted with characteristic vigour and conscientiousness. He removed Dopping from the Privy Council, and put Moreton in his place.

Four months later the King was again called on to prevent a gross and shameless infraction of the Treaty. The second article, as originally drawn, had provided that

> the inhabitants of Limerick or any other garrison now in possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms under any commission from King James in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Kerry, Clare, and Mayo, and *all such as were under their protection in the said counties*, shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, interests, privileges, and immunities which they and every or any of them were entitled to in the reign of Charles the Second, or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of Charles the Second.

The words in italics were regarded as of great importance, both by the Irish and the colonists, as embracing practically the whole native population, whose landed estates were thus carefully secured to the rightful owners.[2] These words were, in truth, a barrier cautiously set up against any attempt at wholesale confiscation, and this barrier

[2] 'So long,' says Mr. Froude in *The English in Ireland*, 'as the second of these [Limerick] articles contained the contested words, printed in italics, it conceded nearly all for which Sarsfield had asked. Very many of the Catholic gentry, being in the army, were protected as commissioned officers. The estates of most of those who were absent, and yet were compromised in the insurrection, were in the counties thus carefully particularised; and thus it might be said that nearly every Catholic of consequence, with a disposition to be dangerous, would be covered by the broad vagueness of the word "protection"!'

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the colonists, bent on a policy of 'public plunder,' were resolved to throw down. The draft of the Treaty had been signed outside the city walls on the 3rd of October, 1691. On the 4th of October the English army entered the upper part of the town; on the same day the draft was engrossed, and from the engrossment the words in italics were omitted. The attention of Sarsfield, who still held the lower part of the town with the whole Irish army, was called to the fact. He pointed out the omission to Ginkel, and requested that it should be 'made good.' After some discussion, and after the French fleet had anchored in the Shannon, Ginkel promised that the wishes of the Irish commander should be complied with, and that the omitted words should be restored. Nevertheless, four months afterwards the engrossed Treaty was placed before William with the italicised words still left out. A discussion, we are informed, arose in the Privy Council as to whether they should be reinserted or not. But William, cutting short all debate, declared that the promise made to Sarsfield should be kept, and wrote on the instrument ratifying the Treaty—

Whereas it appears unto us that it was agreed between the parties in the said articles that, after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, Sligo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following—viz. 'And all such as are under their protection in the said counties' should be inserted and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second[3] town was surrendered; and that our said justices and generals, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulations, and inserted in the foul draft thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words—viz. 'And all such as are under their protection in the said counties'—hereby for us, our heirs, or successors, ordaining and declaring that all and every person or persons therein concerned shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereby in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article in any wise notwithstanding.

The honourable action of the King in thus confirming one of the most important clauses in the Treaty of Limerick raised a storm of dissatisfaction among the English in Ireland. The Irish papists, they said, would be restored to their estates, and the English and Protestant interest would be destroyed. 'Where the land goes,' wrote the Lords Justices, 'there goes the interest of a kingdom; and, no doubt of it, it must be a great mistake in policy, when there is so justifiable a pretence, to lose the opportunity of changing the proprietors from papists to Protestants, as this will be. The Protestants of Ireland,' added their lordships, 'will be in perfect despair if the papists are restored.' But it was the intention of the Treaty of Limerick that the 'papists' should be 'restored'; and William refused

[3] Limerick was divided into two towns—the upper, or 'Irish town,' the lower, or English.

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to be a party to the frustration of that intention. Nevertheless, in the conflict which ensued between the King and the colonists the latter were finally successful—not, however, without a strenuous effort on the part of William to maintain what he believed to be the right. His first Lord Lieutenant—Lord Sydney—sought to observe the Treaty, and was, in consequence, assailed by the colonists and driven from the island. Of Sydney's successors—the Lords Justices Wyche, Duncombe, and Capel—the two former were desirous of treating the native race with justice; the latter was not. Once more the colonists attacked the men who were hostile to their aims, and once more the party of honour was defeated. Wyche and Duncombe were forced to retire, and Capel remained sole governor of Ireland.

Under the rule of this congenial viceroy, the colonial Parliament proceeded to tear the Treaty of Limerick into shreds. In an Act purporting to confirm the Treaty almost all the articles were one after another abrogated. Even the words which William had with so much care caused to be reinserted and had ratified under the Great Seal of England were deliberately struck out. Thus was the barrier against confiscation completely thrown down.[4]

This violation of the Treaty of Limerick by the very Act of Parliament purporting to confirm it was accompanied by laws disarming popish citizens—they had already been expelled from Parliament—banishing popish bishops, restraining popish education, disqualifying popish lawyers, and forbidding any papist to keep a horse above the value of 5*l.* In brief, four years after the Treaty of Limerick had been signed the national religion was proscribed, the native race degraded, and the foundation laid of that infamous structure of laws which was securely raised shortly after William had passed away.

So terminated the struggle between the English monarch and the English colonists in Ireland; so ended the efforts of the magnanimous Dutch prince to govern with justice the people whom he had conquered. A body of men, whose sole aim was plunder, succeeded in defeating the statesmanlike policy of one of the *wisest and the best* sovereigns that has ever sat on the throne of these realms.

After William's death, the colonists had it all their own way, and the result was the Penal Code, in the fulness of its atrocity. The story of that code is an old one, and need not be retold. For practical purposes, its nature may be sufficiently gathered from the words of Grattan. 'The peace after Limerick,' said the great orator, 'was to the Catholics a sad servitude, to the Protestants a drunken triumph.' Its effect upon the landed interests of the native race may be stated in the words used by Lord Townshend in 1772. 'The laws against Popery,' he said, 'have so far operated, that there is no papist family remaining at this day of any great weight from landed property.'

[4] *Ante*, p. 621.

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For three-quarters of a century after William's death the Penal Laws remained in full force. In 1758 a judge declared from the Bench that 'the laws did not presume any papists to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of the Government.' In 1778 the era of 'concession' opened, and Catholics were allowed to hold property in land. But this concession was not made in pursuance of a policy of redress. It was yielded to force. It was granted when England was in 'difficulties' with her American and Irish colonists. It was an instance of that system of hand-to-mouth and unwilling legislation which has naturally failed to impress the Irish mind with any sense of English justice.[5]

In 1793 another important 'concession' was made. The Catholics were admitted to the elective franchise. But this was hand-to-mouth, unwilling legislation again—another surrender to force, another boon to rebellion. In 1792, a petition praying for the admission of the Catholics to the franchise was rejected by the Anglo-Irish Colonial House of Commons by a majority of 208 to 23 votes. In 1793, a bill embodying the prayer of this petition passed through Parliament practically without opposition. In the interval, the 'United Irishmen' had become a power. The battle of Valmy had been fought and the allies of England on the Continent defeated. During all these years—from 1703 to 1793—no English statesman arose who attempted earnestly to carry out the policy of William the Third, who tried to 'pacify' Ireland by 'extinguishing the relics of war,' by 'recovering the hearts of the people,' by 'removing the root and occasions of new troubles.' From William the Third to Mr. Pitt we do not find any English statesman who had a 'policy' for the government of Ireland. Mr. Pitt's policy, it is scarcely necessary to say, was a union, and the emancipation of the Catholics. How that policy was carried out is well known. The union was effected, but the Catholics were not emancipated. The colonists lost their Parliament, but the native race did not gain their liberties. For twenty-nine years after the union the hope of emancipation held out by the English Minister to the Irish people remained unrealised.

Then at length emancipation was conceded; not, however, as an act of justice or of grace, but as another 'surrender to force, another boon to rebellion.' As it was in 1778 and 1793, so it was in 1829. Sir Robert Peel, like his predecessors, had no Irish policy. His was still hand-to-mouth, unwilling legislation.

[5] 'But the Catholics were indebted, not only to the labours of their friends, but also to the great revolution which was going on at this period in America, for the first concessions that were made to them. This soon appeared very evident; an attempt was made by Mr. James Fitzgerald a few months before the introduction of the Act of 17 & 18 Geo. III. [the Act of 1778] to obtain for them a power to take leases for sixty-one years, and this attempt failed. But soon afterwards, when the intelligence arrived of the defeat of the British forces in America [at Saratoga], the same Parliament, on the recommendation of the Government, passed an Act enabling them to take land on leases for 999 years.'—Parnell, *Penal Laws*, p. 79.

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The Catholic Relief Act passed, the idea of an Irish policy based on principles of justice, or, indeed, on rational principles of any shape or kind whatever, had not yet dawned on British statesmen.

No English minister arose who manfully sought to carry out the policy of political incorporation aimed at by William the Third, or the policy of national extirpation attempted by Oliver Cromwell. To have made Ireland a Crown colony in 1829 would have been an intelligible proceeding. But to have admitted Irishmen of the native race and religion within the pale of the Constitution, to have given them seats in Parliament, to have made them eligible as judges of the land and ministers of the sovereign—and still to have excluded them from positions of power and emolument, still to have treated them with disfavour and distrust, still to have persevered in the system of governing 6,000,000 Irish Catholics in accordance with the wishes of 800,000 Protestant Episcopalians—was assuredly a policy which cannot be justified on any rational principles whatever.

Yet such were the principles on which Ireland was governed until Lord Melbourne came into office in 1835.

In 1833—four years after Catholic emancipation (says Mr. Lecky)—there was not in Ireland a single Catholic judge or stipendiary magistrate. All the high sheriffs with one exception, the overwhelming majority of the unpaid magistrates and of the grand jurors, the five inspectors-general, and the thirty-two sub-inspectors of police, were Protestant. The chief towns were in the hands of narrow, corrupt, and, for the most part, intensely bigoted corporations. Even in a Whig Government not a single Irishman had a seat in the Cabinet; and the Irish Secretary was Mr. Stanley, whose imperious manners and unbridled temper had made him intensely hated. For many years promotion had been steadily withheld from those who advocated Catholic emancipation, and the majority of the people thus found their bitterest enemies in the foremost places.[1]

II. Lord Melbourne.

'It is impossible to go on,' said Sir Robert Peel in 1829; 'you must do either of two things. You must go back to the Penal Laws or [emancipate the Catholics].' But Sir Robert Peel practically did neither one thing nor the other. He passed an Act of Catholic Relief, but made it in the main a dead letter. He kept the word of promise to the ear, but broke it to the hope. He refused to follow the example of either of the two great English models of Irish policy—the hero of the Rebellion, or the hero of the Revolution. The eminent Tory statesman was too humane to be a Cromwell. He had neither the courage, nor perhaps the faith, in principles of just and equal government to be a William the Third.

In truth, the emancipation of the Catholics dates, practically, not from 1829, but from 1835. The Irish policy of the Dutch conqueror—the policy of political incorporation, as opposed to the policy of

[1] *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, p. 260.

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national extinction—was taken up, not by Sir Robert Peel, but by Lord Melbourne.

After the general election of 1834, the Whig party became dependent for support on O'Connell, and by the help of the great agitator Lord Melbourne was enabled to form a Government with a working majority of sixty. A compact was practically entered into between the Irish leader and the Whig Premier, according to which the one was to suspend the demand for the repeal of the Union, and the other to legislate for and govern Ireland in harmony with Irish opinion and feeling. The Treaty of Limerick was at last to be put in force; the national religion and the native race were at length to be recognised. 'Protestantism' was no longer to have the 'exclusive mastery'; Catholicism was no longer to be a badge of disqualification —a mark of inferiority. Ireland was to become an integral part of the empire, to be governed as England and Scotland were; equal laws, equal rights, equal privileges were to be the lot of the three nations. The administration of Irish affairs was to be entrusted to men possessing the confidence of the Irish people, as the administration of English and Scotch affairs was entrusted to men possessing the confidence of the English and Scotch peoples.

Irish grievances were to be removed, Irish wants satisfied, Irish sentiments, and even prejudices, respected. In fine, the three nations were at length to be welded into one kingdom, bound together by identity of interests and of aims. 'We are prepared,' said Lord Melbourne's Chancellor of the Exchequer—an Irishman—in the House of Commons in 1835, 'to blot out the Channel.' O'Connell followed him in the debate, and said, 'I am prepared to blot out the Channel too.'

This great compact was made at a turning point in the history of the two countries.

The idea of separation, originated half a century previously by Wolfe Tone, seemed, under the influence and teaching of O'Connell, to have completely passed away.

The idea of repeal had to some extent possession of the popular mind; but O'Connell had not yet flung himself heart and soul into the movement, and the country still remained comparatively quiescent. Just laws, fair play from the Imperial Parliament, and an Executive Government ready not merely to 'consult,' but to 'consider'[7] Irish public opinion, might at this stage have satisfied the

[7] Grattan gave as a reason why he never accepted office in Ireland that he would be 'consulted, but not considered.' 'I was young and poor,' he said; 'I had scarcely 500*l.* a year. Lord Charlemont was as poor as any peer, and I as any commoner. We were, however, determined to refuse office; and our opinion, and a just one too, was, that office in Ireland was different from office in England; it was not a situation held for Ireland, but held for an English Government often in collision with, and frequently hostile to Ireland. We stated that we should be consulted, but not considered.' *Memoirs.*

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Irish people. The Melbourne Ministry during a period of five years earnestly endeavoured to make such laws, to give such fair play, to establish such an Executive Government. What came of the attempt?

The particular legislative remedies proposed by O'Connell were—the abolition of tithes and the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Protestant Church in Ireland to purposes of general usefulness; the reform of the corporations; the extension of the Parliamentary franchise.

Immediately on the assembling of Parliament, the Government took up the questions of tithes and of municipal reform. A bill was introduced for the commutation of tithes into a rent-charge at the lowest percentage of tithe hitherto proposed—viz. 68*l.*—and for the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Established Church 'to the general education of all classes of Christians.' This measure was carried through the Commons, but rejected by the Lords. Year by year, up to 1838, tithe bills were brought forward by Ministers, supported by the Irish party, carried through the Commons in the teeth of a persistent Tory opposition, but rejected in the Lords. Finally, in 1838, after the Government had come back weakened from the general election of 1837, Sir Robert Peel forced Lord Melbourne to accept a plan for the settlement of the question—viz. a bill commuting tithes into a rent-charge at 75*l.* per cent. of the tithe, and containing no appropriation clause at all.

The Government were equally prompt in dealing with the subject of municipal reform, but equally unsuccessful.

Between 1835 and 1840, bills were brought forward by Ministers for the reform of the corporations on fair and liberal lines. These bills were all lost, owing to the opposition of the Tory party and of the House of Lords. At length, in 1840, Peel compelled the Government to accept his plan of municipal reform, as well as he had previously compelled them to accept his plan of tithe reform. An Act was passed disfranchising fifty-eight out of a total of sixty-eight Irish corporations, and conferring a narrow franchise on the remaining municipalities. The subject of Parliamentary Reform was not dealt with at all. Thus the legislative attempt of Lord Melbourne to do justice to the Irish people failed; but his efforts to give them an executive government, based 'on principles of equality, instead of principles of gross preference and injustice, poisoned with religious hatred,'[8] was eminently successful.

Mr. Disraeli described the Irish Executive in 1844 as 'the weakest

[8] 'There came from the time of the Reform Act onward for a period of about ten years,' said Mr. Gladstone at Edinburgh on the 24th of November, 1885, 'a steady endeavour, I believe the first ever made in Ireland, to govern the country by the assistance, in a great degree, of a man famous in his day, perhaps now in a great degree forgotten—Lieutenant Thomas Drummond—to govern the country on principles of equality instead of principles of gross preference and injustice, poisoned with religious hatred.'

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in the world.' It would be scarcely an exaggeration to say that the Irish Executive in 1835–40 was one of the strongest in the world; and it was strong because it was supported by the public opinion of the country.

Lord Melbourne sent to Ireland a ruler who, first among the English governors of that country, showed the qualities necessary for gaining the confidence of the Irish people and winning them over to the side of 'law and order'—viz. a knowledge of Irish history and character, an acquaintance with Irish wants, sympathy with Irish feeling, and an unchangeable determination to be consistently, uniformly, firmly just.

This ruler was Thomas Drummond.[9] Under his powerful administration old abuses were removed and new energies infused into the public service. Government by coercion was dropped; government by the ordinary law was vigorously carried out. Orange arrogance was bridled. Protestantism was deprived of the 'exclusive mastery' it had so long usurped; but no undue favour was shown to the national creed. The people no longer saw their 'bitterest enemies in the foremost places'; but the Ascendency could not point to a single man in the whole administration whom they dare pronounce one-sided, incapable, or corrupt. Indeed, the character of the Government may be well judged by the men who filled the positions of Attorney- and Solicitor-General. The one was Mr. Perrin, a Protestant, the other Mr. O'Loghlen, a Catholic. Both were men of eminence in their profession; both were friends of O'Connell; both were animated by zeal for the public service, and free from the taint of sectarianism.

Even-handed justice in all departments was the distinguishing feature of the Drummond Administration. With one hand the insulting Orange displays were put down; with the other the savage faction fights of the South. In one case, a territorial grandee was deprived the commission of the peace because he had, at a public dinner, proposed a toast 'commemorative of a lawless and disgraceful'[10] conflict in which papist peasants had been butchered by Orange bigots; in another, a police officer was severely rebuked because he had failed to charge and disperse a turbulent Catholic mob.

Centres of popular lawlessness were broken up, and strongholds of Ascendency undermined. Partisan judges were restrained, and the 'wings' of a venal and oppressive magistracy 'clipped.'[11] The horrible struggle between the owners and the cultivators of the soil was dealt with in a fashion new alike to tenants and landlords. On the one hand, agrarian offenders were arrested, tried, convicted, and punished with little difficulty, and without public disapprobation; on the other,

[9] Lord Mulgrave was Lord Lieutenant, and Lord Morpeth Chief Secretary, but Drummond, who filled the post of Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle, was practically the Irish Government.

[10] Drummond's words.

[11] Drummond's expression.

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landlords were censured for acts of oppression, and boldly told to discharge the 'duties' as well as exercise the 'rights of property.' The tithe war, which had fiercely raged in Ireland up to Drummond's arrival, was arrested, and the atrocious practice of sending out military and police to shoot down Papist peasants for refusing to pay tithes to Protestant parsons was completely abandoned. Information was gathered in from all quarters, and every form of opinion taken into account. The popular leaders were frequently 'consulted' and always 'considered,' and the doors of Dublin Castle thrown wide open to all comers without distinction of politics, creed, or class. In fine, an Executive watchful of the interests of all classes and favouring none; vigorous in action, just in conduct, Irish in sympathy, and Imperial in aims—such was the great 'concession' of the Melbourne Ministry to Ireland. 'Put yourselves in contact, not in collision with the people,' said Sheil in resisting Grey's Coercion Act of 1833. Drummond 'put' himself 'in contact with the people,' and died in 1840, bewailed by the nation, and leaving Ireland more tranquil, more loyal to the British connection and the union than she had been at any time previously, or than she has been at any time since.

But after the death of Drummond the Executive system which he had introduced was gradually overturned. In 1841 the Melbourne Ministry, which had become intensely unpopular in England on account of its Irish policy, fell; Sir Robert Peel succeeded to office, and the old order of things was restored. The policy of concession and of political incorporation was arrested, and the system of class government, hand-to-mouth legislation, repressive legislation, no legislation revived. Protestantism again obtained almost the 'exclusive mastery,' and the Irish Executive became 'the weakest in the world.' Agitation and rebellion immediately followed. O'Connell unfurled the banner of Repeal, and, for the first time, flung himself heart and soul into the struggle. Duffy, Davis, and the Young Irelanders sowed the seeds of revolution and recalled the memory and the teachings of Wolfe Tone.

The idea of separation was revived, the idea of repeal was rooted in the public mind. From the death of Robert Emmet to the death of Thomas Drummond there was no separatist party in Ireland. From the death of Drummond to our own time this party has scarcely ever ceased to exist. In 1848 Ireland was in rebellion, in 1858 the Fenian organisation was founded, in 1867 Ireland was in rebellion again.

What, it may fairly be asked, were English statesmen doing all the time from 1841 to 1868, while Irish difficulties were accumulating, while 'the root and occasions of new troubles' were springing up?

From 1841 to 1868 England had ten Administrations. The Prime Ministers were—Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord

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Derby, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby again, Lord Palmerston again, Earl Russell, Lord Derby again, Mr. Disraeli. It would be impossible to point to a single act of any one of these statesmen showing that he understood or, understanding, had the inclination or capacity to grapple with the Irish question. Mr. Disraeli understood it, but did not care about it. Sir Robert Peel cared about it, but did not understand it.

Lord Palmerston thought it beneath contempt. Lord John Russell partly understood it, but wholly gave up the attempt to settle it. Lord Derby partly understood and at one time partly attended to it.

Lord Aberdeen knew nothing whatever about it.

In 1844 Mr. Disraeli stated the Irish question almost in its entirety with great accuracy. He said:—

> I want to see a public man come forward and say what the Irish question is. One says it is a physical question; another a spiritual. Now it is the absence of the aristocracy; now the absence of railways. It is the Pope one day and potatoes the next. . . . A dense population in extreme distress inhabit an island where there is an Established Church which is not their Church; and a territorial aristocracy, the richest of whom live in a distant capital. Thus they have a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, an alien Church, and in addition the weakest Executive in the world.

He continued:—

> Well, what then would hon. gentlemen say, if they were reading of a country in that position? They would say at once, 'The remedy is revolution.' But the Irish could not have a revolution; and why? Because Ireland is connected with another, and a more powerful country. Then what is the consequence? The connection with England became the cause of the present state of Ireland. If the connection with England prevented a revolution, and a revolution was the only remedy, England logically is in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery of Ireland. What then is the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force. That is the Irish question in its integrity.[12]

These were statesmanlike words, but they were never followed by statesmanlike deeds.

Sir Robert Peel's plan for the settlement of the Irish question was the somewhat conflicting one of a grant to Maynooth, and the Queen's University. Both grant and university are now gone, and the great majority of the people—clergy and laity, Protestants and Catholic—regret neither the one nor the other.

Lord Derby understood one Irish question better than any one of his contemporaries—viz. the question of the land; and his Government in 1852 introduced a statesmanlike scheme for its settlement.[13] This scheme was supported by the Irish popular representatives, but defeated by the landowners and the House of Lords.

[12] House of Commons, February 16, 1844.

[13] Mr. Napier's Bill, for which see article on 'Irish Wrongs and English Remedies' in the *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1885.

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After this failure Lord Derby gave up all attempts to settle the Irish question.

Lord John Russell, mindful that the Melbourne Ministry had been wrecked on their Irish policy, steered as clear as he possibly could of all Irish questions for the remainder of his public life. But to Lord Palmerston belongs the distinction of having firmly 'put down his foot,' and consistently adopted a policy of no concession to Ireland.

Alone among the statesmen who occupied a prominent position in English politics between 1841 and 1868, Mr. Bright stood forward as the earnest advocate of the policy of concession and political incorporation inaugurated by William the Third, taken up by Lord Melbourne, and abandoned by Lord Melbourne's successors. But Mr. Bright remained below the gangway from 1843 to 1869. And what came of this abandonment of the 'Williamite-Melbourne policy'; what came of the system of government maintained in Ireland from the fall of the Melbourne Ministry to the accession of Mr. Gladstone to power? The question may be answered in three words—the Fenian movement. Thomas Drummond left Ireland in 1840 tranquil and loyal: Mr. Gladstone found it in 1868 in full sympathy with rebellion.

III. Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone sat in the House of Commons in the days of the Melbourne Ministry; and, it is needless to say, did not at that time support the claims of the Irish Popular Party.

He was, however, neither a bitter, selfish, nor partisan opponent of those claims. His speeches had nothing in them of the Ascendency ring; nothing of that 'political Protestantism' which O'Connell so frequently, so powerfully, and so justly denounced. Upon the question of the Church, which was the great question of the period, he took up a position widely different from that held by any of his party. They defended the Irish Establishment on political, he on religious grounds. Their arguments were the arguments of the Lords Justices[14] who believed that all the 'property' of the country should be in the hands of the Protestants; that all distinctions, rights, privileges—political, social, religious—should be vested in the class that represented what were called 'English interests.' But to Mr. Gladstone the Irish Church question was not a question of 'property' or of 'English interests.' It was a question of religious truth.

The Ascendency regarded the Church as a political engine. Mr. Gladstone regarded it as a religious institution. To the Ascendency the religion of the masses of the people was a matter of indifference so long as their own power remained supreme. To Mr. Gladstone it was

[14] *Ante*, p. 622.

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a matter of anxious moment apart from all personal or national considerations.

The Ascendency supported the Church, ostensibly because it was good for England, really because it was good for themselves. Mr. Gladstone supported it, ostensibly and really because he believed it was good for the Irish people. He desired to see all Ireland Protestant because he believed in Protestantism, and he thought that this end would be achieved through the ministrations of the Protestant Episcopalian Church.

The following extract from his speech on the Tithe Bill of 1836 will put this matter in a clear light:—

> A Church Establishment is maintained either for the sake of its members or its doctrines; for those whom it teaches or for that which it teaches. On the former ground it is not in equity tenable for a moment. Why should any preference be given to me over another fellow-subject, or what claim have I personally to have my religion supported whilst another is disavowed by the State? No claim whatever in respect to myself. I concur entirely with gentlemen opposite, hostile to an Establishment, that no personal privilege ought in such a matter to be allowed. But if, on the contrary, I believe, as the great bulk of the British Legislature does believe, that the doctrine and system of the Establishment contain and exhibit truth in its purest and most effective form; and if we also believe truth to be good for the people universally—then we have a distinct and immovable ground for the maintenance of an Establishment; but it follows as a matter of course from the principle, that it must be maintained, not on a scale exactly and strictly adjusted to the present number of its own members, but on such a scale that it may also have the means of offering to others the benefits which it habitually administers to them. Therefore we wish to see the Establishment in Ireland upheld; not for the sake of the Protestants, but of the people at large, that the Ministers may be enabled to use the influences of their station, of kindly offices and neighbourhood, of the various occasions which the daily intercourse and habits of social life present—ay, and I do not hesitate to add of persuasion itself, applied with a zeal tempered by knowledge and discretion, in the propagation of that which is true, and which, being true, is good as well for those who as yet have it not, as for those who have it.

At what time precisely Mr. Gladstone changed his ground on the subject of the Irish Church it may not, perhaps, be so easy to say. But, having regard to the position which he originally took up, and to the facts which were accumulating to prove that the Protestant Establishment in Ireland had hopelessly failed, it is clear that a change of ground was sooner or later inevitable.

His sole argument, practically, in favour of maintaining the Church was that it would make Ireland Protestant. But when it became evident that the Church was not making Ireland Protestant—that, on the contrary, there were reasons for supposing it was helping to make her more intensely Catholic—then the basis on which that argument rested was completely cut away.

It is clear, I think, that Mr. Gladstone's mind was, for a time, directed to the Irish difficulty when the Maynooth grant was proposed by Sir Robert Peel; and we know as a matter of fact that in

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1847 he refused to pledge himself to stand by the Irish Church—a position from which he never afterwards departed. But many things intervened in the meantime to draw off his attention from the subject, and for several years Irish questions did not seem to occupy any special place in his thoughts, any more than they did in the thoughts of other English Ministers. However, between 1865 and 1868 he returned to the question; and from that time to our own he has given more consideration to the affairs of Ireland than any statesman, with a single exception, since the days of Lord Melbourne—has done more for Ireland than any statesman since the conquest of the country by William the Third. Whatever Mr. Gladstone's opponents or critics may say, one fact they are bound to admit—viz. that at least he had an Irish policy. Of how many Englishmen who were responsible for the government of Ireland since the time of Oliver Cromwell can the same thing be said? Oliver had a policy—brutal, but at all events intelligible and rational; and intelligible and rational because in the thinly populated condition of Ireland at the time it was possible of success, could a succession of Cromwells have been produced.

William the Third had a policy—magnanimous, humane, just. But the men who passed the Penal Laws, and enforced and relaxed them by fits and starts, had no policy. The men who at one time plundered Irish papists and at another admitted them within the pale of the Constitution; who allowed Catholics to hold landed property and excluded them from the franchise; who admitted them to the franchise and excluded them from Parliament; who admitted them to Parliament and excluded them from positions of authority in the State—had no policy. The founder of the national system of education, the authors of the Maynooth grant and the Queen's University, of the Encumbered Estates Act, 'Cardwell's Land Act,' the Intermediate Education Act, and the Royal University had in reality no Irish policy; the men who sent Drummond to Ireland, and the author of the Church Act and of the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 had. These looked at the Irish question as a whole; their predecessors did not. The latter legislated to get rid of temporary difficulties, and then dropped the subject of Ireland. The former legislated to remove permanent evils, and persevered in the work. It was Mr. Bright, I think, who once said that there ought to be an 'Irish session.' Lord Melbourne's Parliament was an Irish Parliament, and so was Mr. Gladstone's of 1868–1874. Mr. Gladstone came into office on an Irish issue; he went out on an Irish issue; [15] and on his resumption of office in 1881 he took up the Irish question again.

The Irish question in 1868 was an 'alien Church,' a vicious land system, unsatisfied Catholic claims respecting education, a grossly

[15] Mr. Gladstone was defeated on the Irish University Bill in March 1873, and tendered his resignation. But Mr. Disraeli refused to take office, whereupon Mr. Gladstone carried on the government for some time longer and then dissolved.

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inadequate Parliamentary franchise, and 'the weakest Executive in the world.' Mr. Gladstone, I repeat, did not take this question up by halves, he took it up as a whole; he tried to deal with it as a whole. He destroyed the Church, reformed the land laws, and was driven from office in consequence of an attempt to deal with the subject of education. Owing in great measure to his exertions, begun in 1868 and resumed in 1881, the Irish question is no longer what it was twenty years ago. The Church is gone, the Land Question almost entirely disposed of, the franchise completely settled, and education in a fair way of settlement.

What, then, is the Irish question of to-day; for Ireland still remains the difficulty and, it may be, the danger of the empire. An island governed by British laws, and within half a day's journey of the British capital, contains a population of 5,000,000, the great majority of which are disaffected to the Legislative Union and bound together by an organisation of vast dimensions and immense power; a disorganised aristocracy loyal to the Union but without political influence or *prestige*; a temporising middle class partly in favour of the establishment of a system of Irish autonomy; a discontented peasantry constituting the bone and sinew of Ireland, all of whom hate the Union or the English connection altogether; an intelligent and insufficiently employed artisan class of 'rebels,' and an 'Executive' which still continues to be 'the weakest in the world'—this is the Irish question of the present day in its 'integrity.' The statesman who can settle it, who can remove the causes of disturbance and the strife of classes, allay agitation, and help to bring about that state of political and social calm which Ireland has never enjoyed, and without which her people can never grow prosperous, will make a suffering nation happy, and a divided empire strong.

But the question of the hour is, By what means can these ends be attained? How can Ireland be made happy and loyal? How can the Empire be strengthened in its only weak part? To my mind this question admits of but one answer: by the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin on such conditions as will secure the unity of the Empire, and will, consistently with that unity, give to Irishmen the fullest control of Irish affairs. In a celebrated pamphlet written in 1798 by Mr. Secretary Cooke,[16] under the inspiration, it was supposed, of Mr. Pitt, the author declares that, if the 'happiness' of the people of Ireland could 'best be obtained by a Federal or an Incorporate Union, such an union ought to be the national object.' 'An Incorporate Union' has been tried, and has proved a signal failure. It was the hope of Mr. Pitt that his great measure would 'calm the disunions, allay the discontents, and dissipate the jealousies which have unfortunately existed.' It was the fear of Sheridan that this measure 'augured not tranquillity, but disquietude; not prosperity,

[16] *Arguments for and against an Union.*

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but calamity; not the suppression of treason, but the extension and increase of plots to multiply and ensanguine its horrors.' It is scarcely necessary to say the fears of the brilliant Irishman, not the hopes of the great English statesman, have been realised. After a trial of eighty-six years, the 'Incorporate Union' has resulted in the return of eighty-six 'Irish rebels' to the Imperial Parliament, in the springing up at the other side of the Atlantic of an Irish nation, inspired by feelings of the deadliest hostility to England, in the existence of plots and murder societies which are a danger to the public peace and a disgrace to our civilisation, in the presence in Ireland itself of four millions of disaffected subjects. Assuredly, in the face of these facts, an 'Incorporate Union' should no longer be 'the national object.'

R. Barry O'Brien.

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A 'NATIONALIST' PARLIAMENT.

I HAVE often wondered whether those gentlemen who assure us that Ireland will be satisfied with nothing less than Grattan's Parliament have ever seriously reflected what Grattan's Parliament under the Constitution of 1782 really was. It consisted, of course, of two Houses—a House of Lords as well as a House of Commons. It was altogether Protestant. It was elected exclusively by Protestants, though, towards the close of its career, it, with signal liberality, admitted the Catholics to the franchise. It was drawn entirely from the section of the community which was indisputably loyal, and it was probably more eminently and specially the representative of property than any legislature that is now existing in the world. But in order still further to secure a constant concurrence between this Legislature and the Legislature of Great Britain, the Government steadily upheld a system of representation under which about two-thirds of the members of the Irish Parliament sat for nomination boroughs, a great proportion of which were at the absolute disposal of the Government. Yet, in spite of all these securities, the task of making the two Legislatures work in harmony was not found to be an easy one, and it was on the great danger that might result from their collision that Pitt chiefly based his argument for the Union. The Constitution of 1782, he said, had established no 'solid, permanent system of connection between the two countries.' Experience had shown 'how inadequate it was to the great object of cementing the connection and placing it beyond the danger of being dissolved.'

It is sufficiently evident from this sketch that no Parliament even remotely resembling that which was abolished in 1800 could now by any possibility be established in Ireland; and it is equally evident that, while the old Parliament was essentially the Parliament of the Irish Loyalists, the Parliament which is now desired would be essentially a Parliament of the disaffected. It would be, in all probability, a single democratic chamber, elected chiefly by an anti-English peasantry, completely sundered from the great interests of property in the country, and consisting mainly of nominees of the National League. The relation of the different classes in Ireland to the Home Rule scheme is perfectly unambiguous. The whole body of the Protestants, with scarcely an exception, have declared themselves against it. They form nearly a million and a quarter of the popula-

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tion and contain far more than their numerical proportion of its wealth, intelligence, and energy. They comprise not only more than ninety per cent. of the proprietors of the soil, but also the flower of the industrial population. It is they who have mainly made Belfast one of the greatest and most prosperous cities in the empire; who have made the linen manufacture the one flourishing industry of Ireland; who have raised a great part of Ulster to a level of civilisation, order, and prosperity worthy of any portion of the empire. Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists, differing in creed and differing in English party politics, they have declared, with a unanimity and emphasis which it is impossible to mistake, that any Irish Parliament which could now be set up would be ruinous to the country, the precursor of anarchy, and probably of civil war. They are not, however, more opposed to it than the Catholic gentry. This class, who in a healthy state of society would occupy a conspicuous if not a dominant place in Irish politics, have, by the action of the National League, been driven almost absolutely out of public life; and if it had not been that a few of their number sit in the House of Lords, they would be reduced to the most complete impotence. The overwhelming majority of the leaders of industry, whether Protestant or Catholic, are on the same side. It is only necessary to examine the list of Mr. Parnell's members of Parliament to perceive how entirely the representative names in Irish industry are excluded from it. The bankers, the large merchants and shopkeepers, the directors of railways, the men who have risen to eminence in the professions, the great employers of labour, the great organisers of industry are entirely absent. The few men of this kind who were connected with it when it was guided by Mr. Butt have almost all fallen away since it has passed under the control of Mr. Parnell, and they look upon Home Rule with undisguised alarm. All those classes in Ireland who are indisputably loyal to the English connection are as indisputably opposed to an Irish Parliament.

It is this profound division of classes in Ireland that makes all arguments derived from the example of federal governments, either in Europe or America, so utterly fallacious. The first question to be asked before setting up a local legislature is, who are the men who are likely to control it? On this point there is no real difference of opinion in Ireland. No argument of the smallest weight has ever been brought forward to show that the men who now predominate in the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament would not equally predominate in an Irish parliament. They would be elected by the same classes. They would come to the poll with the prestige of a great victory. The simple effect of Home Rule would be to confer legislative powers upon the National League.

And what are the sentiments of these men towards Great Britain? To do them justice they have never concealed them. They are men at whose public banquets the toast of the Queen is systematically

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suppressed. At their great demonstrations the American flag is everywhere flaunted, and cheers are given for the Mahdi, or the Russians, or any other real or supposed enemy of England. The harp without the crown is their favourite symbol. One of their most conspicuous members organised the demonstration on the platform of Mallow to insult the Prince of Wales. Another—the present Lord Mayor of Dublin—distinguished himself by refusing to allow British soldiers at his inaugural procession. More than one have been deeply mixed in the Fenian conspiracy. The leader himself assured an American audience that he would not be satisfied till his party had destroyed 'the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England.' The newspapers and the popular literature which support and represent the party have for years been educating the Irish people in the most inveterate unqualified hatred of the British Empire, and have looked on every event in Europe with favour just in proportion as it was supposed to be injurious to British power. Every one who has given any real attention to that press will admit that this statement is the simple unexaggerated truth. It is not, however, the whole truth. The National League is a tree of which the root is in America, where an avowed and savage conspiracy against the British Empire exists, directed by men who have abundantly shown both by their words and by their acts that they would shrink from no crime to attain their ends. It is from America that the Parliamentary fund of the National League mainly comes. Its members in Parliament are as literally paid from the exchequer of a foreign anti-English conspiracy as the British Ministers are from the Consolidated Fund.

These are the men with whom English Ministers have to do; and what is the demand which they make? It is that the whole internal government of Ireland should be placed in their hands; that they should be given the command of that noble army of more than 12,000 constabulary who have displayed during the last terrible years such an admirable fidelity and loyalty; that they should be authorised to arm volunteers; that they should be entrusted with the protection of industry and property, and of the loyal subjects of the Crown; with the power of taxation and with all the influences of patronage and control that belong to a legislative body. That such a surrender to such men should be seriously contemplated, not on the morrow of some crushing military disaster like Jena or Sedan, but by the Ministers of a great and powerful empire, is surely a shameful illustration of how recklessly and unscrupulously the game of party and of place has of late been played, and how seriously the public spirit of the country has been impaired. There are three millions of disaffected in a population of about thirty-six millions; eighty-six disaffected members in a parliament of six hundred and seventy. It is under these conditions that resistance is said to be impossible and the dismemberment of the empire inevitable. Parliamentary government, the Prince Consort once said, is now on its trial. If this be the end of British

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government of Ireland, the historian will have little hesitation in pronouncing that it has not only been tried but condemned.

I do not know whether the experiment of governing Ireland as a part of the empire, by a Parliament such as I have described, will be tried. But it needs little sagacity to predict that no such solution can possibly be permanent. Limitations on the new Parliament may easily be devised, but there will be no power to enforce them, and upon the first conflict with England they will be abrogated by a declaration of rights. The precedents of 1641, of 1689 and of 1782 are there to justify such a course. The Irish question, instead of being settled, will be immensely aggravated by the enormously increased power given to the disloyal. The strain on the connection and the anarchy in Ireland will both become intolerable. It will soon be found necessary to go forwards to complete separation or to go backwards, probably to the abolition of all representation, and whichever course is taken, it will almost certainly be accompanied with bloodshed. To govern Ireland as a part of the empire by a democratic Parliament formed of the elements which are now predominating in that country is the most hopeless of impossibilities.

One other prediction may be safely made. It is that the effects of such a surrender will not be confined to the relations between England and Ireland. I know as a matter of fact that some of the most distinguished men who are, or have lately been, connected with the government of India are watching with keen anxiety the triumphant progress of Irish disaffection on account of the influence it is likely to have on that country. It will be felt there and in every other part of the Queen's dominions, and it will be felt in every country in Europe in the changed estimate of England. Great empires cannot humiliate themselves with impunity. I know no clearer signs of a declining nation than that its statesmen are unable or unwilling to protect peaceful subjects within a few hours of the metropolis, and are prepared to carry on government by compacts with fomenters of outrage. If the surrender of Ireland to the disloyal be accomplished, it will be known throughout Europe that the old governing and imperial spirit which made England what it is has departed; that the days of the empire are numbered, and that the handwriting is already on the wall.

I have spoken of the extreme absurdity of comparing any parliament that could now be established with the old Parliament of the gentlemen of Ireland—a Parliament to which I am not ashamed to say I look back with a feeling of very considerable sympathy and respect. I may add that the present movement differs widely from that of O'Connell. The Repeal agitation of O'Connell was not supported by the subsidies of foreign conspirators, and it was not accompanied to any great extent by that class warfare, and especially by that war against property, which has given its distinctive character and its special danger to the present movement. O'Connell was himself

a considerable landlord. There was in his day no anti-rent agitation, and one of the most creditable incidents in his life was the courage with which he risked his popularity in opposing trade outrages. O'Connell was also frankly loyal to the Crown. His early experience of the horrors of the French Revolution had given him a strong bias in favour of monarchy; cheers for the Queen were constantly given at the Repeal meetings, and he even pushed his view of the prerogative so far as to maintain that it was in the power of the sovereign, without the intervention of the Imperial Parliament, to convene a parliament in Dublin.

But although the Repeal movement of O'Connell was much less dangerous than the present one, it is well known how it was regarded by the greatest English statesmen of every party. Few English public men have known Ireland better than the Duke of Wellington, and he wrote that 'Repeal must occasion the dissolution of the connection with Great Britain,' and he predicted that its inevitable issue in Ireland would be a religious war. Sir R. Peel, who had served as Chief Secretary for Ireland, and was thoroughly acquainted with the conditions of Irish life, was even more emphatic. 'Repeal of the Union,' he said, 'must lead to the dismemberment of this great empire, and must render Great Britain a fourth-rate power in Europe.' Lord Althorp, who then led the Whigs in the House of Commons, echoed the argument of Peel that in the existing state of Ireland a distinct Parliament must necessarily lead to separation; and Lord Grey, the leader of the party, who had in his youth been a strenuous opponent of the Union, declared that 'the effect of its repeal would be ruin to both countries.'

That Home Rule in any form in which it is now likely to be attained would be ruinous to Ireland is indeed not difficult to prove. The policy of Mr. Gladstone and the agitation of Mr. Parnell have together so completely shattered the social type which had existed for generations; they have so effectually destroyed all the old relations of classes and all the more healthy forms of influence and reverence by which Irish society cohered, and they have diffused so widely through three provinces the belief that outrage and violence are the natural means of attaining political ends, that Ireland is at present probably less fitted for prosperous self-government than at any period within the memory of man. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have, indeed, achieved with a curious completeness the end which more than fifty years ago Sir Robert Peel foresaw and dreaded as 'a great, perhaps an irreparable misfortune'—the total 'severance of the connection between the constituent body of Ireland and the natural aristocracy of the country.' If Irish public opinion moved under the direction of men who had the responsibility of property; who were sincerely attached to the connection, and who were animated by a genuine love of individual liberty and a genuine respect for law, a large measure of self-government might, I believe, be profit-

ably granted. But no reasonable man can fail to see how lamentably these essential conditions are now wanting, and it would be difficult to conceive a worse fate that could befall a nation than to be governed by the kind of men who form the present majority of the Irish representatives. That such men, supported by the votes of an ignorant and priest-driven peasantry, could govern the great Protestant population of the North is, to me at least, absolutely incredible. The experiment would only lead to prolonged and acute anarchy; probably to civil war; possibly even to massacre, certainly to a fierce revival of those religious passions which have of late years been happily subsiding. Those passions, indeed, are already reviving, and they are likely in the near future to become again a dominant influence in Irish politics.

In the meantime industrial ruin is rapidly advancing. If you crown Anarchy for your king, whatever else you may have you will certainly not have industrial prosperity under his sceptre. If the ruling power in Ireland is given to men whose policy has been described by Mr. Gladstone himself as a 'policy of public plunder,' and whose whole political action has consisted of a series of attacks upon property and upon the principles on which property is based, capital will most certainly not visit the country. The expropriation of landlords may perhaps settle on a permanent basis the Land Question; but it is a strange comment on the character of the proposed legislature, that it is believed, probably with excellent reason, that such a measure is necessary to prevent that legislature from beginning its career by a course of wholesale plunder. But the contagion of anarchy is no longer confined to land. We have seen the attacks upon the Bank of Ireland; the attacks upon an Irish Steam Company because it performed services which it was not only authorised, but bound by law to perform; the constant interference between employers and labourers; the constant boycotting of shopkeepers who have for any reason incurred the animosity of the League. The House League for breaking contracts between house-owners and lodgers is rapidly spreading, and the conflict between farmers and landlords will probably soon be reproduced in the conflict between labourers and farmers. The result of all this is inevitable. Every banker knows that capital is steadily passing out of the country. Who would found a manufacture in Ireland? Who would invest money in the improvement of land? Who would engage in any industrial enterprise which depended for its success on the fulfilment of contracts in a distant future? Insurance offices no longer lend on Irish property. Wholesale dealers restrict their Irish orders. At the first intimation of Mr. Gladstone's probable conversion to Home Rule there was a great fall in Irish investments. In Ulster the elements of order are so strong that the evil may be arrested, but in the other provinces this impoverishment is steadily continuing. Shopkeepers on the verge of ruin, labourers unemployed, industrial

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enterprises withering rapidly away are the natural and evident results of lawless agitation and of feeble and vacillating government. One inestimable advantage it is true Ireland still has. She shares, and largely shares, in the credit of the empire—the best credit in the world. With a Land League Parliament her credit is likely soon to be on a level with that of Mexico and Honduras.

And what advantage can Home Rule offer to counteract these evils? It is supposed by some that it would check absenteeism. A larger proportion of wealthy Irish gentlemen are said to have lived in Ireland in the days of the old Parliament when the whole government of the country was in their hands than at present. Is it likely that a larger proportion will live there when they are expropriated from their properties, driven out of every form of public life, and placed under a government which they detest? One form of absenteeism may indeed be diminished, for a flight of Irish American conspirators are likely speedily to come over to share the spoils.

I know that the notion has been long and deeply rooted in the Irish mind that a native legislature might foster native industries by protective laws. It is probable that if Home Rule were established, the first conflict with England would be on this ground. But whatever justice there may be in the doctrine that in the early stage of manufactures protective laws are of real advantage, a war of tariffs with England in the existing circumstances of Ireland seems to me the most suicidal of policies. A poor country, with very little capital, and that capital rapidly disappearing, permeated with agitations and subversive principles utterly incompatible with industrial prosperity, Ireland is placed by nature in such a geographical position that England is her only market. America will take nothing from her but men. With the continent of Europe her commercial relations are wholly insignificant. England could at any moment reduce her agriculture to absolute ruin by simply excluding Irish cattle from her market. There was a time when such a measure would have been impossible, for England depended very largely on Ireland for her supply of meat. But the extension of pasture in England, and the immense importation of cattle from America and Australia, have now made it perfectly easy for England to dispense with the Irish supply. With separate and hostile legislatures, and with a desire for protection rising among the British farmers, such a measure would be not only possible but probable.

I have spoken of the force and intelligence of the elements in Ireland that are opposed to Home Rule. That a genuine element of enthusiasm does exist in its favour, I should be the last to deny; but I believe that most of those who know Ireland best will admit that much of it is of the nature of an instinctive, passionate, unreasoning hatred of England formed in the national character by influences which have been in operation for centuries, and are much too strong to be effaced by any mere constitutional changes. There is a spirit in

Ireland, as there is a spirit among the American Fenians, that would never be satisfied without separation, and which after separation would inevitably lead to hostility. Much of the movement however is of a different and more superficial character, and without extreme timidity and vacillation on the part of successive governments it could never have reached its present height. Professional agitation, which American subsidies have made peculiarly lucrative; the longing for change which grows up in periods of poverty and depression; simple intimidation savagely and unscrupulously exercised; the constant preaching of incendiary newspapers; class animosities and jealousies, and many petty questions of patronage and place have all borne a great part in swelling the torrent. With the farmers the land has always been the real question, and if that question were finally settled they would probably become very passive. Already the larger and more prosperous farmers look on Home Rule with alarm, and the great grass farmers have been made the objects of more than one significant menace. With the priests there is the hope of extinguishing Protestantism in great districts, and of placing the whole education of Ireland under sacerdotal influence. Lord Robert Montague has lately supplied some curiously significant evidence of their designs, and the attitude of the Irish priests towards England since every vestige of religious ascendency has been abolished is an instructive lesson to those who imagine that concessions will turn disloyalty into loyalty. But, above all, the present agitation owes its power to its constant and unexpected success; to the encouragement of Irish disloyalty by English politicians; to the abandonment of great districts of Ireland to anarchy; to the manifest bargaining on both sides for the Irish vote; to such speeches as that in which Mr. Gladstone attributed the disestablishment of the Irish Church to the Clerkenwell outrage; to such political transformation scenes as we have recently witnessed.

In the very instructive memorial which Sir Robert Peel sent to the Duke of Wellington in 1829 for the purpose of putting on record the grounds of his great change on the Catholic Question, there is a passage which curiously illustrates the slow and deliberate process by which in past generations great organic changes were carried in England. Five distinct parliaments, he says, had reviewed, and 'four distinct Houses of Commons had come to decisions in favour of a consideration of the Catholic Question.' In our more enlightened days such delay would be impossible. Legislation grows rather with the speed of the mushroom than of the oak, and it is considered quite right and proper that a question like that which is discussed in the present paper, vitally affecting the whole future destiny of the British empire and involving incalculable issues of human happiness or misery, should be pushed through from its inception to its completion in a few months. At the last election it was carefully withdrawn from the consideration of the English constituencies, and no reason was

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given for believing that any prominent statesman had abandoned the uniform tradition and conviction of English statesmanship. When the nearly balanced result of the election was known, a new policy was suddenly sprung upon the country, and it is now maintained in many quarters that a single hurried and successful election is all that is needed to carry it into effect. The influence and ambition of a single statesman, whose past Irish policy has proved probably the most stupendous legislative failure of the nineteenth century; a cry against the House of Lords; a little dexterous party manœuvring; a few skilful appeals to class passions, animosities, or interests wholly unconnected with the great question at issue, and a majority may be obtained, fully competent, it is assumed, to force a measure for the disintegration of the empire through all its stages and undo the work of seven hundred years.

It would be difficult to conceive a policy more opposed to the best tendencies of the time. In the lifetime of those who have attained middle age three great works have been accomplished in the world which far transcend all others in importance, and of which it is probably no exaggeration to say that the memory can never pass while the human race remains upon this planet. One of them, which is connected with the great name of Cavour, was the movement of unification by which the old and illustrious, but weak because divided, States of Italy were drawn together and fused into one great and prosperous kingdom. Another, which is chiefly connected with the name of Bismarck, was that movement of unification which has made Germany the most powerful nation upon the Continent. The third, which may I believe one day be thought the most important of the three, was due much less to the genius of any statesman than to the patriotism and courage of a great democracy. It was the contest of America with the spirit of secession which had arisen within its border; and although that spirit was spread over a far larger area than Ireland; although it existed over that area in a far larger proportion of the population than in Ireland, and was supported by an immeasurably greater amount of earnestness and self-sacrifice, it has now disappeared, and the present generation of Americans have in all human probability secured for centuries the unity of the great Republic of the West. These have been the contributions of other nations to the history of the nineteenth century. Shall it be said of English statesmen that their most prolific and most characteristic work has been to introduce the principle of dissolution into the very heart of their empire?

W. E. H. Lecky.

The Editor of The Nineteenth Century *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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THE NADIR OF LIBERALISM.

'Demas hath forsaken me'—so the deserted and dejected Muse of Literature may say—'Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and hath betaken himself to this or that constituency.' It is now more than fifteen years since I exhorted my young literary and intellectual friends, the lights of Liberalism, not to be rushing into the arena of politics themselves, but rather to work inwardly upon the predominant force in our politics—the great middle class—and to cure its spirit. From their Parliamentary mind, I said, there is little hope; it is in getting at their real mind, and making it work honestly, that all our hope lies. For from the boundedness and backwardness of their spirit, I urged, came the inadequacy of our politics; and by no Parliamentary action, but by an inward working only, could this spirit and our politics be made better. My exhortations were as fruitless as good advice usually is. The great Parliamentary machine has gone creaking and grinding on, grinding to much the same result as formerly. But instead of keeping aloof, and trying to set up an inward working on the middle-class spirit, more and more of one's promising young friends of former days have been tempted to put their hands to the machine; and there one sees them now, helping to grind—all of them zealous, all of them intelligent, some of them brilliant and leading.

What has been ground, what has been produced with their help? Really very much the same sort of thing which was produced without it. Certainly our situation has not improved, has not become more solid and prosperous, since I addressed to my friends, fifteen years ago, that well-meant but unavailing advice to work inwardly on the

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great Philistine middle class, the master-force in our politics, and to cure its spirit. At that time I had recently been abroad, and the criticism which I heard abroad on England's politics and prospects was what I took for my text in the first political essay with which I ventured to approach my friends and the public. The middle class and its Parliament were then in their glory. Liberal newspapers heaped praise on the middle-class mind, 'which penetrates through sophisms, ignores commonplaces, and gives to conventional illusions their true value;' ministers of State heaped praise on 'the great, the heroic work' performed by the middle-class Parliament. But the foreigners made light of our middle-class mind, and, instead of finding our political performance admirable and successful, declared that it seemed to them, on the other hand, that the era for which we had possessed the secret was over, and that a new era, for which we had not the secret, was beginning. Just now I have again been abroad, and under present circumstances I found that the estimate of England's action and success under a Liberal Government had, not unnaturally, sunk lower still. The hesitancy, imbecility, and failure of England's action abroad, it was said, have become such as to delight all her enemies, and to throw all her friends into consternation. England's foreign policy, said some clever man, reminds me of nothing so much as of Retz's character of the Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis the Thirteenth: 'There was a wide distance, with him, between wishing and willing, between willing and resolving, between resolving and the choice of means, between the choice of means and the putting them in execution. But what was most wonderful of all, it frequently happened that *he came to a sudden stop even in the midst of the putting into execution.*' There, said the speaker, is a perfect prophecy of England in Egypt! At home we had Ireland; to name Ireland is enough. We had the obstructed and paralysed House of Commons. Then, finally, came the news one morning of the London street-mobs and street-riots, heightening yet further the impression of our impotence and disarray. The recent trial and acquittal of the mob-orators will probably complete it.

With very many of those who thus spoke, with all the best and most important of them at any rate, malicious pleasure in our misfortunes, and gratified envy, were not the uppermost feelings; indeed, they were not their feelings at all. Do not think, they earnestly said, that we rejoice at the confusion and disablement of England; there may be some, no doubt, who do; perhaps there are many. We do not. England has been to us a cynosure, a tower, a pride, a consolation; we rejoiced in her strength; we rested much of our hope for the Continent upon her weight and influence there. The decline of her weight and influence we feel as a personal loss and sorrow. That they have declined, have well-nigh disappeared, no one who uses his eyes can doubt. And now, in addition, what are we to

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think of the posture of your affairs at home? What is it all coming to? It seems as if you were more and more getting among the breakers, drifting towards the shoals and the rocks. Can it really be so? and is the great and noble ship going to break to pieces?

No, I answered; it is not going to break to pieces. There are sources, I trust, of deliverance and safety which you do not perceive. I agree with you, however, that our foreign policy has been that of people who fumble because they cannot make up their mind, and who cannot make up their mind because they do not know what to be after. I have said so, and I have said why it is and must be so: because this policy reflects the dispositions of middle-class Liberalism, with its likes and dislikes, its effusion and confusion, its hot and cold fits, its want of dignity and of the steadfastness which comes from dignity, its want of ideas and of the steadfastness which comes from ideas. I agree, too, that the House of Commons is a scandal, and Ireland a crying danger. I agree that monster processions and monster meetings in the public streets and parks are the letting out of anarchy, and that our weak dealing with them is deplorable. I myself think all this, and have often, too often, said it. But the mass of our Liberals of the middle and lower classes do not see it at all. Their range of vision and of knowledge is too bounded. They are hardly even conscious that the House of Commons is a scandal or that Ireland is a crying danger. If it suited their favourite minister to tell them that neither the one nor the other allegation is true, they would believe him. As to foreign policy, of course it does suit him to tell them that the allegation that England has lost weight and influence is not true. And when the minister, or when one of his ardent young officials on their promotion, more dauntless than the minister himself, boldly assures them that England has not at all lost weight and influence abroad, and that our foreign policy has been sagacious, consistent, and successful, they joyfully believe him. Or when one of their minister's colleagues assures them that the late disturbances were of no importance, a mere accident which will never happen again, and that monster processions and monster meetings in the public streets and parks are proper and necessary things, which neither can be prohibited nor ought to be prohibited, they joyfully believe him. And with us in England, although not in the great world outside of England, those who thus think or say that all is well are the majority. They may say it, replied the speaker already mentioned, who has a turn for quotation; they may say it. But the answer for them is the answer made by Sainte-Beuve to M. Rouher asserting that all was well with the Second Empire in its closing years: 'He may say so if he pleases, but he deceives himself, and he thinks contrary to the general opinion.'

Yet surely there must be something to give ground to our prevalent notion of Mr. Gladstone as a great and successful minister. Not only the rank and file, the unthinking multitude, of the Liberal

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party, have it and proclaim it, but the leaders, the intelligent and educated men, embrace it just as confidently. Lord Ripon speaks of 'the policy we might expect from the glorious antecedents of Mr. Gladstone.' Professor Thorold Rogers calls him 'that veteran statesman with fifty years of victory behind him.' Mr. Reginald Brett says that any scheme for Ireland which he produces will be 'a scheme based on his unrivalled experience of the art of government.' Mr. John Morley says that 'in his great abilities and human sympathy will be found the only means capable of solving the great Irish question.' Sir Horace Davey 'will not hesitate to say that he has confidence in Mr. Gladstone, and that he believes the country also has confidence in Mr. Gladstone. The Liberals of England would not soon withdraw their confidence from that illustrious statesman, who had so often led them to victory.' Surely there must be some foundation or other for this chorus of eulogy and confidence. Surely there must have been great success of some kind, surely there must have been victory.

Most certainly there has been victory. But has there been success? The two things are often confounded together, and in the popular estimate of Mr. Gladstone we have a signal instance of the confusion. He has been victorious, true; he has conquered, he has carried his measures. But he has not been successful. For what is success for a statesman; is it merely carrying his measures? The vulgar may think so, but a moment's reflection will tell us that the vulgar are wrong; that success for a statesman is succeeding in what his measures are designed to do.

This is the test of a statesman's success, and the great and successful statesmen are those whose work will bear trying by it. Cavour and Prince Bismarck are statesmen of our own time who are really great, because their work did what it was meant to do. Cavour's design was to make a united Italy, Prince Bismarck's to make a strong Germany; and they made it. No minor success, no success of vanity, no success of which the issue is still problematical and which requires other successes for its accomplishment, will suffice to assure this title of *successful* to a statesman. To some people Prince Bismarck seems great because he can snub all the world, and has even been enabled, by an incredible good fortune, to snub the proudest of countries and the one country against which, above all others, he was powerless—England. These successes of vanity are nothing. Neither is he to be called a successful statesman because he carried the May laws, for it is as yet uncertain whether the end which those laws were designed to attain they will accomplish. But let us see, then, what it is which does indeed make Prince Bismarck a great and successful statesman, a statesman whose 'antecedents,' to take Lord Ripon's phrase, are indeed 'glorious.' He is successful because, finding his country with certain dangers and certain needs, he has

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laboured for forty years, at first as a subordinate, but for the far greater part of the time as principal, to remove the one and to satisfy the other.

Germany had needs, she found impediments or she found perils to her national life, on the side of Denmark, Austria, Russia, France. First her needs on the side of Denmark were satisfied, in spite of the opposition of France and England. Graver difficulties had to be faced next. A strong Germany was impossible without a strong Prussia. But Prussia seemed to be one of the Great Powers only in name; Austria, thwarting and supercilious, checked her movements at every turn, frustrated all efforts to consolidate Germany. Except by Prussia's beating Austria, the consolidation of Germany could not go forward; but a war with Austria—what a difficult war was that for a Prussian minister to make! Prince Bismarck made it, and the victory of Sadowa gave Prussia free action in Germany. But except free action in Germany, Prince Bismarck demanded nothing from Austria; no territory, no indemnity—not a village, not a shilling.

Russia had saved Austria from the Hungarians, why did she not save her from the Prussians? Because the Prussian Government, foreseeing the future, foreseeing the inevitable struggle with Austria, had refused to take part with the Western Powers in the Crimean War—a foolish and prejudicial war for England, but which would have been still more foolish and prejudicial for Prussia. Austria had in a half-hearted way taken part with the Western Powers; Russia's neutrality in Austria's war with Prussia was Prussia's reward for the past and Austria's punishment.

Meanwhile at Prussia's success France looked on, palpitating with anger and jealousy. A strong Germany was a defiance to all French traditions, and the inevitable collision soon came. France was defeated, and the provinces required to give military security to Germany were taken from her. Why had not Austria now sought to wreak her revenge on Prussia by siding with France? She had Russia to still reckon with in attempting to do so. But what was of yet more avail to stay her hand was that Prince Bismarck, as has been already mentioned, had with admirable wisdom entirely forborne to amerce and humiliate her after Sadowa, and had thus made it possible for the feelings of German Austria to tend to his side.

For the last fifteen years he has constantly developed and increased friendly relations with Austria and Russia. As regards France, whose friendship was impossible, he has kept Germany watchful and strong. Those legitimate needs and that security of Germany, which thirty years ago seemed unattainable for her, he has attained. Germany, which thirty years ago was hampered, weak, and in low esteem, is now esteemed, strong, and with her powers all at command. It was a great object, and the great *Reichskanzler* has attained it. Such are Prince Bismarck's victories.

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I observe that Mr. John Morley, like many people in this country, speaks of the work of Prince Bismarck as something extremely precarious, and likely to crumble away and vanish as soon as the Emperor William dies. 'When the disappearance of Kaiser Wilhelm dissolves the fabric of the Triple Alliance, new light will be thrown on the stability of governments which are anti-democratic.' In my opinion, Mr. Morley deceives himself. Advanced Liberals are always apt to think that a condition of things where the people cannot hold whatever meetings and processions they like, and wherever they like, is an unnatural condition and likely to dissolve. But I see no signs which show that Prince Bismarck and his policy will disappear with the Emperor William. The Crown Prince is too judicious a man to desire it; even if he desired it, I doubt whether he could bring it about. The state of Germany is, unless I am much mistaken, more solid than our own. Prince Bismarck commits errors, the German character has faults, German life has deficiencies; but the situation there is a great deal more solid, and Prince Bismarck far more fixed in the national affections, than our Radicals suppose.

But now let us come to the victories of Mr. Gladstone. Are they not victories only, but successes? that is, have they really satisfied vital needs and removed vital dangers of the nation? Sir Robert Peel's abolition of the Corn Laws may be said to have removed a risk of social revolt. But the general development of Free Trade cannot absolutely, as we are all coming to see, be said to have satisfied vital needs and removed vital dangers of the nation; free trade is not, it is now evident, a machinery making us by its own sole operation prosperous and safe; it requires, in order to do this, many things to supplement it, many conditions to accompany it. The general development of free trade we cannot, therefore, reckon to Mr. Gladstone as a success of the sort which stamps a statesman as gloriously successful. The case was one not admitting of a success of the kind. On foreign affairs I shall not touch; his best friends will not allege his successes there. But at home for a success of the kind wanted, a true and splendid success, Mr. Gladstone has had three great opportunities. He had them in dealing with the Irish Church, with the Irish land question, with obstruction in Parliament. In each case he won a victory. But did he achieve not only a victory, but that which is the only real and true success for a statesman? did he, by his victory, satisfy vital needs and remove vital dangers of his country? Did he in the case of the Irish Church? The object there for a statesman was to conciliate the Catholic sentiment of Ireland; did his measure do this? The Liberal party affirmed that it did, the Liberal newspapers proclaimed it 'a great and genial policy of conciliation,' and one of Mr. Gladstone's colleagues told us that the Ministry had 'resolved to knit the hearts of the empire into one harmonious concord, and knitted they were accordingly.' True, there were voices

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(mine was one of them) which said differently. 'It is fatal to the English nation,' I wrote in *Culture and Anarchy*, 'to be told by its flatterers, and to believe, that it is abolishing the Irish Church through reason and justice when it is really abolishing it through the Nonconformists' antipathy to establishments; fatal to expect the fruits of reason and justice from anything but the spirit of reason and justice.' This was unpopular language from an insignificant person, and was not listened to. But who doubts now that the Catholic sentiment of Ireland was not in the very least conciliated by the measure of 1868, and that the reason why it was not and could not be conciliated by it was that the measure was of the nature above described?

The Irish Land Act, in like manner, was a victory but not a success. It was carried, it was applauded; the Liberal party duly extolled it as 'a scheme based on Mr. Gladstone's unrivalled experience in the art of government.' But did it satisfy vital needs and remove vital dangers? Evidently not; the legislation now proposed for Ireland is impregnable proof of it. Did the victory, again, achieved in the reform of procedure, achieved by Mr. Gladstone wielding a great majority and spending the time of Parliament without any stint, did this victory succeed? Did it satisfy the nation's needs and remove the nation's dangers as regards obstruction in the House of Commons? Why, the Conservatives have had to devise a fresh scheme, and the Liberal Government has had to adopt it from them and is at this moment working in concert with them to mature it!

Well then, 'our veteran statesman with his fifty years of victory behind him,' with his 'glorious antecedents,' with his 'unrivalled experience in the art of government,' turns out, in the three crucial instances by which we can test him, not to have succeeded as a statesman at all, but on the contrary to have failed. 'Let me try again,' he is now saying. And Mr. Morley assures us that in 'Mr. Gladstone's great abilities and human sympathy will be found the only means capable of solving the great Irish problem.' The mass of Liberal voices chime eagerly in with Mr. Morley. I do not deny the great abilities and the human sympathy; I admit them to the fullest extent. I do not even say that Mr. Gladstone is to be blamed for not having succeeded. But succeeded, in the true sense of the word, he has not; his work as a statesman has hitherto failed to satisfy the country's vital needs, to remove the country's vital dangers. When, therefore, he proposes, in a most critical condition of things, to fall to work again on a bigger scale than ever, we may well feel anxious. We may well ask ourselves what are the causes which have kept him back from a statesman's true success hitherto, and whether they will not also keep him back from it in what he purposes to do now.

The reason why Mr. Gladstone has not succeeded hitherto in the

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real and high work of a statesman is that he is in truth not a statesman, properly so called, at all, but an unrivalled parliamentary leader and manager. A little development is needed to bring out clearly what I mean.

Mr. Gladstone is the minister of a party and a period of expansion, the minister of the Liberals—the Liberals whose work it should be to bring about the modern development of English society. He has many requisites for that leadership. Everybody will admit that in effectiveness as a public speaker and debater he cannot be surpassed, can hardly be equalled. Philosophers may prefer coolness and brevity to his heat and copiousness; but the many are not philosophers, and his heat and copiousness are just what is needed for popular assemblies. His heat and copiousness, moreover, are joined with powers and accomplishments, with qualities of mind and character, as admirable as they are rare. The absence in him of aristocratical exclusiveness is one of the causes of his popularity. But not only is he free from *morgue*, he has also that rarest and crowning charm in a man who has triumphed as he has, been praised as he has: he is genuinely modest. Every one should read in proof of this a beautiful and touching letter from him in Hope Scott's Life, a letter so deeply modest, and yet breathing, at the same time, the very spirit of sincerity. If one could be astonished at anything in political partisans, I should be astonished at the insensibility of his opponents to the charm of Mr. Gladstone. I think him an unsuccessful, a dangerous minister; but he is a captivating, a fascinating personality.

Why then, with all these gifts and graces, does he fail as a statesman? Probably because, having to be the minister of the modern development of English society, he was born in 1809. The minister of a period of concentration, resistance, and war, may be spiritually rooted in the past; not so the minister of a work of civil development in a modern age. I once ventured to say to Lord Salisbury, before he became the leading personage he is now, that he interested me because, though a Conservative, he was reared in a post-Philistine epoch and influenced by it. I meant that his training had fallen on a time when a man of his powers and cultivation must needs get a sense of how the world is really going, a sense which the old time of routine and fictions was without. Lord Salisbury is a Conservative leader; his business is to procure stability and prominence for that which already exists, much of it undeniably precious. He may have a sense in his own inner mind of what is mere survival of routine and fiction from the past and of how the modern world is really going, but that knowledge has not to be the grand spring and motor of his public action. A Liberal leader here in England is, on the other hand, a man of movement and change, called expressly to the task of bringing about a modern organisation

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of society. To do this, he should see clearly how the world is going, what our modern tendencies and needs really are, and what is routine and fiction in that which we have inherited from the past. But of how few men of Mr. Gladstone's age can it be said that they see this! Certainly not of Mr. Gladstone. Some of whom it cannot be said may be more interesting figures than those of whom it can; Cardinal Newman is a more interesting figure, Mr. Gladstone himself is a more interesting figure, than John Stuart Mill. But a Liberal leader of whom it cannot be said that he sees how the world is really going is in a false situation. And Mr. Gladstone's perception and criticism of modern tendencies is fantastic and unsound, as his criticism of Homer is fantastic and unsound, or his criticism of Genesis. But he loves liberty, expansion; with his wonderful gifts for parliamentary and public life he has naturally an irresistible bent to political leadership; he will lead the Liberal party. And he will lead it, he will lead this great party of movement and change, by watching their mind, adapting his programme to it, and relying on their support and his own inexhaustible resources of energy, eloquence, and management, to give him the victory.

But the task of providing light and leading is thus shifted upon men yet more incompetent for it than Mr. Gladstone. It is thrown upon the middle class in English society, the class where lay the strength of the Liberal party until the other day, and upon the working class, which conjointly with the middle class makes its strength now. Both are singularly bounded, our working class reproducing, in a way unusual in other countries, the boundedness of the middle. Both have invaluable qualities, closely allied, as generally happens, with their defects. The sense for conduct in our middle class is worth far more than the superior intellectual lucidity to be found in divorce from that sense among middle classes elsewhere; the English workman, as a great Swiss employer of labour testified to me the other day, is still the best in the world; the English peasant is patient, faithful, respectful, kindly, as no other. But range of mind, large and clear views, insight—we must not go to our middle and lower class for these. Yet it is on our middle and lower class that the task is really thrown, Mr. Gladstone's gifts and deficiencies being what they are, of determining the programme of Liberal movement for our community, and indeed of determining the programme of our foreign policy also; while Mr. Gladstone finds the management and talents for insuring victory to the programmes so determined. Thus it is that our foreign policy has been what we have seen it; thus it came about that the Irish Church was abolished by the power of the Dissenters' antipathy to Church Establishments. And so we find that precisely the reverse happens of what Mr. Frederic Harrison bids us expect; the minister, says he, initiates, the untrained elector simply finds a good minister. 'Now very plain

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men know how to find the set of ministers who wish them well and will bring them good.' But we see that in fact our Liberal electorate has the task thrown upon it not only of choosing a good minister, but also of determining what the good shall be which this minister is to bring us.

Such, then, is our situation. A captivating Liberal leader, generous and earnest, full of eloquence, ingenuity, and resource, and a consummate parliamentary manager—but without insight, and who as a statesman has hitherto not succeeded, but failed. A Liberal party, of which the strength and substance is furnished by two great classes, with sterling merits and of good intentions, but bounded and backward. A third factor in our situation must not be unnoticed —an element of Jacobinism. It is small, but it is active and visible. It is a sinister apparition. We know its works from having seen them so abundantly in France; it has the temper of hatred and the aim of destruction. There are two varieties of Jacobin, the hysterical Jacobin and the pedantic Jacobin; we possess both, and both are dangerous.

At such a moment Ireland sends eighty-five Home Rulers to the House of Commons; and the Irish question, which had previously given to Mr. Gladstone so much occasion for showing how he can conquer without succeeding, must be dealt with seriously at last. What grand scope is here offered for the talents of the great Parliamentary manager! The thing is, to have the eighty-five Home Rulers voting solid with the Liberal party. How is it to be effected? The generous and ardent feelings of Mr. Gladstone rush to his aid. Ireland has been abominably governed! True. Ireland desires autonomy more hotly than any other part of these islands desires it! Very naturally. Why then should we not give to the Irish what they so hotly desire? Why not indeed? responds the Liberal party. Only there must be no endowment of religion, no endowment, above all, of Popish superstition! There shall be none, says Mr. Gladstone. In that case, replies his Liberal following, go on and prosper! Let the Irish have what the majority of them like. It is the great blessedness for man to do as he likes; if men very much wish for a thing, we ought to give it them if possible. This is the cardinal principle of Liberalism; Mr. Fox proclaimed it.

Yes, Mr. Fox proclaimed it—the brilliant and generous schoolboy! But what would Burke have said to it? Nay, even a sagacious woman, who had closely watched a time of civil trouble, knew better. 'Quand les hommes se révoltent, ils sont poussés par des causes qu'ils ignorent; *et, pour l'ordinaire, ce qu'ils demandent n'est pas ce qu'il faut pour les apaiser.*' Men are driven to revolt by causes not clearly known to them; and in general the thing they call for is not the thing requisite to content them. The observation is profoundly just and true.

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The project of giving a separate Parliament to Ireland has every fault which a project of State can have. It takes one's breath away to find an English statesman propounding it. With islands so closely and inextricably connected together by nature as these islands of ours, to go back in the at least formal political connection attained, to make the political tie not closer but much laxer, almost to undo it —what statesmanship! And when, estranged from us in feeling as Celtic Ireland unhappily is, we had yet in Ulster a bit of Great Britain, we had a friend there, you propose to merge Ulster in Celtic Ireland! you propose to efface and expunge your friend! Was there ever such madness heard of?

Those Irishmen, who may happen to know anything about so unimportant a person as I am, will know that I am no enemy of Ireland. They will therefore, I hope, have patience with me while I tell them the truth. The more intensely the Irish desire a separate Parliament, the more it proves that they ought not to have one. If they cry out for a separate Irish Parliament when Scotland and Wales do not cry out for a Scotch or Welsh Parliament, that is not a reason for giving such a Parliament to Ireland rather than to Scotland or Wales, but just the contrary. The Irish desire it so much because they are so exasperated against us. The exasperation is good neither for us nor for themselves. The thing is to do away with the sense of exasperation by removing its causes, to make them friends. The causes of the exasperation are not in our political tie with them, but in our behaviour and treatment. Amend the behaviour and treatment by all means. But simply to cut the Irish adrift in their present state of feeling, to send them away with the sense of exasperation rankling, with the memory of our behaviour and treatment fresh in their minds, what is it but to leave the sense of exasperation to last for ever, and to give them more full and free scope for indulging it? No gratitude for a measure which its supporters are already recommending by the ignoblest appeals to our fears will prevent this. To our fears the measure will be imputed; and to our fears or our foolishness, and to no more worthy or winning motive, will it indeed be due. Every guarantee we take, every limit we impose, will be an occasion for fret and friction. The temptation to the Irish legislature *ampliare jurisdictionem*, to extend and enlarge its range of action, will be irresistible; the very brilliancy and verve of Irishmen necessitate it. The proper public field for an Irishman of signal ability is the Imperial Parliament. There his faculties will find their right and healthful scope; he is good for us there, and we for him. But he will find scope for his faculties in an Irish Parliament only by making it what it was not meant to be, and what it cannot be without danger. It will be a sensation Parliament —a Parliament of shocks and surprises.

Ask those 'thoughtful Americans' who in conjunction with his

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own terrors are the mighty persuaders of Mr. Whitbread's mind, ask them what they would think of a proposal to make the South one homogeneous political body distinct from the North, and with a separate Congress in Richmond. They will laugh. The South, they will say, is certainly much inferior in strength and population to the North. But such a Congress would inevitably come to regard itself as a rival to the Congress at Washington, the Southern States which are in sympathy with the North would be swamped by those which are not; it would be a perpetual stimulus to secession. And then let Mr. Whitbread, if his tremors have left him any voice, ask his 'thoughtful Americans' what it is which they are so thoughtfully and kindly exhorting him to do in Ireland!

This brings me to the challenge constantly thrown out to those who condemn Mr. Gladstone's plan of an Irish Parliament, to produce an alternative policy of their own. Why, really such a policy, in its main lines, which are all the state of the case at present requires, produces itself! Let us give to our South, not a single central Congress, but provincial legislatures. Local government is the great need for us just now throughout these islands; the House of Commons is far too large a body, and is weighted with much work which it ought not to have. But in Great Britain we have this difficulty: the counties would give us local legislatures too numerous, and not strong enough; and we have no provinces. The difficulty may be overcome, but a difficulty it is. But in Ireland it does not present itself; Ireland has four provinces. Ireland's strong desire for local government is no good reason for giving Ireland an Irish Parliament; but it is a good reason for seizing as promptly as possible any fit means for organising local government there, and for so organising it even before we organise it in Great Britain; and such means the Irish provinces supply. Munster and Connaught may probably be considered as of one character, and some of western Ulster, as being of the same character, might go naturally with them. But we have at least three divisions in Ireland, each of them with a distinct stamp and character of its own, and affording, each of them, materials for a separate provincial assembly: Ulster proper, or British Ireland; Leinster, or metropolitan Ireland; Munster and Connaught, or Celtic Ireland. Evidently the assembly representing British Ireland would be one thing, the assembly representing Celtic Ireland quite another. Perhaps Leinster, the old seat of the capital and of metropolitan life, would give us an assembly different in character from either. So much the better. Each real and distinct part of Ireland would have its own legislature, and would govern its own local affairs; each part would be independent of the others, neither of them would be swamped by the others. The common centre would be the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. There the foremost Irish-

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men would represent Ireland, while for the notables of each province the provincial legislatures would afford a field.

It is deemed enough to say, in condemnation of any scheme of this kind, that it is not what the majority of the Irish are demanding, and that the eighty-five members who follow Mr. Parnell would not accept it. But carry it, and what would happen? Would not Ulster accept it? It is just what Ulster desires, while a general Irish Parliament is just what Ulster fears. Would Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, metropolitan and Celtic Ireland, refuse to accept? How would they carry their refusal into effect? They could only do so by the majority abstaining from the election of members for the provincial legislatures. But this would leave those assemblies to be elected by the minority, who would assuredly elect them gladly enough, but how would that suit the majority? No, the Home Rulers may say that nothing less than an Irish Parliament will they accept, and no wonder that, with Mr. Gladstone's offer before them, they should say so; but once carry a plan for establishing provincial legislatures, and they will come into it before long.

And indeed one cannot but at first feel astonishment that Mr. Gladstone should have preferred to such a plan his plan for an Irish Parliament. Last year I was often and often inclined to say as to Egypt: With one tenth of the ingenuity and pains which Mr. Gladstone spends to prove, what neither he nor any one else ever *can* prove, that his Egyptian policy has been sagacious, consistent, and successful, he might have produced an Egyptian policy sagacious, consistent, and successful. So one may say now as to Ireland: With one tenth of the ingenuity and pains which Mr. Gladstone is expending upon a bad and dangerous measure for Ireland, he might have produced a good and safe one. But alas, he is above all a great Parliamentary manager! Probably he is of the same opinion with Cardinal de Retz, who has been already mentioned; he thinks 'that it takes higher qualities to make a good party-leader than to make a good emperor of the universe.' The eighty-five Parnellite members added to the Liberal majority, and enabling him, as he hopes, to defy opposition and to carry his measure victoriously, are irresistible to him. To the difficult work of a statesman he prefers the work for which he has such a matchless talent—the seemingly facile but really dangerous strokes of the Parliamentary tactician and party manager.

Not that he himself foresees danger from it. No, that is the grave thing. He does not foresee danger. Statesmen foresee, Mr. Gladstone does not. He no more foresees danger from his Irish Parliament than he foresaw that his abolition of the Irish Church would not conciliate Catholic sentiment in Ireland, or that his Land Act would not conciliate the Irish peasant. He has no foresight because he has no insight. With all his admirable gifts he has little

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more real insight than the rank and file of his Liberal majority, people who think that if men very much want a thing they ought to have it, and that Mr. Fox's dictum makes this certain. It is this confiding majority under this unforeseeing leader which makes me tremble. Will anything ever awaken either the leader or the followers to a sense of danger? When the vessel of State is actually grinding on the rocks, will Mr. Gladstone be still cheerfully devising fresh strokes of management; and, when not engaged in applauding him, will Mr. Illingworth be still prattling about disestablishment and Mr. Stansfeld about contagious disease?

I have long been urging 'that the performance of our Liberals was far less valuable than they supposed, that their doings wanted more of simple and sincere thought to direct them, and that by their actual practice, however prosperous they might fancy themselves, they could not really succeed.' But now they do really seem to have done what the puzzled foreigners imagine England altogether has done—to have reached the nadir. They have shown us about the worst that a party of movement can do, when that party is bounded and backward and without insight, and is led by a manager of astounding skill and energy, but himself without insight likewise. The danger of our situation is so grave that it can hardly be exaggerated. People are shocked at even the mention of the contingency of civil war. But the danger of civil war inevitably arises whenever two impossible parties, full of hatred and contempt for each other, with no mediating power of reason to reconcile them, are in presence. So the English civil war arose when, facing and scornfully hating one another, were two impossibilities: the prerogative of the King and the license of the Cavaliers on the one side, the hideousness and immense *ennui* of the Puritans on the other. The Vendean war arose out of a like collision between two implacable impossibilities: the old *régime* and Jacobinism. Here lies the danger of civil war in Ireland, if the situation cannot find rational treatment; Protestant ascendency is impossible, but the Ulster men will not let bunglers, in removing it, drag them down to a lower civilisation without a struggle. Nay, the like danger exists for England itself. Change we must; but if a Liberal party with no insight, led by a victorious manager who is no statesman, brings us to failure and chaos, the existing England will not let itself be ruined without a struggle.

Therefore at the present time that need for us, on which I have so often and so vainly insisted, to let our minds have free and fair play, no longer to deceive ourselves, to brush aside the claptrap and fictions of our public and party life, to be lucid, to get at the plain simple truth, to see things as they really are, becomes more urgent, more the one thing needful for us, than ever. That sentence of Butler, which I have more than once quoted in past times, acquires now a heightened, an almost awful significance. '*Things are what they*

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are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be; why then should we desire to be deceived?' The laws which govern the course of human affairs, which make this thing salutary to a nation and that thing pernicious, are not of our making or under our power. Our wishing and asserting can avail nothing against them. Lord Ripon's calling Mr. Gladstone's antecedents glorious cannot make them other than what they are—Parliamentary victories, but a statesman's failures. Mr. Morley's 'great triumph' in the election of '330 Liberal members, more or less, who without excessive arrogance may be taken to be the best men in the way of intelligence and honesty that the Liberal party can produce,' cannot make the Liberal party, both in and out of Parliament, other than what it is—a party of bounded and backward mind, without insight. Deluders and deluded, the utterers of these phrases may fancy them solid while they utter them, the hearers while they hear them. But solid they cannot make them; and it is not on the thing being asserted and believed, but on its being really true or false, that our welfare turns.

Whatever may be the faults of the Liberal party, 'the Conservative party at any rate,' says Mr. Bradlaugh, 'is blind;' and here, too, of course, there is danger. The Conservative party is the party of stability and permanence, the party of resistance to change; and when the Liberal party, the party of movement, moves unwise and dangerous changes, recourse will naturally be had, by sensible men, to the Conservative party. After all, our country as it is, as the past has made it, as it stands there before us, is something; it is precious, it shall not lightly be imperilled by the bungling work of rash hands. Burke from such a motive threw himself on the Conservative forces in this country to resist Jacobinism. But no solution of the problems of national life is to be reached by resting on those forces absolutely. Burke would have been far more edifying for us to-day if he had rested on them less absolutely. What has been said of the urgent need of seeing things as they really are is of general application, and applies to Conservative action as well as Liberal. If Conservative action is blind, we are undone. True, for the moment our pressing danger is just now from the Liberal party and its leader. If they cannot be stopped and defeated, the thing is over, and we need not trouble ourselves about the Conservative party and its blindness. But supposing them defeated, the Conservative programme requires to be treated just like the Liberal, to be surveyed with a resolutely clear and fair mind.

Now there is always a likelihood that this programme will be just to maintain things as they are, and nothing further. Already there are symptoms of danger in the exhortations, earnestly made and often repeated, to keep faith with the Irish proprietor to whose security England, it is said, has pledged herself; to secure the Irish landowners and to prevent the scandal and peril of Catholic supremacy in Ireland.

As to Catholicism, it has been the great stone of stumbling to us

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in Ireland, and so it will continue to be while we treat it inequitably. Mr. Gladstone's Bill treats it inequitably. His Bill withholds from the Irish the power to endow or establish Catholicism. That, he well knows, is the one exception which his Liberal followers make to their rule, borrowed from Mr. Fox, that if men very much wish to do a thing we should let them do it. To endow Catholicism they must not be permitted, however much they may wish it. That provision alone would be fatal to any sincere and lasting gratitude in Ireland for Mr. Gladstone's measure. If his measure is defeated it would be fatal to repeat his mistake. Why should not the majority in Ireland be suffered to endow and establish its religion just as much as in England or Scotland? It is precisely one of those cases where the provincial legislatures should have the power to do as they think proper. Mr. Whitbread's 'thoughtful Americans' will tell him that in the United States there is this power, although to the notions and practice of America, sprung out of the loins of Nonconformity, religious establishments are unfamiliar. But even in this century, I think, Connecticut had an established Congregational Church, and it might have an Established Church again to-morrow if it chose. Ulster would most certainly not establish Catholicism. If it chose to establish Presbyterianism it should be free to do so. If the Celtic and Catholic provinces chose to establish Catholicism, they should be free to do so. So long as we have two sets of weights and measures in this matter, one for Great Britain and another for Ireland, there can never be concord.

The land question presents most grave and formidable difficulties, but undoubtedly they are not to be got rid of by holding ourselves pledged to make the present Irish landlords' tenure and rents as secure as those of a landlord in England. We ought not to do it if we could, and in the long run we could not do it if we would. How greatly is a clear and fair mind needed here! and perhaps such a mind on such a subject the Conservatives, the landed party, do not easily attain. We have always meant and endeavoured to give to the Irish landlord the same security that the English has. But the thing is impossible. Why? Because at bottom the acquiescence of the community makes the security of property. The land-system of England has, in my opinion, grave disadvantages; but it has this acquiescence. It has it partly from the moderation of the people, but more from the general conduct and moderation of the landlords. If many English landlords had borne such a reputation as that which the first Lord Lonsdale, for instance, acquired for himself in the north, the English landed system would not have had this acquiescence. In Scotland it has it in a less degree, and is therefore less secure; and, whatever the Duke of Argyll may think, deservedly. Let him consult the Tory Johnson for the past, and weigh, as to the present, the fact that Mr. Winans is possible. But it has it in a

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considerable degree, though in a lower degree than England. Ireland has it in the degree to be expected from its history of confiscation, penal laws, absenteeism—that is to say, hardly at all. And we are bound in good faith, we are pledged to obtain, by force if necessary, for the Irish landlord the acquiescence and security which in England come naturally! We are bound to do it for a landed system where the landowners have been a class with whom, in Burke's words, 'the melancholy and invidious title of grantees of confiscation was a favourite;' who 'would not let Time draw his oblivious veil over the unpleasant means by which their domains were acquired;' who 'abandoned all pretext of the general good of the community'! But there has been great improvement, you say: the present landowners give in general little cause for complaint. Absenteeism has continued, but ah! even if the improvement had been ten times greater than it has, Butler's memorable and stern sentence would still be true: 'Real reformation is in many cases of no avail at all towards preventing the miseries annexed to folly *exceeding a certain degree.* There is a certain bound to misbehaviour, which being transgressed, there remains no place for repentance in the natural course of things.' But a class of altogether new and innocent owners has arisen. Alas! every one who has bought land in Ireland has bought it with a lien of Nemesis upon it. It is of no use deceiving ourselves. To make the landowner in the Celtic and Catholic parts of Ireland secure as the English landowner is impossible for us.

What is possible is to bear our part in his loss; for loss he must incur. He must incur loss for folly and misbehaviour, whether on his own part or on that of his predecessors, *exceeding a certain degree.* But most certainly we ought to share his loss with him. For when complaints were addressed to England, 'the double name of the complainants,' says Burke, 'Irish and Papist (it would be hard to say which singly was the more odious), shut up the hearts of every one against them.' All classes in Great Britain are guilty in this matter; perhaps the middle class, the stronghold of Protestant prejudice, most. And, therefore, though the Irish landlords can, I think, be now no more maintained than were the planters, yet to some extent this country is bound to indemnify them as it did the planters. They must choose between making their own terms with their own community, or making them with the Imperial Parliament. In the latter case, part of their indemnity should be contributed by Ireland, part, most certainly, by ourselves. Loss they must, however, expect to suffer, the landowners of the Celtic and Catholic provinces at any rate. To this the English Conservatives, whatever natural sympathy and compassion they may entertain for them, must clearly make up their minds.

On the reasonableness of the Conservative party our best hope at present depends. In that nadir of Liberalism which we seem to

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have reached, there are not wanting some signs and promise of better things to come. Lord Rosebery, with his freshness, spirit, and intelligence, one cannot but with pleasure see at the Foreign Office. Then the action of Lord Hartington and Mr. Trevelyan inspires hope: that of Mr. Chamberlain inspired high hope at first, but presently his attitude seemed to become equivocal. He has, however, instincts of government—what M. Guizot used to call 'the governmental mind.' But the mass of the great Liberal party has no such instincts; it is crude and without insight. Yet for the modern development of our society, great changes are required, changes not certainly finding a place in the programme of our Conservatives, but not in that of our Liberals either. Because I firmly believe in the need of such changes, I have often called myself a Liberal of the future. They must come gradually, however; we are not ripe for them yet. What we are ripe for, what ought to be the work of the next few years, is the development of a complete and rational system of local government for these islands. And in this work all reasonable Conservatives may heartily bear part with all reasonable Liberals. That is the work for the immediate future, and besides its own great importance, it offers us a respite from burning questions which we are not ripe to treat, and a basis of union for all good men. The development of the working class amongst us follows the development of the middle. But development for our bounded and backward middle class can be gained only by their improved education and by the practice of a rational, large, and elevating system of local government. The reasonableness and co-operation of the Conservatives are needed to attain this system. By reasonableness, by co-operation with reasonable Liberals, they have it in their power to do two good things: they can keep off many dangers in the present, and they will be helping to rear up a Liberalism of more insight for the future.

But is it possible, and is there time? Will not the great Parliamentary manager, with his crude Liberal party of the present, sweep everything before him now? The omens are not good. At Munich a few weeks ago I had the honour to converse with a wise and famous man, as pleasing as he is learned, Dr. Döllinger. He is an old friend of Mr. Gladstone. We talked of Mr. Gladstone, with the interest and admiration which he deserves, but with misgiving. His letter to Lord de Vesci had just then appeared. 'Does it not remind you,' Dr. Döllinger asked me, 'of that unfortunate French ministry on the eve of the Revolution, applying to the nation for criticisms and suggestions?' Certainly the omens are not good. However, that best of all omens, as Homer calls it, ourselves to do our part for our country, is in our own power. The circumstances are such that desponding and melancholy thoughts cannot be banished entirely. After all, we may sometimes be tempted to say mournfully to ourselves, nations do not go on for ever. In the immense procession

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of ages, what countless communities have arisen and sunk unknown, and even the most famous nation, perhaps, is only for its day. Human nature will have in dark hours its haunting apprehensions of this kind. But till the fall has actually come, no firm English mind will consent to believe of the fall that it is inevitable, and of 'the ancient and inbred integrity, piety, good-nature, and good-humour of the English people,' that their place in the world will know them no more.

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

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A FEW MORE WORDS ABOUT NAMES.

THE plea that I made in the January number of this Review for the familiar forms of historic names has met with so much support, that I am encouraged to add some fresh observations; and I will take occasion to notice the only criticism of which I have heard. My contention was that, since a mass of names derived from all ages and languages has become embedded in our literature in familiar forms, it would cause needless confusion to recast the whole of them in the exact contemporary forms, and in the spelling of many different languages. Specialists are continually pressing us to write names in the forms found in distant ages, or in other tongues. The true answer is that which I set forth: that to admit all these separate claims (each plausible by itself) would turn our language into a chaos, and I appealed to what is almost the only effective argument in such a case, the laughable consequences of adopting all these claims together. The Court which must decide this matter will be formed out of common sense, general culture, and the best types of English literature.

To that plea as a whole I have heard no answer. It is plainly one to which no answer on any single line is possible; and where scholars dealing with their special subject alone have really no right to sit as judges. They are the persons on their trial. It is not a matter of research or any special learning at all. The question cannot be limited to any particular subject, to one language, or any one epoch. It must be argued as a whole; as a matter, not of research, but of literature. What will become of the English language, if all the schools of research have their way together? This question, I say, will ultimately be settled by common sense, general culture, and the practice of English literature in its best types.

The article by Mr. Freeman, in the April number of the *Contemporary Review*, is therefore no reply at all. He does not allude to the true question, the confusion in the language which general change would cause. He defends his own practice and deals with his own subject exclusively; and leaves Orientalists and Elizabethans to deal with theirs. He rates me for meddling with what I know nothing about. He makes a series of assertions about what I know and do not know, what I have read or have not read, and what he supposes I

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think. In fact, he is Professor Freeman, in the Old-English war-paint that we all know and have so long enjoyed as Saturday night came round. I shall presently show that no one of these assumptions about myself is true. But, supposing they were true: that is, assuming that I had never seen a Saxon Charter, or that I took *Mathildis* for an Old-English name, or that I ever supposed *Guelph* to be an hereditary surname (every one of which assertions is a mere invention), it could have no effect on the general argument, or in any way weaken my contention.

The case stands thus. I say, that in a history of England intended for children it is a pity to cumber the pages with such forms as *Ælfthryth* and *Ælfgifu*. Mr. Freeman in effect answers, You don't know what *Ælf* means. Surely, that is no answer, even if it were true. Again, I say, it is a pity to have our language interlarded with Orientalisms and Mediævalisms. Go to, says Mr. Freeman, you are not a serious scholar. Well! I am warning people against letting the rather too serious scholars murder the Queen's English. Suppose I find a builder discharging a cartload of bricks in the Queen's highway, I remonstrate and appeal to the public authorities. You're not a builder, cries the culprit; you know nothing about bricks, and were never in a brickfield in your life. That may or may not be true; but my immediate purpose is to ask the Court if every builder in the mighty Temple of Research is free to discharge bricks of his own baking into the midst of the Queen's English.

Mr. Freeman is much scandalised with me for beguiling the tedium of discussion with a jest or two; and he says my style of controversy is not that of 'a serious scholar.' I cannot undertake to be always in full academicals; and I think that, if an argument is sound, it is none the worse for being presented in a pleasant way. A great master told us it was best always to mix the *dulce* with the *utile*. I can remember how poor Robson used to preface his immortal 'Villikins' with the warning: '*This is not a comic song!*' but the warning was always lost on me. Why is it to be assumed that, if we are merry, we cannot be wise? I know that in this age of Teutonic *Grüindlichkeit*, unless a man will school himself to be as dull as Professor Gneist, he is supposed not to have an ounce of Research in him. It used not to be so in the glorious eighteenth century. Hume and Gibbon, Diderot and Turgot, did not find learning incompatible with a lively manner or with good English and good French.

The line which Mr. Freeman adopts is the one with which his readers are quite familiar. He behaves like a tutor correcting a pupil's exercise, and giving him what schoolboys call a 'ballaraging' for false concords and quantities. He cries out, Read what I have written in So-and-so! I suppose you think this? and, Why do you not read the other? Every one knows that to cross Mr. Freeman in

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one of his linguistic fads is to risk being treated as my little boy was treated in the Zoological Gardens, when he offered a bun to the porcupine. But I have had some experience with the *feræ naturæ*; and I have been conversant with the English language for a good many years. Of his work as an historian I have spoken with the great respect I unfeignedly feel; but in the matter of the best mode of writing our native tongue I cannot accept the authority of the most serious of scholars. Were I to put on my own cap and gown, and had I the Professor before me to examine in the history of law, or of modern philosophy, or of the industrial movement, or the like, I should do my best to give him his '*Testamur*' politely, and I certainly should try not to look as if I were about to give him a caning.

To employ such a tone to me is surely a little out of place. I have been occupied all my life, just as Mr. Freeman has, in learning, teaching, and studying; and, if my special periods or subjects are not quite the same as his, we are on fair terms in a question of general literature. Moreover, it so happens that, in my professional duty as professor of constitutional history, these books which he tells me to go and look into are the ordinary text-books of my daily work. It would seem as if no one is a scholar serious enough for Mr. Freeman, unless his life is spent over the *Saxon Chronicle* and the *Codex Diplomaticus*. He says that I will not stop to hear what he has to say; that I have not stopped to learn the simplest facts about these matters that I wrote purely at a venture; and have made a reckless raid into regions where I do not know the road.

None of these assertions are true. I have very carefully studied all that he has written on the subject. I well know all the reasons he gives for his practice in writing English names; and they do not seem to me good reasons. I re-read them again before writing about them. He hardly knows how diligent a student of his works he has in myself. I study them all—large and small, scientific and popular, old and new; and I had them all before my eyes at every step in my remarks on spelling. My examples are all drawn from his own books and those of his immediate followers, and I will give him chapter and verse. Kemble, Stubbs, Skeat, Freeman, Green, were in my hands at almost every sentence that I wrote about the forms of Old-English names. I do not find that I cited any of them incorrectly. The blunders, which he supposes and infers me to have made, I did not make.

My topic was the form of names to be used in familiar English; but I took care in speaking of the *Battle of Senlac*, or of Orderic, or of the title of Edward the Elder, to go again to the authorities, and not to speak without book. I did not quote the Bayeux Tapestry or the Continuation of Wace's *Brut*, or the poem of Guy of Amiens without examining them for myself. And before saying one word about the Battle of Hastings, I again read all that I could find in

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Mr. Freeman, as well as in most of the best authorities. Yes! I perfectly knew that Orderic was born in England, having had all that Mr. Freeman tells us about him before my eyes when writing. But as Orderic left England at the age of ten, and passed his whole life in Normandy, I did not find it needful to mention the place of his birth. I state all these trifles in order to show that I did not write at a venture; and I said nothing for which I had not a first-rate authority.

I mention a few points whereon he declares me to have blundered: but where the blunders are not mine, but his. Where, he asks, did I get the form *Knud*, for *Cnut*? '*Knud*,' says Mr. Freeman, 'is quite beyond me.' Well! I got the form *Knud* from Mr. Freeman himself. In his *Old-English History*, edition of 1878, p. 222 (a little book expressly written for children), I read as follows:—'*Cnut* or *Knud* is his real name. He is often called *Canutus* or *Canute*. . . . It is better to call him by his own name.' Again, in the *Norman Conquest*, vol. i. p. 442 (edition of 1867), I find as follows:—'*Cnut* or *Knud*, in one syllable, is this king's true name.' Having these passages under my eye, I wrote:—'*Cnut* or *Knud* . . . had rather a queer look.' I did not say that Mr. Freeman constantly used *Knud*. He tells children it is better to call the king by his own name; and that *Cnut* or *Knud* is his real name. And now, he says, *Knud* is quite beyond him; and that it would indeed look odd to talk about *Knud*. So I said.

Next he says that I used the term *Kaiserinn Mathildis*, as a contemporary English form. I did nothing of the kind. I used it as a German form. It chanced that I had taken a note of a piece by the German historian, Treitschke, about another Empress Matilda, '*Heinrich I. und Mathildis*,' he using the Latin form with the title *Kaiserinn*. My argument was that, if Edward the Confessor has to be *Eadward*, Stephen of Blois ought to be *Estienne*, as a Frenchman, and Maud ought to be *Kaiserinn Mathildis*, as a German. As she married a German, and retained a German title, the highest of all titles, I was arguing that, to be consistent, she should keep the German style in full.

Then about Edward the Elder. Mr. Freeman reproves me for saying that Edward called himself '*Rex Anglo-Saxonum*'; that it ought to be '*Rex Angul-Saxonum*.' It so happens, that to be quite safe, I had before me, when I was writing this sentence, that admirable little book, *Old-English History*, by E. A. Freeman, p. 139, edition of 1878; where I read that, 'He [*i.e.* Edward] commonly calls himself *Rex Anglo-Saxonum*' (*sic*). I simply copied out those words, as I was dealing with Mr. Freeman about a popular mode of speech. I was quite aware that the spelling of the Charters is '*Rex Angul-Saxonum*,' because, in writing, I had under my eye as well Mr. Green's *Conquest of England*, pp. 192, 193, and Bishop

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Stubbs's *History*, vol. i. p. 173, both of which so spell the title. But since the matter in hand was the name *Anglo-Saxon* itself, not the spelling of the name, I was satisfied to follow Mr. Freeman's '*Rex Anglo-Saxonum*.'

By the way, I venture to ask if Mr. Freeman's 'commonly' here is not a little too strong. And I ought perhaps to warn him that I have read all the charters of the *Rex invictissimus Eadwardus* both in Kemble and in Thorpe. I did not say that a succession of historians and scholars have used the *Latin phrase*, '*Rex Anglo-Saxonum*,' but that they had '*used the term*' (*i.e.* Anglo-Saxon). This is a fair specimen of how Mr. Freeman tries to screw blunders out of perfectly plain and accurate language.

Then, says Mr. Freeman to me, whence do I get my *Karl*; and where for twenty years past has he himself said anything about *Karl*? I did not assert that Mr. Freeman usually writes of *Charlemagne* as *Karl*. On the contrary, I wrote—'Professor Freeman taught us to speak of *Charles the Great*.' When, later on, I wrote—'we have all learned to speak by the card of *Karl*,' I had in my mind and under my eye a very famous Essay, where I read the name *Karl*, six times in twenty lines of print, all about the 'legend of *Charlemagne*,' and the 'history of *Karl*.' My edition of this Essay bears the date 1872. I cannot undertake to remember all the editions of all Mr. Freeman's books; or when he first dropped *Karl*. But having written that 'Professor Freeman taught us to speak of *Charles the Great*,' I felt amply justified by this Essay in adding in a merry vein, 'we have all learned to speak by the card of *Karl*.' Professor Freeman's lessons are not so soon forgotten as he thinks.

And now about Charlemagne. Of course the whole world knows all that Mr. Freeman has been telling us for twenty years about *Karl*, *Charles*, and *Charlemagne*, and the important significance of these forms. *Charlemagne*, he says, is a 'French name,' only to be used 'when one is speaking of him distinctly as a subject of French tales' (*Old-English History*, p. 332). That seems to me to be affectation. *Charlemagne* is now an English word, a word used of the historic *Charles* by the best scholars, and fixed indelibly in English literature by them. I think 'Charles the Great' an excellent name, and often use it. But since Gibbon, Hallam, Milman, Sir H. Maine, and many other scholars, have used the name *Charlemagne* of the historical emperor, I maintain that it is a good English term. It came to us through the French, as thousands of words came; but it is now as good English as *Lombardy*, or *Normandy*, *Cologne*, or *Treves*. One might as well say that *mutton* and *beef* are French names; and tell children that it is good manners always to ask for *sheep* and *ox*. Mr. Freeman has explained that his objection to *Charlemagne* arises from this, that we shall never understand the Empire until 'all French influences are wholly cast aside and trampled under foot.' There is no more 'Truth' in *Charles* than in *Charle-*

magne. Truth requires *Karl*. Etymology is not truth; nor is it history. If we are to take down Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary* before we may speak our mother tongue, and never use a word of French derivation for fear of awakening 'false ideas,' we shall never get our dinners at all. One would think Mr. Freeman can never bring himself to speak of the *Fortnightly Review* or the month of *December*; and not to awaken 'false ideas,' that he always speaks of our contemporary as the '*Monthly*,' and calls the twelfth month of the year—*Duodecember*.'

Mr. Freeman makes it a great point that I said the Latinised form of Edward was not usually spelt with the double vowel; and he 'can only infer that I write purely at a venture.' Now it happens that I did refer to contemporary authorities to see at what date, and to what extent, the double vowel dropped out of the Latin form. The Latinised form of *Edward* is so continually quoted by eminent scholars in its modern shape, that it would be misleading to rely on citations. I accordingly consulted a good many chronicles in the Rolls Series. I should have been more correct had I written 'not uniformly,' instead of 'not usually.' But in Thorpe's collection of Charters there are scores of examples of Saxon names written in Latin before the Conquest without the double vowel. I did not say that either practice was invariable. At no period was it invariable.

Mr. Freeman asks me if I object to physiologists changing 'musk-ox' into 'musk-sheep.' Not at all. 'Musk-ox' is rather a description than a name. But I should object very much to find in Owen's *Comparative Physiology* our old friend *Hippopotamus* turned into *Hyopotamus*, in the name of 'truth.' When Professor Freeman tells children not to say *Charlemagne*, because he was not a Frenchman, it is just as if Professor Huxley told them not to say *Hippopotamus*, because the animal is not a horse. Names are labels, not definitions.

In conclusion, I briefly answer a few questions. I do not strain at the forms in Kemble, because Kemble's works are technical text-books, not popular histories, and consist mainly of verbatim extracts. Nearly every one of my illustrations was purposely taken from Mr. Freeman's *Old-English History*, specially written for children. What I said of *Hrofesceaster*, *Cant-wara-byryg*, the *Hwiccas*, was, that they 'had rather a queer look.' All are found in the text of Mr. Green's admirable book, *The Making of England*. I spell the *Hwiccas* either as in the Latin *Wiccii*, or with *Hw* transposed into *Wh*. We no longer write *Hwîtcirice*, we write *Whitchurch*. As Mr. Freeman tells the children (*Old-English History*, Preface): '*Hw* is simply what we now write *wh*.' Precisely: then, say I, let us so write it. Since I had under my eyes, when I made a note of the name *Hwiccas*, Mr. Green's account of the battle of Wanborough, I suppose I knew who the *Hwiccas* were.

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Certainly, Mr. Grote did begin the resetting of Greek names *in England*. As I was writing about English literature, it did not occur to me to speak about the practice of Germans, when writing German. I never said anything about Κέρκυρα, or *Corfu*. I said that Mr. Grote writes *Korkyra*. So he does. I wonder that Mr. Freeman did not assert that, in objecting to *Krete*, I thought *Candia* was the same word. All this reminds me of my old master at school, when determined to make out that one of us ought to be caned.

Mr. Freeman's reason for eviscerating English history of the *Battle of Hastings* is the 'danger' that somebody might think (as a critic once did) that Taillefer sang his song on the sea-shore. I can face even this danger, rather than cease to speak of the *Battle of Hastings*. And he asks me if I think it pedantic to speak of the *Battle of Stamford-bridge*. Certainly not: that is the name by which I have always heard of it. I might think it pedantic to write *Stantford-brigge*, as William of Malmesbury does.

As to *Buonaparte*, I was well aware that this was the original form of the family name, and was used by Napoleon in his early career. But the absolute *de facto* ruler of a nation has certainly the official right to change the spelling of his own name. And as Napoleon when Emperor did this, there is an end of the matter. Our grandfathers, Scott included, treating him as the 'Corsican bandit,' naturally stuck to the old name, by way of saying 'Corsican.' But to speak in 1886 of 'either *Buonaparte*,' is to carry lampoons into history. I neither said, nor implied, that *Capet* and *Guelph* are hereditary surnames. I suggested that Terrorists and O'Donovan Rossa possibly thought they were. With regard to the title under which my essay appeared in January, it happens that I did not so write it, nor did I see the actual title until the Review was published. Mr. Freeman seems inclined to give a new sense to the word 'pedantic.' He suggests that it means 'accurate,' the making words answer facts. Not so! No amount of 'accuracy' can be pedantic; but 'singularity' may be, when it is uncouth and needless. It is pedantic to twist old words into new forms, and to try to turn old names into battle-cries and badges.

Names and words are current coin of the realm; which, for public convenience, have definite values; and to clip and deface them is to debase the linguistic currency. It is the part of a good citizen and a sensible man to carry on his transactions in the current coin, taking them and counting them at their official value. If a man, in order to make his words answer to facts, and not to raise any 'false ideas,' were to cut a five-shilling piece in two, and to offer the bits as two half-crowns, the public would call him crazy, and the police would treat him as 'a smasher.' Mr. Freeman is really trying to pass amongst the lieges Saxon *sceats* and *scillings*, as if they were good current coin. The first magistrate before whom he is brought

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will tell him that *sceats* and *scillings* are not now in circulation, and that private persons have not the right of coining.

Of course in this matter of spelling there are very real and important points behind. It is a serious evil to unsettle the language. It is unkind to throw fresh stumbling-blocks in the way of education. All singularity in forms, without motive or without adequate motive, is a fresh difficulty, and a source of offence. The plan of trampling under foot all French influences, or other influences, is a one-sided plan, a short-sighted plan. To give tithe of mint and anise in Old-English names, and to leave all the weightier names in universal history in their vulgar shapes, is a misleading purism. If we tried to torture *all* names in history out of their current forms and into their contemporary orthography, if we tried with the modern alphabet to represent the various sounds of a hundred different languages, to spell the same name in a dozen different forms, according to the century of which we are speaking—this would produce a literary chaos. And, since there is no adequate reason for specially selecting any one epoch or any one race for this equivocal distinction, it is the part of good sense, and good English, to be content with the current names long familiar to us in the best literature. These names, no doubt, do differ moderately, and from time to time, as language grows, changes in form are spontaneously adopted. But the claim of any scholar, however eminent, of any knot of scholars (and I look on the knot of Old-English scholars as amongst the most eminent of our time) to sweep the board of the familiar names for one particular epoch, and systematically to force on us and on our children another language in names—this is a bad claim and ought to be resisted.

And now let me say that I have no kind of quarrel with Mr. Freeman, of whose works I am a diligent student and a humble admirer. I am very much against any process of trampling under foot, and against all uncouth forms of good old names. In this matter I am the real conservative. It will not do for the Old-English people to say that they are merely reviving an ancient practice. Mr. Hyndman might as well declare that the meeting in Hyde Park was only a revival of the Witenagemot. It is I who am defending the practice of learned men, of the men of the widest learning, even in this particular subject. The idea that Mr. Freeman, in this debate, represents Truth, Fact, Scholarship, and Research, and that I represent nothing but frivolous trifling with serious learning, is a mere hallucination of his own. I am asking Mr. Freeman and his followers to conform to the practice of an authority at least as great as their own—that of the Bishop of Chester. Dr. Stubbs, in his great work, follows a form of names, eminently wise, practical, and decisive. He finds nothing difficult, nothing false, in writing *Alfred* and *Edward*, *Clovis* and *Canute*, *Anglo-Saxon* and the *Battle of*

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Hastings. He has often introduced Old-English forms, such as Hume did not use; but then he makes no attempt to sweep the board of all the names in ordinary use.

I am asking for no rigid system of spelling, for no absolute fixity, for nothing which has not the sanction of the most eminent scholars and the best writers. When men of the learning of the Bishop of Chester, Sir Henry Maine, Sir James Stephen, and so many more of our contemporaries, to say nothing of Hallam, Milman, and those departed, can write *Alfred* and *Edward*, I think little children need not be crammed, in the name of 'truth,' with whole pages of *Ælfthryths* and *Ælfgifus*.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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THE JUBILEE OF THE REFORM CLUB.

Writers about the London Club-houses, including the late Peter Cunningham who was usually most accurate and trustworthy, state that the Reform Club was founded between the years 1830 and 1832. They also assert that the club was designed to aid in carrying the measures for the improved representation of the people, which then agitated the country, and were hotly debated in Parliament. It is true that the Carlton Club was founded by the Duke of Wellington and his friends with the special object of opposing Parliamentary reform in all aspects and at all times; but the founders of the Reform Club had no reason to concern themselves about the Bills for the representation of the people which became law on the 7th of June, 1832. This memorable date preceded by four years the formation of the Reform Club. Between the years 1830 and 1832 Parliamentary reform owed nothing to the support of a political club, and lost nothing owing to opposition from one.

It is true that the authors and supporters of the Reform Bills which, after a protracted, an arduous, and embittered struggle, were incribed on the Statute Book, belonged to Brooks's Club, which was then, and still is, regarded as the headquarters of the Whig party. It is equally true, however, that Brooks's was not founded with any political purpose nor conducted to attain any political object. In former days its members were as deeply absorbed in the game of hazard as in the game of politics. Whilst the present members delight in maintaining the traditions of plain Whig principles, the club itself stands aloof now, as it has systematically done heretofore, from the drudgery of organising and marshalling the forces of the Liberal party.

The Westminster Reform Club was the first political club formed on the modern type with the express view of upholding the Liberal banner, and furthering the Liberal cause. Its members met together for the first time on the 7th of March, 1834, and they occupied the house numbered 24 Great George Street, Westminster, of which Mr. Alderman Wood was the owner. This club took an active part in the political affairs of the day: three months after its establishment a deputation of its members went to give good advice to Earl Grey. The members disdained any subordination to the Whigs. They plumed themselves upon being Radicals who saw no finality in the Reform Acts,

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and who ardently desired legislation of a character so sweeping as to appear to the Whigs equivalent to revolution. This club ceased to exist two years after it was founded. Whigs could not join it, and the Radical party was not strong enough to maintain it. Among its members were the most conspicuous Radicals of the time—men like Daniel O'Connell and Feargus O'Connor, Colonel Perronet Thompson, and Joseph Hume. Another member, who afterwards became the leader and idol of the Tory party, was the Earl of Beaconsfield.

Two years after the Westminster Reform Club was founded, and when its prolonged existence seemed most improbable, several ardent politicians resolved to form a political club which should not be exclusively Whig like Brooks's, nor exclusively Radical like the Westminster, but which should offer a place of meeting and action for all shades and sections of the Liberal party. The Right Honourable Edward Ellice was the originator of the new club. Though a staunch Whig, he clearly read the signs of the times which indicated that, if the Whigs would retain their influence, they must not be too fastidious and exclusive in their demeanour towards other and equally sincere Liberals. He had been Secretary to the Treasury, Secretary at War, and for a short time a member of the Cabinet in Earl Grey's first Administration. As a party man he did good service. His advice was highly valued, being sought for and followed on critical occasions. He was unpopular as well as able—his temper was so trying that he was commonly known among his contemporaries by the nickname of 'Bear Ellice.'

Mr. Ellice was both a thoroughly practical man and a keen politician, and, having made up his mind to establish a new club, he set about the task with great energy. In the first place, however, he made an appeal to his fellow-members at Brooks's, to the effect that they should enlarge their club-house and elect six hundred new members. He probably contemplated that the club should leave St. James's Street and return to Pall Mall, where it was originally situated, and occupy a finer house than the one in St. James's Street. A large majority of the members rejected Mr. Ellice's proposition, whereupon he said, 'Well, gentlemen, we mean to start a club which will beat yours.' He summoned those who agreed with him to meet at his own house and discuss the establishment of a new club. At the meeting held in Mr. Ellice's drawing-room the Reform Club was constituted; rules were drawn up and agreed to, those present becoming the original members, and a committee being appointed to elect others. Mr. Coppock took minutes of the proceedings. The name of the club was the subject of much discussion and some difference of opinion. The names of Fox, Hampden, Grey, and Milton were proposed and rejected in succession. It was eventually found that the name 'Reform' divided the meeting the least, and most completely expressed the views of the founders of the club.

The club was commonly known for a time as the New Reform, to distinguish it from the Westminster Reform. The reason for this

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soon ceased. During the two years of the Westminster's existence, the number of members did not exceed two hundred; debts were incurred which had afterwards to be paid by the few members who adhered to the club to the last. Nineteen-twentieths of them became members of the Reform Club.

The basis upon which, in the spring of 1836, the Reform Club was established, was broad and truly Liberal. It was then recognised that the work of reformers, so far from being ended when the royal assent was given to the Reform Bills, was, on the contrary, only beginning, and that these bills cleared the way for the work remaining to be accomplished. Though the way had been cleared, it might again be blocked. The danger of reaction was serious. Indeed, two years after the passing of the Reform Bills, a Tory Administration had been formed and held office. Thus, then, the necessity for reformers being united, in order that they should preserve as well as continue their work, was clear and imperative. A reformer was a politician who was ready to further all such constitutional changes as might be for the national benefit. As these changes could not well be limited in time or character, the members of the Reform Club could never be justified in saying that their work had been completed, and that, like the Lotus-eaters in Lord Tennyson's exquisite poem, they might declare, 'we have had enough of action and of motion,' and announce their intention of reclining in the hollow Lotus-land like gods 'careless of mankind.'

In accordance with these principles, and in order that those holding them might have a place of meeting where concerted action might take place in the pleasantest way, the preamble to the rules set forth that 'The Reform Club is instituted for the purpose of promoting the social intercourse of reformers of the United Kingdom.' Moreover, the rules distinctly provided that each candidate for admission should be a 'reformer,' and should be vouched for as such by his proposer and seconder. No one professing to be a reformer was rejected on the ground that his views were too extreme. Two years before the foundation of the club, Daniel O'Connell had spoken in the House of Commons for six hours in support of a motion designed to bring about the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, yet Daniel O'Connell was not only elected a member of the club, but he was elected a member of the committee which managed its affairs. His friends and supporters in Parliament, commonly known as his 'tail,' became members also. O'Connell's successors have deliberately separated themselves from the reformers of the United Kingdom. When the Home Rule party was formally constituted in Dublin, Mr. Butt distinctly stated that the members of that party should scrupulously refrain from joining any of the existing London political clubs.

The house of Mr. Angerstein in Pall Mall was the first club-house of the reformers. In 1824 the Government purchased Mr. Angerstein's collection of thirty-eight pictures for 57,000*l.* with a view to form

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the nucleus of a National Gallery, and, whilst the Gallery was building, the public were admitted to see the pictures stored in Mr. Angerstein's house. On the reformers taking possession of the house, the joke of the day was that the National Gallery had been converted into a Reform Club. The house itself was a red brick structure bearing a resemblance to the College of Arms in Queen Victoria Street. On the one side was a private dwelling; on the other a grocer's shop. Pall Mall was then a street in which buildings of the meanest sort were in striking contrast to recently built club-houses like the University, the Senior United Service, the Athenæum, and the Travellers' Clubs. The first Carlton club-house was built in Pall Mall the year in which the Reform was founded, this being the first of three club-houses which have been erected on the same site, and the third house in which the members of the Carlton found shelter, the first being a house in Charles Street and the second Lord Kensington's house in Carlton Gardens.

Many of the original members of the Reform were opposed to the erection of a club-house in Pall Mall, preferring a site nearer the Houses of Parliament, and such a site they thought Gwydyr House to be. But the majority preferred Pall Mall, on the ground that it was the more fashionable quarter; hence it was resolved to buy Mr. Angerstein's house and the two houses adjoining it, to pull them down, and to erect on the spot they covered the most palatial club-house that had then been seen. A narrow street separated this site from that of the Carlton club-house. Whilst the Reform club-house was building the reformers occupied Gwydyr House.

Several architects submitted designs for the new club-house, and the two designs which pleased the members the best were those of Cockerell and Barry. The latter had the advantage of being the architect of the Travellers' Club, a building which was then, as it is still, greatly admired. The former had studied the comfort of members in the internal arrangements and had produced a more imposing elevation than Barry. However, Barry's design was the more artistic and, in several respects, the more novel of the two. When designing the Travellers' club-house, Barry sought inspiration from an Italian model; he did so, too, when designing the Reform, basing his design for it upon the Farnese Palace at Rome, of which Sangallo and Michael Angelo were the architects. It may be noted that the Carlton club-house, as we now see it, is the reproduction of an Italian building, the original being Sansovino's Old Library in St. Mark's Place, at Venice, a building which Mr. Ruskin styles 'a graceful one of the Central Renaissance.' The greatest novelty in Barry's design for the Reform club-house was providing several sets of chambers on the upper floor, these chambers having a separate entrance and staircase at the east end of the club-house. The idea, which was a new one then, has often been acted upon since. Owing to its adoption, a member can live in as well as use his club. In the case of the Reform, the plan

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had the further advantage of reducing the sum paid as rent, as these chambers, which have always been in great request, produce an amount equal to two-thirds of the 968*l.* payable to the Crown as ground-rent.

When the Reform club-house was half built, its erection was on the point of being suspended. The foreman of the works called upon Mr. Martin Thackeray, a member of the finance committee, and told him that, if additional funds were not immediately put at his disposal, the workmen, numbering sixty, would be discharged. It was then the Long Vacation, and only two other members of the committee were in London: they were Lord Marcus Hill, the Liberal Whip, and Mr Edward Ellice. These three gentlemen resolved to incur a personal liability rather than suffer the erection of the club-house to be retarded for a day; and they went to the club bankers, Messrs. Cocks & Biddulph, giving their personal guarantee for the advances necessary to continue building operations. A part of the building was opened for the reception of members on the 1st of March, 1841. It is a club tradition that the first member who entered on the morning of that day and breakfasted there was Mr. Charles De la Pryme.

Whilst the members occupied Gwydyr House, the Crown passed from King William the Fourth to Queen Victoria. On the afternoon of the 28th of June, 1838, the day of the Queen's coronation, the members gave a grand entertainment at which two thousand persons were present. Shortly after their club-house in Pall Mall was opened, they gave a reception in honour of the Duke of Sussex, the uncle of the Queen, and one of the original members of the club. The loyalty of the reformers has been manifested in other ways. The first piece of statuary placed in the hall of the club-house was a marble bust of the Queen, this bust being placed in so conspicuous a position that it is the first object which meets the visitor's eye on entering the hall. In later days, the portraits of Earl Russell and Viscount Palmerston, two of Her Majesty's greatest Ministers, were placed on either side of her marble bust.

Some time elapsed, however, after the opening of the club-house, before it was completed and furnished. The ground-floor was alone finished when the members were first admitted. Though so much remained to be done, the sum of money expended was very large—being 83,600*l.*, and being more than double the cost of any club-house up to that time. Much of the outlay was due to the thoroughness with which the architect did his part. Barry designed the furniture as well as the building. This was a far more expensive way of furnishing a club-house than ordering ready-made furniture, but it had the advantage of increasing the beauty and artistic effect of the whole. The prediction of Mr. Ellice was fully verified: the reformers secured for themselves a much finer club-house than the members of Brooks's.

The founders of the Reform desired to do more than provide its

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members with a club-house such as should surpass any other then built as a piece of architecture; they were equally anxious to provide every possible comfort and luxury for the benefit and gratification of the members. Foremost amongst the advantages which they hoped to offer to the members was a library of which they might be as proud as of the club-house itself. In this matter they followed the example of the founders of the Athenæum, who looked forward to bringing together such a collection of books as should make the club renowned —a project in which they have perfectly succeeded. Though several London clubs have collections of books, the Athenæum and Reform are the only ones which possess really important libraries, such libraries as are indispensable to the scholar, the politician, the statesman, and the man of letters.

Barry had designed two of the largest rooms in the Reform for the reception of books—the one on the ground-floor being the Parliamentary library; another, on the first-floor, being the general library. On the 18th of November, 1841, a sub-committee, which had been appointed to make arrangements about the library, met and passed the following resolution:—

> That as one of the objects contemplated at the establishment of the club was the formation of an extensive and complete library, especially on all political and Parliamentary subjects; and as the rooms appointed for its reception are now ready, the committee deem it expedient to take immediate measures for attaining an object so important to the ultimate prosperity of the club. That, therefore, a circular be addressed to all the members, earnestly inviting them to aid the committee in this object, by presenting to the club maps, books, pamphlets, and documents—more particularly political and Parliamentary; all such will be of importance and value—the first object being the formation of an extensive and complete library of reference.

This sub-committee recognised that it was not enough to collect a mass of books, it being indispensable that a good plan should be followed in arranging and cataloguing the books. They took the advice of Mr. Vardon, then librarian to the House of Commons, and of a member of the club, Mr. Panizzi, of the British Museum. Panizzi drew up an elaborate plan for classifying the books and forming a catalogue, and this plan, which was gladly adopted by the library committee, has been strictly followed.

The library grew rapidly, the members vieing with each other in making donations of books or of money wherewith to buy them. Ten years after the opening of the club-house it was found that the space provided for housing books was far too limited; and then it was resolved to convert the drawing-room—the largest and handsomest room in the club-house—into the principal library. In 1880, the collection of books numbered 40,000 volumes. It was resolved that the catalogue should be printed for circulation amongst the members. The printed catalogue is a large octavo of 622 pages, and its contents are varied as well as rich, consisting of the best books in English,

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French, Italian, and German—in short, of the classics in the ancient and modern languages. Of topographical works the library has a large number, and the collection of pamphlets is very extensive, consisting of upwards of five thousand, many being extremely curious and valuable. In such a library there is little room for those curiosities of literature upon which the book-collector lays great store, yet there are several rare books in this one, the most notable being a first folio Shakespeare, presented by a member of the club.

Whilst the erection of a splendid edifice and the creation of a valuable library had a leading place in the scheme of the founders of the Reform Club, they were also desirous of making it attractive to those who set greater store upon good cooking than upon the most artistic building and the choicest books. The first cook engaged by the club contributed largely to making the club famous. This was Alexis Soyer, who entered the club's service in 1837, and under whose supervision the kitchens of the club-house were constructed.

Soyer's career had many romantic elements in it. He was born in 1809 at Meaux-en-Brie, where the cheese of that name is made. One of his brothers was brought up as a cook, another as a cabinet-maker; at the age of nine he became a chorister in the cathedral, and he was destined to be a priest. He objected to entering the service of the Church, and he succeeded in having his own way by playing so many tricks as to make his parents and relatives conclude that he was unfitted for the clerical vocation. In 1821 he was sent to Paris, where he was induced, by the example and counsel of his eldest brother, to become a cook. He served a regular apprenticeship to the culinary art, and made such rapid progress that, at the early age of seventeen, he was appointed chief cook in a large restaurant, with twelve cooks under his orders. Though his merits as a cook were recognised, he was not satisfied with his avocation. He had a good voice; he sang well; he was an excellent mimic, and he longed to become an actor. However, he yielded to his brother's persuasions against going on the stage. In 1830 he was appointed second cook at the Foreign Office, where he was engaged in preparing a sumptuous banquet to be given by Prince Polignac after the publication of the *Ordonnances* preceding the Revolution which drove Charles the Tenth into exile and seated Louis Philippe on the throne. The mob attacked the Foreign Office and invaded the kitchen, where the hungry rioters swallowed what they could and destroyed what they could not devour. The cooks fled for their lives. Two were shot dead. Soyer sang the *Marseillaise*, and his life was spared. He went to London, where his eldest brother was chief cook to the Duke of Cambridge, and served under his brother. He was afterwards in the service of the Duke of Sutherland, the Marquis of Waterford, and the Marquis of Ailsa. In 1837 he was appointed chief cook to

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the Reform Club, and he entered upon his duties in the temporary premises at Gwydyr House. His first notable feat was preparing the great entertainment, already referred to, which was given on the day of the Queen's coronation. At that time none of the clubs had cooks of great note, with the exception of Crockford's, where Ude presided over the kitchen. It soon became known that a cook of extraordinary talent was at the Reform, where the kitchens had become one of the sights of London. Lord Melbourne visited them one day, and said to Soyer, 'How is it you have such a number of pretty female assistants?' His reply was neat and pointed, 'My Lord, we do not want plain cooks here.'

In addition to acting as cook, Soyer became an author, publishing the *Gastronomic Regenerator*, which had a great success. The critics eulogised, and the public bought the book. Within a year, upwards of 2,000 copies at a guinea each were sold. The book had been composed in the course of ten months. A review of it in the *Times* contains the following interesting passage:—

> Talk of the labour of a Prime Minister or Lord Chancellor! Sir Robert Peel is not an idle man. Lord Brougham is a tolerably busy one. Could either, we ask, in the short space of ten months—ten 'little months'—have written the *Gastronomic Regenerator*, and furnished 25,000 dinners, 38 banquets of importance, comprising above 70,000 dishes, besides providing daily for 60 servants, and receiving the visits of 15,000 strangers, all too eager to inspect the renowned altar of a great Apician temple?

In 1847, when the distress was severe in Ireland, Soyer was commissioned by the Government to proceed to Dublin and establish a model soup-kitchen there. He succeeded in proving how much nourishing food could be prepared at a small cost. In the course of five months he supplied 2,863,187 pounds weight of well-cooked solid food for the sum of 7,768*l.*; had the old plan been in operation the cost would have been 15,536*l.* In the following year he established a model soup-kitchen in Spitalfields, where much distress prevailed among the weavers. Soyer's great merit as a cook was to be able to provide the daintiest or the plainest dishes in the most perfect fashion and at the lowest possible price. Once he was commissioned to furnish ten members of the Reform with the best dinner that he could possibly devise. The cost, exclusive of wine, was four guineas a head. A single dish cost seven guineas. These things were noised abroad, and the skill of Soyer as a cook contributed to enhance the fame of the Reform as a club.

When the Reform Club was first established it was contemplated that members should be allowed to entertain their friends. At the Carlton, hospitality to strangers has never been permitted. But the reformers made a mistake at the outset which they had to remedy before they had been long in the occupation of their club-house. This mistake consisted in framing a rule to the effect that the friends

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entertained by members must be reformers also. Yet this rule was not much more restrictive and indefensible than one of the earliest rules of Brooks's, which was to the effect that 'any member of this society who shall become a candidate for any other club (old White's excepted) shall be *ipso facto* excluded and his name struck out of the book.'

The determination of the committee of the Reform Club in 1850 to allow members to entertain their friends daily instead of twice a week caused Soyer's resignation that year. He was afraid lest the members would suffer on account of the influx of strangers. His resignation was accepted with regret, as is shown in the following extract from a letter to Soyer written by Lord Marcus Hill, chairman of the committee:—

> In reply to your letter, the committee have unanimously desired me to assure you of the great reluctance with which they accept that resignation; and to express to you the high sense which they entertain of your very valuable past services, as well as of the zeal, ability, perfect integrity, and uniform respectability of conduct which you have devoted to the well-being of the club during a period of nearly thirteen years' duration.

During Soyer's engagement at the Reform Club, and after its close, he did much to keep his name before the world. Besides writing the *Gastronomic Regenerator*, he invented a Magic Stove, he concocted a beverage which he styled 'Nectar,' and a sauce to which he gave his own name; he invented a model kitchen, and he tried to found a college for the teaching of 'domestic economy.' He prepared a sectional view of the kitchens of the Reform Club, and he sold 1,400 copies of them at a guinea, coloured, and half a guinea plain. After leaving the club his services were in request to prepare banquets on a large scale, and he did this with entire success in London, Exeter, and York. When the Great Exhibition of 1851 was opened he converted Gore House into a 'Universal Symposium.' In the course of the five months the Symposium was open as many as a thousand persons dined there daily; the receipts amounted to the large sum of 21,000*l.* and the expenses to the still larger one of 27,000*l.* Why this should have occurred was a mystery to Soyer. In 1855 he volunteered to go to the Crimea with the view of improving the culinary arrangements there. The Government of the day gladly accepted his offer. He effected great improvements in the manner of feeding the army. He remained till the end of the war, and on his return he received a present of money, in addition to his pay, to mark the appreciation of the authorities of the services he had rendered. He was asked by the Barrack and Hospital Commissioners to revise the dietary of the military hospitals, and he did so, to the great advantage of the patients. He died of an internal malady in 1858, when in his fiftieth year. He was an active and energetic man who was much talked of whilst he lived. If he chiefly

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contributed to make the Reform Club famed for the excellence of its cookery, his connection with the club as its first and most famous cook will long keep his memory in remembrance. Francatelli, who left the service of the Queen to become cook at the Reform, was as able a cook as Soyer; but he failed to please the club so well.

The banquets at the Reform Club have sometimes been events of great political and public importance. The most noteworthy deserve a brief notice. The first was given on the 3rd of July, 1846, to Ibrahim Pacha, the son of Mehemet Ali, with whom we had been at war, but with whom we wished to cultivate amicable relations, and this banquet was regarded as a token of the general feeling. The *Times* pronounced it 'the best which any club ever gave.' Lord Panmure wrote to the effect that the bill of fare was worthy of *the great Soyer*. Shortly before the hour appointed for the banquet, the under-cooks threatened to strike, and Soyer had to exert himself not only to persuade them to do their duty, but to work in order to make up for the delay which had been caused. The members present numbered 150. Commodore Sir Charles Napier was in the chair and proposed many of the toasts; but one of the most important—the health of Mehemet Ali—was proposed by Palmerston, who also responded when 'the health of Her Majesty's Ministers' was drunk. The last toast but one was 'the health of the Lord Lieutenant, and prosperity to Ireland;' to which Sheil responded. It is curious to recall what that great patriot and orator said about his native land and its prospects forty years ago; the following passage has special interest now:—

> The prosperity of Ireland was not long ago scarce the object of a hesitating hope; it has become an object of almost confident expectation. A new era has commenced. Forty-six years have elapsed since the Minister of one country purchased the Parliament of the other, and during those forty-six years, no matter how ponderous the fetters which the Minister had fabricated for Ireland, the Parliament of England took a disastrous course and with alacrity hastened to put them on. But, at last, a great innovation has taken place. The House of Commons has at length interrupted the monotony of oppression—a general conviction begins to prevail that it is only by conciliation that Ireland can be successfully governed. Of what character should that conciliation be? It should be large and comprehensive—it should embrace every wrong—it should consist of concessions, flowing largely and abundantly from the deep fountain of your justice, instead of being, from a sense of your necessities, drop by drop, ignominiously squeezed out. The pacification of Ireland is almost the last thing left for a Minister to accomplish.

Palmerston was the guest at the next great banquet, which took place on the 20th of June, 1850. This was given in honour of the victory when his foreign policy, which had been challenged and condemned in the House of Lords by a majority of thirty-seven, was approved and supported in the House of Commons by a majority of forty-six. Writing to his brother a few days afterwards, he said that 'two hundred and fifty members of the Reform Club have invited me to a

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dinner next Saturday to celebrate my victory, and if we had not thought it better to limit the demonstration to a small scale, the dinner would have been given in Covent Garden Theatre, and would have been attended by a thousand people.' Mr. Bernal Osborne presided and proposed Palmerston's health in a most effective speech, concluding by presenting to him an address of congratulation from the members of the club. Palmerston's reply was a condensed exposition of the principles of foreign policy which he desired to prevail; he declared that 'The guiding objects of the policy of the Government with regard to our foreign relations have been the interests of England, interests which have their beginning in the well-being of this country, and which in their progress comprehend the well-being of every other country.' He maintained that, without acting as knights-errant in the cause of liberty, it was the right and duty of English statesmen to sympathise with nations struggling to be free, and to aid them as far as could be done without endangering the peace of the world. The last toast, proposed by Mr. Maurice O'Connell, was 'Civil and religious liberty all over the world.' The exclusion of the Jews from Parliament was signalised as a disgrace. Baron de Rothschild responded. If some of those who drank the toast could revisit the earth they would be pleased to see many Jewish members of the House of Commons, and a Lord Rothschild sitting in the House of Lords; while they might be surprised to find amongst the Jewish members of Parliament some of the warmest adherents of the Conservative party which so long kept the doors of the House of Commons closed against persons of their race and faith.

Palmerston was in the chair when, on March 7, 1854, the Reform Club gave a banquet in honour of Admiral Sir Charles Napier, who sailed in command of the Baltic fleet a few days afterwards. The most remarkable speech was not that of the chairman, proposing the toast of the evening, though he was never in a happier vein, nor the reply of Sir Charles Napier, though it was very interesting, but it was the speech of the chairman in proposing a toast which, he remarked, had never been proposed 'since the days of the Crusaders.' This toast was 'the allied English and French fleets and armies.' Both the chairman and Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, praised Sir Charles Napier for his foresight as well as his bravery; the general public considered the compliments well deserved; the *Times* commended the club for giving the banquet, but thought it right to recall the admonition of the wise man, 'Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off.' The wisdom of the warning was exemplified by results. When Sir Charles Napier returned from the Baltic no one was disposed to entertain him at a banquet.

In April 1864, Garibaldi visited England, and he was received with an enthusiasm which was almost overpowering; the demonstra-

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tions in his honour taxed his strength so greatly that he had to shorten his stay. He was made an honorary member of the Reform Club, and he was present at a luncheon there on the 21st of April. Ladies were admitted that day to the club. The chorus of Her Majesty's Theatre volunteered to attend; the offer being accepted, the Garibaldi Hymn was given by them in a magnificent style under the leadership of Signor Arditi. Lord Ebury presided at the luncheon, which was really a sumptuous dinner given at an early hour, and he made a most complimentary speech to the great and magnanimous Italian patriot. Garibaldi's reply was delivered in English, and with much feeling; as it is short as well as interesting I may quote it in full:—

My gratitude to you for the great sympathy you have for me I think is very great; but I cannot express my feelings of gratitude for your kind sympathy to my poor country. I am almost an Englishman now, and certainly I am very proud to be so, and I invite you to a toast 'to the prosperity of my adopted country,' and I pray you to receive my thanks for your kindness. Never in my life will I forget the kindness I have received in this illustrious association.

The last of the great banquets which I shall notice took place on the 22nd of February, 1879. It was given in honour of the Earl of Dufferin, and in special acknowledgment of the brilliant and successful way in which he had acted as Governor-General of the Canadian Dominion. At none of the previous banquets did the list of speakers include so many illustrious members of the club and of the party. Earl Granville presided. The other speakers were Mr. W. E. Forster, the Marquis of Ripon, Lord Clarence Paget, Lord Waveney, Mr. Richard Baxter, the chairman of the club, Sir William Harcourt, the Duke of Westminster, the Earl of Rosebery, Sir Henry James, and the Marquis of Hartington, then the leader of the Liberal party. That the entertainment was very imposing and satisfactory was acknowledged by Mr. Baxter, who, in returning thanks for the toast of the Reform Club, said that he had been 'a member of the club forty-five years, and that out of the four or five similar entertainments which he remembered this was the most brilliant.'

In addition to these grand banquets many minor ones have been given to distinguished personages. But these can be called minor only in the sense that they were given in the strangers' dining-room instead of the club coffee-room, and that the members present were smaller in number; yet neither the compliment nor the comfort was lessened by the lessened scale of the entertainment. Amongst the many which might be named, it may suffice to mention those given to General Grant and to Midhat Pasha when they visited England.

The lavish hospitality of the Reform Club has made its name famous throughout the world. Moreover, the rules for the admission of strangers to honorary membership are most liberal; any foreigner

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who is personally known to a member, and is a fit and proper person to join such a club, can easily find admittance to honorary membership for a month and to ordinary membership for a year. Those who are settled and reside in any British colony or dependency are also eligible for the like privilege; while foreigners who have resided in this country for three years, and who are in sympathy with the Liberal party, are eligible to become ordinary members for life.

Several changes have been made in the mode of electing members during the half-century of the club's existence. The number of members has also been altered. Sixteen of the original members still survive, and they must be more struck with such changes and alterations than any of those who are solely acquainted with things as they are.

At the outset the members numbered one thousand, exclusive of members of either House of Parliament and foreigners of distinction. At that time candidates who were members of Parliament were elected by the committee, while other candidates were elected by a general ballot of the club. Later, it was resolved that the total number of members should be fourteen hundred, that all candidates should be elected by the club, but that members of either House of Parliament should have precedence. Twenty years ago a council of forty elected candidates, and this was the practice for three years. It is noteworthy that the Reform is the only political club in London on either side of politics in which the election of candidates is not entrusted to a committee.

The Reform was originally managed by a committee of thirty.[1] The only surviving member of this committee is the venerable Viscount Eversley. Now, in addition to four trustees, there is a committee of fifteen to manage 'the general concerns of the club;' a political committee of fifty to manage 'the political affairs of the club,' and a library committee of five to whom 'the management of the library is referred.' I shall dispel a widespread delusion when I state that the political committee distribute no money and act merely as a board of conciliation and arbitration, their efforts being directed to promote harmony amongst the sections and members of the Liberal party, and to give good advice when asked.

[1] The names of the first trustees and of the first committee were thoroughly representative; it may interest some persons to read them. The trustees were—the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Mulgrave, the Earl of Durham, the Right Hon. Edward Ellice, M.P., and General Sir R. Ferguson, M.P. The committee consisted of H. A. Aglionby, M.P., Alexander Bannerman, M.P., Walter Campbell, M.P., William Clay, M.P., John Crawford, M.P., Edward Divett, M.P., Viscount Ebrington, M.P., Edward Ellice, George Grote, M.P., Joseph Hume, M.P., Henry Kingscote, M.P., Charles Shaw Lefevre, M.P., Henry Shaw Lefevre, Denis Le Marchant, William Marshall, M.P., Sir William Molesworth, Bart., M.P., James Morrison, M.P., Daniel O'Connell, M.P., O'Connor Don, M.P., Barry O'Meara, Hon. C. A. Pelham, M.P., Edward Pendarves, M.P., Edward Romilly, Sutton Sharpe, E. J. Stanley, M.P., Robert Steuart, M.P., Edward Strutt, M.P., Henry Warburton, M.P., H. G. Ward, M.P.

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After flourishing for fifty years the Reform has amply fulfilled the design of its founders. It has now many rivals, but it is still, what it was at the beginning, one of the best clubs in London, if not in the world. As a club-house it remains a masterpiece. Foreign as well as home critics are at one on that point. The plans were so highly valued that they were reproduced in the French *Revue de l'Architecture* in 1857, and they were commended to the close attention and serious study of French architects. In an artistic sense the French writer's praise is just and discerning, but his acquaintance with localities is peculiar. After stating that Piccadilly is nearly as familiar to French readers as the Palais Royal, he says that the chief London clubs are situated in Piccadilly and that the Reform is the principal ornament of that street.

A handsome and deserved tribute to Barry as the architect of the Reform club-house was paid to him by Digby Wyatt, on the 21st of May, 1860, before the Institute of British Architects, when he said that the Reform exemplified how 'the most minute attention to comfort and the satisfactory working of utilitarian necessities, are compatible with the exercise of the most delicate sense of refinement and the hardihood of genius.'

Every original member of the Reform who has survived till its jubilee can appreciate the completeness of the architect's design far better than those who saw it immediately after the doors of the club-house were first thrown open for their reception. In this building, as in an Italian palace, the sculptor and the painter were expected to adorn and perfect the architect's design. Year after year since the building of the club-house the places appointed by Barry for the purpose have been filled with the busts or portraits of members of the club who were notable reformers.

On entering the club-house the most conspicuous object, as I have already stated, is the marble bust of the Queen as she appeared to gladden the eyes of her people at the beginning of her memorable reign. To the right, when looking towards this charming bust, is the portrait of Palmerston when he was prime minister, and on the left is that of Earl Russell when well advanced in years. Turning one's back upon these portraits, one sees on the opposite side facing Palmerston the portrait of the Marquis of Westminster wearing the robes and insignia of a Knight of the Garter, while a portrait of Daniel O'Connell faces that of Earl Russell. One of the other two sides is graced with portraits of Lord Saye and Sele and Mr. Denison, and between them, on a high pedestal, is a marble bust of Mr. Gladstone. On the opposite side, the portrait of Macaulay faces that of Lord Saye and Sele, and the portrait of the Right Hon. C. P. Villiers faces that of Mr. Denison. The bust of Mr. Gladstone and the portrait of Mr. Villiers have been specially exempted from the rule that no member of the club is to be honoured with a place in

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its gallery of busts and portraits during his lifetime. Within the hall proper and at each of its four corners are the marble busts of Cromwell and Brougham, of Cobden and Palmerston, the bust of Palmerston representing him as he appeared at that stage in his career when he bore without objection or repining the nickname of 'Cupid.'

In the gallery on the first floor the portrait of Earl Grey, the Premier in the first Reform Administration, is flanked by those of the Earl of Durham and of Lord Sydenham and Toronto, the latter being the only English peer who bears a title borrowed from an English colony. In a niche close at hand is a bust of Daniel O'Connell. A bust of Hampden separates the portrait of Edward Ellice, the originator of the club, from that of Cobden, one of its greatest ornaments. The portrait of the Duke of Sussex, the most accomplished and liberal member of the Royal Family, is in the centre of another side of the gallery, while that of the third Lord Holland immediately adjoins it, the Lord Holland upon whom Macaulay passed a splendid eulogium, and whose own noble ambition was to do nothing to disgrace his position as the nephew of Charles James Fox, and the friend of Charles, Earl Grey. The portrait of Brougham fills a space near which there is a vacancy that may soon be filled with the portrait of the lamented W. E. Forster. On the same floor the marble bust of Charles James Fox stands in one room, that of Milton in another, while the portraits of the Earl of Dalhousie and Bernal Osborne hang on the walls of a third. A vacant space between Cobden and the Duke of Sussex could not be more appropriately filled than with the portrait of Mr. John Bright. Returning to the ground floor, the portrait of Thackeray, an early member of the club, hangs on the walls of a room there between the busts of two other esteemed members of the club and ardent reformers, Charles Buller and Sir William Molesworth. Nor have reformers on the other side of the Atlantic been forgotten. In a small reception room there is a large bronze medallion showing the profiles of Washington, Lincoln, and Grant, and below it is a facsimile of the Declaration of Independence. Several omissions may be noted. Chief among them is the absence of a portrait or bust of Viscount Melbourne, who was a member of the club from its foundation till his death, and who, as the Queen's first Prime Minister, rendered special service both to her and the State. The philosophical Radical and famous historian George Grote has been forgotten, while Sir William Molesworth, his fellow-labourer in the same field of politics, has been remembered. From the beginning of the club till now it has numbered among its members the principal conductors and editors of the Liberal press in London and throughout the country. No bust or portrait of any of these notable men is to be seen in the club-house, yet some of them, such as the late Mr. Russel of the *Scotsman* and the late

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Mr. Delane of the *Times*, well merited any posthumous honour which the club can bestow.

The original members of the Reform Club were intensely proud of it, and they laboured diligently to render it attractive in all respects. Their successors have quite as good reason for cherishing the same feeling, and for striving to maintain unimpaired the high and widespread reputation of their magnificent club.

W. Fraser Rae.

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WHENCE CAME THE COMETS?

ALTHOUGH the astronomer has achieved many successes in studying comets, yet these objects still remain outside the surveyed fields of astronomy—now, as in the old days when men spoke of sun and moon, planet and stars, as including all the members of the heavenly host. The two comets now shining in our skies illustrate the present position of cometic astronomy. They have appeared without warning, we know not whence; they have not until now been known to astronomers as travelling on recognised orbits and in definite periods; and even hereafter, though the astronomer may determine their orbital motions and calculate the time when either should return, he cannot be sure that they will not be dissipated into unrecognisable portions before that time arrives.

I do not propose to remark here upon the probable nature of comets, or upon the possible interpretation of the various phenomena they present. The only circumstance in regard to them which I shall take into account in what follows is that close relationship between comets and meteor-streams which was established in 1866 by the combined labours of Schiaparelli, Adams, and Tempel. I shall treat this kinship between comets and meteors as rendering certain or highly probable the following propositions:—

(1) Every meteoric stream follows in the train of some comet large or small, which either exists now or has been dissipated, as Biela's comet was, leaving only its meteoric trail to show where it once travelled.

(2) Every comet is followed or preceded by a train of meteors (this train has nothing to do with the comet's tail), extending over a greater or less portion of the comet's orbit, according to the length of time during which the comet has existed.

(3) All meteoric bodies, from those which exist as the finest dust to the largest meteorites, hundreds of pounds in weight, may be regarded as bodies of the same kind, differing from each other indeed in constitution as they obviously do in mass, just as planets and asteroids do, but all to be interpreted—if they can be interpreted at all—in the same general way.

We may in some degree illustrate the nature of the assumptions here made in the three following assumptions which an insect who

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had observed the phenomena of rain, cloud, mist, snow, &c. might be supposed to make: (1) Every shower of rain implies the existence of a cloud; (2) every cloud implies the descent, at some time or other, of rain, greater or less in quantity and heaviness; and (3) all drops of water, from the tiniest water vesicles in a cloud to the heaviest rain drops, are of the same kind, differing only in shape or in size: snowflakes also, as formed of water particles in a changed form, must be put in the same class.

And as the insect by studying the relations which exist between clouds and rain might be led to form an opinion whence clouds come, which would tell him also (as we know) whence rain comes,[1] so perhaps may we by studying the relations which exist between meteor-streams and comets be led to form an opinion whence comets (which are meteor collections) have originally come.

The very first suggestion ever made respecting the origin of comets came, indeed, from such considerations as I have mentioned above. Schiaparelli, to whom we owe the happy guess, and the beginning of its confirmation as a useful truth, that meteors are bodies following in the tracks of comets, threw out the idea that comets, regarded as flights of meteors, may be travelling in multitudes through the interstellar depths, and be from time to time drawn out thence by the attraction of our sun. He pictured our sun, in his swift rush onward with his train of planetary attendants, as coming into ever-fresh regions of comet-strewn space. A comet or meteor flight drawn towards him by the sun would approach the solar system on a path which may be described as casual. It might cross the general plane near which all the planets travel at any point, the chance that that point would lie near a planetary orbit being very small indeed. Supposing the point where the meteor flight crossed that important plane—the life plane of the solar system—to be on or near a planetary orbit, the chance would still be very small that the meteor flight would cross there at a time when the planet to which that orbit belonged was near that particular point. The chances would, in fact, be millions of millions, or rather of billions, to one that the meteor flight would visit our solar system without coming near any planetary body, in which case it would pass out from our solar system again, never to return to it.[2] But, if a meteor flight did chance to come very close indeed to a planet of adequate mass, the flight might,

[1] To us, who know how clouds and rain are really produced, this imagined inquiry of the insect may seem trivial. But man had advanced far in scientific research before he had learned anything about the source and nature of rain, hail, snow, cloud, mist, and fog. The whole subject was as completely mysterious, for example, to all the writers whose works were included by the Jews among their sacred books (in probably *all* their ancient documents), as were the phenomena of comets, which with them were veritable angels or messengers from Yahveh.

[2] *Nearer*; because, by the nature of its supposed indrawing, it possessed relative motion of its own before it began to be drawn in; and the sun could not take from

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said Schiaparelli, be captured. The planet might abstract so much of the comet's velocity as to leave only a balance corresponding to motion in a closed or elliptic path; and on such a path would the meteor flight or comet necessarily travel thereafter—unless, perhaps, after many revolutions of each, the planet at some subsequent encounter undid the work which it had accomplished when first it approached the comet.

So far Schiaparelli reasoned soundly on the basis of his assumption. I say assumption of set purpose; for it is altogether a mistake to regard the idea thus thrown out by Schiaparelli as if it were a theory. His idea that meteors follow in the track of comets developed into a theory when it had been tested and confirmed by observation. But the case is different with the idea, that meteor flights are travelling amid the star depths like fish in the depths of ocean.

But Schiaparelli did not even reason quite correctly. A single meteoric mass, or even a small meteor flight, might be introduced into our solar system in the way suggested by Schiaparelli; for undoubtedly the giant planets possess the power he attributed to them, and if a body from without came near enough to any one of them, could so reduce its velocity as to change its path from the hyperbolic (or unclosed) form to an elliptic or closed orbit. And thenceforth such a body would travel around the sun systematically, on an eccentric path passing very near the orbit of the planet by whose influence it had been originally introduced into the system.

But a giant planet could do no more. It could not generate a meteor-stream in the way suggested by Schiaparelli. So soon as we test the matter by mathematical analysis, we find that very close approach would have to be made to a planet that a single body might be forced into a closed path, and it is certain that a flight of bodies large enough to produce any of the known meteor-streams would have its components very widely scattered by the planet's perturbing action, simply because the different components of the flight would be exposed to very different degrees of disturbing action.

This I have shown mathematically, and my demonstration has not been questioned—though Professor Young, of Princeton, N.J., in admitting the validity of my reasoning, suggests the possibility that some way may hereafter be found for eluding the difficulty. But then Professor Young holds the strange idea that Schiaparelli's speculation as to the origin of comets and meteor-streams is an accepted theory; and labouring under this delusion, imagines that there *must* be some way of meeting objections to it.

But it is worthy of notice that Schiaparelli's fancy, even if accepted,

it that relative motion. He would impart motior, and take such imparted motion away again, leaving untouched the original motion.

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would prove nothing about the origin of comets and meteors. To say that they came from out the interstellar depths on hyperbolic paths, is to assert what can be disproved by mathematical demonstration. But if it could be proved, what would it amount to? Merely to this—that comets which now travel on closed paths once travelled on endless paths. We are no whit nearer the explanation of their origin. If the interstellar depths are crowded with meteor flights, we have to ask whence the meteor flights came. To say that fish which have been drawn from the sea were originally swimming about in the sea, is surely not to add much to our knowledge about fish.

It may be urged, however, that comets and meteor-streams are simply the material left unused after the various solar systems in our galaxy had been formed, by processes of meteoric aggregation.

Unfortunately for this explanation, the comets and meteor systems we have to explain are precisely those which, had they existed from the earlier ages, when our solar system and its fellows were forming, would have been the first to be gathered up. For they are those which pass near the orbits of various planets, some near the orbit of Jupiter, some near that of Saturn, or of Uranus, or of Neptune, and about four hundred which pass near the orbit of our earth. These comets, with their associated meteor systems, would have had less chance of escape than any others, during the millions of years belonging to the formative processes of our solar system. Yet those are precisely the comets and meteor systems which we chiefly need to interpret.

Suppose that, instead of making mere guesses, we consider actual facts, and open our eyes to the views suggested by them.

I take first the millions of meteors encountered by the earth each year, and the hundreds of earth-crossing meteor systems already recognised. Taking for our guide proposition (1), we are led to the conclusion that in remote ages there were hundreds, if not thousands, of comets whose tracks crossed the track of the earth, or at any rate approached very near to it. That some of these comets thus crossed the earth's track casually, that is through mere chance coincidence, we may well believe. Nay, this is known, as will presently be seen. But if *all* did, then must there have been millions of millions of comets in remote times, to account for so many chancing to cross the earth's track;—with this startling circumstance to be considered in addition, that ninety-nine out of a hundred of those whose paths did not cross the earth's track have entirely disappeared, while a considerable proportion of those which do cross that track (and which, therefore, have been exposed for millions of years to an extra risk of destruction) remain.

This idea we may safely reject. But if we do, then we have to account for a special earth-crossing family of comets and meteor-streams, without going outside to look for the origin of such bodies; for the moment we go outside we encounter the difficulty which has just driven us from any merely casual interpretation.

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In other words, we must look to the earth herself to explain the great majority of these earth-crossing systems.

In this way Meunier and Tschermak were driven to look to the earth herself for the origin of meteorites. Proposition (3) above enables us to extend their reasoning, specially directed to particular classes of aerolites, to all classes of such bodies, to all meteors, down even to the tiniest falling star, only visible perhaps in the field of a powerful telescope. Not all these bodies, but a goodly proportion, must have been generated in some specially terrene manner.

We have actually no possible way of explaining the terrestrial origin of any meteors but in volcanic outbursts. Moreover, we are obliged to set the time when such outbursts took place very far back in the past, seeing that at present the volcanic forces of the earth, even as manifested at Krakatoa recently, possess nothing like the power necessary for the ejection of matter beyond the range of the earth's back-drawing power. Looking, however, at the immense extrusive power of the volcanoes of the tertiary era, when basaltic lava covering hundreds of thousands of square miles to a depth of from 1,000 to 14,000 feet were poured forth, we can conceive the still mightier energies of volcanoes in the secondary era, their still more tremendous power in the primary era, and so, passing backwards to millions of years beyond the first beginnings of life on the earth, we can even picture to ourselves volcanoes ejecting matter with velocities of ten or twelve miles per second. With such velocities flights of ejected particles would pass beyond the earth's attraction, and if she were the only body in the universe, such ejected matter would travel away from her never to return.

But, although such expelled bodies would never return to the earth, they would not escape from the solar system. To drive them for ever away from her, the earth would have to impart a much larger velocity—an average of about twenty-six miles per second. The greater number of the expelled bodies would travel thenceforth on an orbit round the sun, crossing the earth's track at or near the place where they were first sent forth from their parent planet.

One may almost say that this origin of many meteorites and meteor systems is forced upon us by the evidence. Still it would be negatived if we found that volcanoes do not eject matter at all resembling meteorites in structure. The reverse, however, is the case. Ranging the products of volcanic ejection in order according to the amount of iron they contain, and ranging meteorites in like manner, we find the two series coinciding over the greater portion of the longer—the volcanic series. We might not indeed have known how closely the most ferruginous volcanic products resemble the iron meteorites in structure but for the accident that Nordenskjold discovered a mass which he mistook for an iron meteorite, but which is found now to be really a volcanic ejection, akin in structure to the

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field of basaltic lava (at Ovifak on the shores of Greenland), in the midst of which it had fallen while the lava was still plastic to retain this missile as it fell after its flight through many miles of air.

We may, therefore, regard the terrestrial origin of many meteorites as highly probable, if not in effect demonstrated.

Here Tschermak and Meunier pause, as also does Ball, who thus far had followed them. The last named does not even ask, in that singularly interrogative and irresponsive work the *Story of the Heavens*, whether we may not go further.

For my own part I find in this result the first step in a most interesting and suggestive path of inquiry.

Regarding a large proportion of the material visitants of the earth as originally earthborn, we may conclude that in the remote time when our earth was a baby world, sunlike in condition, her path was traversed by hundreds of comets, her own progeny. These comets were followed severally by their trains of meteoric attendants. They were exposed to the action of those solar forces by which, within the last half-century, a once promising member of another comet family became dissipated until it finally lost altogether its cometic character. Millions of years ago, probably, every one of them had been thus broken up until nothing remained but the streams of meteoric bodies, travelling round the orbit which had once been that of the earth-ejected comet.

But this being the case with the earth, was the case also no doubt with every planet. Even our little moon, whose scarred face still shows signs of the volcanic energies she once possessed, played her part in giving birth to such comets as she was equal to. If she possessed less volcanic power than the earth (at the same stage of the life of each), she required less power to eject matter for ever from her interior. On the other hand, the giant planets required greater power; but then they also possessed it. If Jupiter, for example, required power enough to eject bodies with a velocity of forty or fifty miles per second, yet it must be remembered that he is 310 times as massive, and therefore 310 times as strong as our earth. (For matter, 'inert matter' as many choose to call it, measures in reality the strength of the orbs in space, and not only possesses power, but a power acting so swiftly across vast distances that the velocity of light is rest by comparison. Moreover, this power possessed by 'inert' matter is the source of every form of energy of which we know, even of life itself.) So with the other giant planets.

Jupiter, then, and each one of his giant brethren, must during its sunlike stage have possessed the comet-ejecting power. Each giant planet must have had its comet family, at that remote time in the history of the solar system. And the comets thus formed by the giant planets, while no doubt very numerous, must, many of them, have been far more important than those to which our earth gave

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birth. Those comets would have lasted much longer, before dissipation due to solar disturbances set in. Then, also, the sunlike state of the giant planets must have lasted long after the earth and all the terrestrial planets had passed that stage. For being so much larger, the giant planets must have longer lives—the stages of planetary life being in effect stages of cooling. In fact, there are clear signs that neither Jupiter nor Saturn has cooled down to the earth's condition; each is still too hot for the waters of its future seas to rest on its fiery surface. On this account also, then, we might expect to find that some comets, sprung from giant planets and forming their families, might have remained even to the present time.

Turning to the solar system, we find that this actually is the case. Nay, I myself, long before I had the least thought of attributing comets to planetary eruptive energies, had described the comets which hang about the orbits of the giant planets as 'The comet families of the giant planets.' Some of the members of these families are among those from which the association between meteors and comets came first to be known. For instance, the meteors of November 13–14 (the *Leonides*) are associated with a comet depending on the orbit of Uranus; and the meteors of November 27–28 are associated with a comet depending on the orbit of Jupiter—Biela's famous comet.

Of course the members of these comet families are exceedingly old. How old they are we cannot tell; but that they are very old indeed is shown by the way in which, while they are unmistakably associated with the paths of the several giant planets, their orbits yet diverge far enough from those of their respective planet parents to indicate hundreds of thousands of years of perturbing action, unless indeed in some cases we may suppose that not the slow perturbing action of bodies at a distance, but the very active influence of some orb coming very close to a comet may have shifted the comet's path. So many of their orbits pass through the widely spread zone of asteroids, that we may very well imagine occasional very close approach to one or other of these bodies, and consequently a considerable change of orbit. It was thus that Sir John Herschel for a time tried to explain the disappearance of Biela's comet; 'may it not,' he said, 'have got entangled in the zone of asteroids, and have had its course altered by the influence of one of these bodies?'

Encouraged by the confirmation of the expulsion theory of comets, which we have found at this our first step, may we not boldly proceed yet one step further?

The stars, like the giant planets, should have their part to play—a grander part of course—in the world of comet expulsion. They differ only from the giant planets, nay from the earth herself, in being in a different part of their orb life. It is probable, indeed, that among the stars there are orbs differing much less from Jupiter or

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Saturn than either of these still hot and fiery planets differs from the earth. Of course an orb like our sun, the one star we are able to examine, will require much greater energy to expel from his interior a flight of bodies, to become presently a flight of meteors or a comet, than would a planet even of the giant type. Our sun, for example, would have to impart a velocity of 382 miles per second to a body ejected from his interior, that that body should pass away from his control for ever. But the sun possesses the required power. His mass, and therefore his might, exceeds that of the earth more than 320,000 times, that even of Jupiter 1,048 times.

We have no means of recognising by its orbital motion a star-expelled comet or meteor flight. But we need not seek for bodies to tell us of expulsion, ages on ages ago. The stars are *now* in their sunlike state. They must therefore be doing such work *now*, if there is any truth in the theory to which we have been led. Now there is one of the stars which is near enough to be asked whether it really possesses and uses such expulsive power—our own sun. His answer is unmistakable. In 1872 and at sundry times since, he has been caught in the act of ejecting bodies, probably liquid or solid, through the hydrogen atmosphere around his globe, with velocities so great that the matter thus expelled from his interior can never return to him—the velocities ranging to 450 miles per second at the least. What he is doing now he has doubtless done for millions, nay for tens of millions, of years in the past. What he has thus done, his fellow-suns the stars, thousands (if not millions) of millions in number, have doubtless done also. Uncounted billions then of ejected meteor flights or comets must be travelling through interstellar spaces, visiting system after system, flitting from sun to sun, in periods to be measured by millions of years.

The answer then to the question, Whence came the comets? would appear to be:—

(1) Comets which visit our system from without were expelled millions of years ago from the interior of suns.

(2) Comets which belong to our system were mostly expelled from the interior of a giant planet in the sunlike state, but a small proportion may have been captured from without.

(3) The comets of whose past existence meteor-streams tell us were for the most part expelled from our earth herself when she was in the sunlike state, but some of the more important were expelled from the giant planets, and a few may have been expelled from suns.

RICHARD A. PROCTOR.

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MR. DONNELLY'S SHAKESPEARE CIPHER.

One of the most remarkable features in what is known as the 'Baconian movement,' and to those who believe in the solidity of its foundations one of the most significant, is the large number of persons to whom the idea has suggested itself independently of the conclusions of others. There are not a few among the party which entertains the confident belief that Bacon was the author of the works which have come down to us under the name of Shakespeare, who, at the time when their suspicions were developed by further research into full conviction, believed that they had then for the first time lit upon the discovery, and only later learned, in some cases by mere chance, that others had been pursuing parallel but entirely independent paths which issued upon the same conclusion.

But, whereas the grounds upon which the adherents of this theory in England and Germany have hitherto based their belief may all be considered either internal or external testimony of the common type, the latest development of the movement is concerned with evidence which is not to be classed under either of these two heads in its ordinary sense. Till lately the confidence of the believers has rested upon the results—to speak in the most general terms—first, of a comparison of the works of Shakespeare with those of Bacon, and secondly, of an examination of the career and correspondence of the latter. A new light has suddenly burst upon the subject. What appears to be confirmatory evidence of an entirely novel nature is announced from beyond the Atlantic, and the 'Baconians' are startled by a report the confirmation of which they would be able to hail as a proof, no less final than unexpected, of the validity of their independent conclusions. It comes in the shape of a declaration from Mr. Ignatius Donnelly, of Hastings, Minnesota, ex-Member of Congress, that he has discovered, running through the Plays, a Cipher narrative in which Bacon claims their authorship, giving also a detailed account of a considerable portion of his own life and of the Court history during the period of his rise and greatness.

Too much prominence cannot be given to the fact that the 'Baconians' do not rely upon this Cipher for the unflinching belief

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which they accord to their theory. Their convictions were established and their numbers on the steady increase before ever this astounding announcement reached England, and, as far as their creed is concerned, it is only as a most gratifying confirmation of the truth of their conclusions that they welcome the report of this discovery. But from another point of view it is to them an invaluable ally. They consider, and with reason, that the addition of this piece of evidence to that already published in Europe will, owing to its peculiar character, swell their numbers more rapidly than would otherwise be the case; for it must be borne in mind that the evidence already existing in this country and in Germany is of a nature that does not necessarily appeal to any not conversant with the life and writings of Bacon, whereas the Cipher, when published, will, through its comparative simplicity, enlist a far greater number of recruits to their ranks. Mr. Donnelly's work will shortly have reached a stage sufficiently advanced to enable him to make public in detail the methods and results of his task, which is at present known of by few, and by the majority of them through rumours only. It will then be easily within the reach of all; whereas a conviction based on the other evidence can only be attained after considerable labour. Another point that arises in connection with the two classes of evidence—for the ordinary internal and external may for this purpose be classed together—is the obvious fact that, whereas the Cipher must be either entirely conclusive or an unmitigated fraud, that already existing, through its essential character, does not stand or fall all in one piece. It is the collection of the independent work of several minds, and the discovery of a flaw in any one item of the evidence in no way affects the credence due to the rest. This will be plain to those conversant even with such proportion of the case for the 'Baconians' as is to be found in the writings already published on the subject from time to time. In other words, Mr. Donnelly's contribution to the Society's polemic literature is of a mathematical nature, and dependent each step on each for its validity; while that which it has come to supplement is circumstantial, and it is for each individual juryman of the public to decide for himself how far the total of its items is to be considered conclusive. The 'Baconians' claim, however, and apparently with much reason, that, though the total eclipse of Mr. Donnelly and his work would not in any way injure their position, founded beforehand on evidence of an utterly different nature, yet that the establishment of the indisputable truth of the Cipher method would outweigh all arguments of whatever nature on the other side—that is its reward in case of victory for the uncompromising audacity of its claims.

Although for a full understanding even of the Cipher portion of the total evidence—such of it as is here stated—some knowledge of the rest is requisite, any reference to the latter that can be dispensed with will be rigorously excluded. That is, or shortly will be, avail-

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able in its entirety to those interested, and the mass is far too large to justify even a near approach except when absolutely necessary. The following pages will be confined to a notice of the methods and results, as far as he has at present made them known, of the worker who has now been so long engaged over this Cipher.

Let it be at once stated that the key to its solution is not yet forthcoming. Mr. Donnelly writes that only after immense labour he has discovered it, and that its application to the Plays is a very slow and tedious operation. And he has not yet made such progress in the deciphering but that if the whole rule were to be given others might be able to anticipate the publication of his work. What he has at present thought it safe to divulge are the observations which first roused his suspicions and the confirmatory evidence which his researches brought to light. These will probably appear to many inadequate and far-fetched, but Mr. Donnelly has his own reasons for withholding at present a detailed statement of his case.

He had long been a 'Baconian,' and had thus taken a more than ordinary interest not only in the Plays, but also in the acknowledged works of Bacon. It struck him as curious that, while Bacon lived in an age when the state of the political and social world had habituated public men to an extensive use of cipher, there was no evidence on record in any of his biographies that he ever made any use of an art which he had taken the pains to acquire. For that he devoted considerable labour to the subject we learn from his philosophical writings, in which he not only dwells on the great usefulness of secret means of correspondence, but also gives samples and rules for the best kind of cipher work. For the perfect cipher he lays down that

> the highest degree is to write *omnia per omnia*; which is undoubtedly possible, with a proportion quintuple at most of the writing infolding to the writing infolded.[1]

Again—

> The infolding writing shall contain at least five times as many letters as the writing infolded;[2]

and there follows a specimen of a cipher

> which I devised myself when I was at Paris in my early youth, and which I still think worthy of preservation; for it has the perfection of a cipher, which is to make anything signify anything.

This is based on the rule just given.

With these passages he compared the following, which occurs in a notice of the 'enigmatical method' of delivery:—

[1] *Advancement of Learning*, ii. (in Spedding, Ellis, and Heath's edition, 1857, vol. iii. p. 402).

[2] *De Augmentis*, vi. 1 (S., E., & H., vol. iv. p. 445).

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This method was itself used among the ancients, and employed with judgment and discretion. But in later times it has been disgraced by many who have made it as a false and deceitful light to put forward their counterfeit merchandise. The intention of it, however, seems to be by obscurity of delivery to exclude the vulgar (that is, the profane vulgar) from the secrets of knowledges, and to admit those only who have either received the interpretation of the enigmas through the hands of their teachers, or have wits of such sharpness and discernment as can pierce the veil.[3]

Other passages of a kindred nature are to be found throughout his writings.

Having here not only a proof that Bacon was in this respect no exception among the statesmen of his day, but also what he took to be an encouraging though dark hint that his suspicions were well founded, Mr. Donnelly set to work to discover, if possible, a cipher in the Plays. The immediate reason of his applying himself to this department of Bacon's writings seems to have been his inability to believe that the writer of such works would for ever renounce them, and his opinion that in the Plays themselves would most probably be found the assertion of his authorship of them. He turned to the Folio of 1623, which Grant White had pronounced, in his edition of Shakespeare, to be 'the only authentic form in which the text of his dramatic works has reached us.' In this volume, while intending to investigate the matter of the text in the light of the above remarks on cipher work, he made discoveries of an entirely different nature.

The condition in which the Plays are presented to us in the Folio had been a source of amazement and regret to many generations of commentators, but nothing more satisfactory had been suggested by way of explanation than that it 'must be attributed merely to the lack of proper editorial supervision.' This is the conclusion of Grant White after an enumeration of the 'defects and blemishes' that disfigure 'that precious volume.'[4] Mr. Donnelly's investigation resulted in his discovering, in addition to the items enumerated by Grant White (unless indeed these are the 'minor errors' referred to by the latter), what he characterises as 'irregular paging, arbitrary italicising, meaningless bracketing, and senseless hyphenation.' Now the book is known to have been brought out at great cost, and was evidently intended to be a first-rate edition of the Plays. Is it conceivable, argued Mr. Donnelly to himself, that the editorial supervision should have been carelessly conducted? Surely those

[3] *De Augmentis*, vi. 2 (S., E., & H., vol. iv. p. 450).

[4] He remarks (vol. i. p. cclviii), 'Besides minor errors, the correction of which is obvious, words are in some cases so transformed as to be past recognition, even with the aid of the context; lines are transposed; sentences are sometimes broken by a full point followed by a capital letter, and at other times have their members displaced and mingled in incomprehensible confusion; verse is printed as prose, and prose as verse; speeches belonging to one character are given to another; and, in brief, all possible varieties of typographical derangement may be found in this volume, in the careful printing of which the after world had so deep an interest.'

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who put forth so expensive a volume would have been at the pains to make it perfect in such common matters as are concerned with typographical correctness. If there is one thing in which printers are careful, it is the paging of the work which they do. This is not the author's work but the printer's, and surely the printer would have been called to sharp account for any incorrectness in this branch of his art. Can the irregularities in this respect and in the use of the italics, brackets, and hyphens be with any semblance of plausibility attributed to the carelessness of the editors? Is it not a far more natural supposition that this extraordinary derangement in matters so simple was the result of deliberate and jealously carried out intention—that these irregularities were purposely inserted? And is it not at least a fair hypothesis that these may in some way contain the key to the Cipher? The *De Augmentis* was published in the same year as the Folio. Is it altogether unwarrantable to suggest that in the simultaneous appearance of these two works Bacon with one hand presented to the world a locked-up secret, and with the other a key by means of which that secret could be unlocked? Would not this most amply justify the words of Sir Tobie Matthew, who, in a letter to Bacon, answering one which accompanied the gift of a 'great and noble token' of his 'Lordship's favour' (believed to have been a presentation copy of the Folio), remarks, 'The most prodigious wit that ever I knew of my nation, and of this side of the sea, is of your Lordship's name, though he be known by another'?[5]

Such were the pregnant thoughts that at this time suggested themselves to Mr. Donnelly. It must be remembered by those who now hear of his work for the first time that, owing to his long-standing conviction that the Plays were Bacon's work, the notion did not appear to his mind one of extraordinary audacity.

The following are instances of the four points referred to:—

(1) The *pagination* of this volume is as follows: The Comedies come first, and are paged consecutively to page 303. Then follow the Histories, beginning again at page 1. Page 100 sees the end of the text of *II. Henry IV.* Two then follow unnumbered. Then comes *Henry V.*, beginning suddenly on page 69. *Henry VIII.* ends on page 232, and is succeeded by *Troilus and Cressida*, the third page of which is numbered 79, and the fourth 80. Here the pagination abruptly ceases, the remaining twenty-five pages of the play following unnumbered. Then comes *Coriolanus*, starting afresh with page 1. Soon after the beginning of *Hamlet* page 156 is followed by page 257, and from this number the pagination proceeds consecutively to the end of the volume, except that the last page of all, which follows 398, is numbered 993.

[5] For this letter in full and its circumstances, see Holmes' *Authorship of Shakespeare*, pp. 172 ff. (3rd edition, New York, 1875).

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(2) With respect to the *italics*, it must suffice here to quote one instance of their inconsistent use. Proper names are as a rule italicised, but sometimes, when no rational explanation for the change suggests itself, they appear in Roman type. Perhaps the most remarkable instance is to be found on page 56 of the Histories (*I. Henry IV.*). There the name 'Francis' occurs five times in italics and sixteen times in Roman letters.

(3) The irregularity in the use of *brackets* is well seen in comparing pages 70 and 71 and pages 72 and 73 of the Histories, in which occur respectively one and three bracketed words, with pages 74 and 75, immediately following, where there are eighty-six. For another example reference may be made to page 53 of the Comedies. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is here in progress, the page containing the end of Act iii. and the beginning of Act iv. A study of this page will give a good idea of the curious use both of italics and of brackets.

(4) *Hyphenation* is most irregular and unaccountable throughout the volume. For instance, in *I. Henry IV.*, Act ii., Scene 1 (page 53 in the Folio), Gadshill is made to remark—

> I am ioyned with no Foot-land-Rakers, no Long-staffe six-penny strikers, none of these mad Mustachio-purple-hu'd-Maltwormes, but with Nobility, and Tranquilitie.

Again, in *II. Henry IV.*, at the end of the Induction (page 74), we read—

> From *Rumours* Tongues
> They bring smooth-Comforts-false, worse then True-wrongs.[6]

On pages 74 (a two-thirds page) and 75 occur twenty-one hyphens; on the two preceding them, 72 and 73 (a half page), are five. (This is reckoned excluding six that occur at the ends of the lines in prose diction on pages 72 and 73. There is no prose on 74 and 75.) How far the appearance of any of these is natural must be left to the judgment of each reader.

Mr. Donnelly was also struck with the strange use of capital letters. This needs no illustration to any one who has ever studied one page of the Folio carefully. Mr. Donnelly was, however, particularly interested in this matter from noticing the fact that in all the four places where the word 'Bacon' occurs in the Plays it is found with a capital letter.[7] It will be noticed that these four passages are all in close connection with scenes to which Mr. Donnelly's attention had been called through other peculiarities. Further research convinced him that in suspecting the capitals throughout the volume he had hit on a true light.[8]

[6] There are none of these antics in the corresponding passages in the Quartos.

[7] The references are: *Merry Wives of Windsor*, iv. 1; *I. Henry IV.* ii. 1; *I. Henry IV.* ii. 2 (twice—once in the composition 'Bacon-fed').

[8] For the use of capitals in Shakespeare cf. the remarks of Mr. Allan Park Paton in his (Hamnet) edition of *Macbeth* (Edinburgh, 1877).

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With a mind fully bent upon the discovery of a secret the existence of which he now considered proved, Mr. Donnelly commenced a series of laborious experiments in order to satisfy himself as to whether or not, and if so in what manner, the curious features which the Folio presents were connected with the cipher which he believed the Plays to contain. He writes to a correspondent in England—

> I counted up all these peculiarities and set myself to consider how they could be used as factors in the problem. After some experiments I obtained the following results: I found that in many cases where some remarkable word, such as 'St. Albans' or 'Bacon,' is in the text, that word is reached by multiplying the number of the page at which the scene begins by the number of italic words in the first column of that page.

For instance, on page 53 of the Histories (*I. Henry IV.*) there are seven italic words in the first column. $53 \times 7 = 371$. The 371st word is 'Bacon.' On page 67 (same play) the first column contains six words in italics. $67 \times 6 = 402$, and the 402nd word is 'St. Albans.'[9] These are two significant instances out of many given by Mr. Donnelly.

He seems to have found further encouragement in the fact that there are several individual pages in the volume in which more than one peculiarity of strong suggestiveness occurs, as though to attract the attention of the reader. Thus the page 53 just referred to contains, to start with, the strange hyphenation in Gadshill's speech, the word 'Bacon' with a capital letter, and 'Nicholas' twice. On the next page are found 'Exchequer' twice, 'Bacons,' and 'Bacon-fed,' and on page 52, in that portion of the page which is exactly opposite to Gadshill's speech on page 53, the words—

> And now I will unclasp a secret book,
> And to your quick-conceiving discontents
> I'll read you matter deep and dangerous,
> As full of peril and adventurous spirit,
> As to o'erwalk a current, roaring loud,
> On the unsteadfast footing of a spear.[10]

Mr. Donnelly considered this simile forced. It may appear so or not to others, but Mr. Donnelly states that subsequent researches have convinced him that it was only introduced to bring in the word 'Speare,' the latter half of 'Shakespeare.'

Again, on page 53 of the Comedies, already referred to as illustrative of the irregular use of brackets and italics, the word 'Bacon' is found in a most irrelevant scene in a most irrelevant pun, based on a story which is told, perhaps by Bacon himself, of his father, Sir

[9] The accuracy of these statements, as well as that of the others made by Mr. Donnelly and quoted here, may be verified by any one who can give an hour to the study of the Folio.

[10] The spelling &c. in this passage, being for this purpose unimportant, have been modernised. The last word appears as 'Speare.'

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Nicholas.[11] This scene does not occur in the Quarto of 1602. Nor does what Mr. Donnelly terms the 'very forced and unnatural construction' on page 54, where the jealous Ford is made to strike himself on the forehead and cry 'peere-out, peere-out;' nor, again, the description on page 56 of Herne the Hunter, who

> shakes a chain
> In a most hideous and dreadful manner.

The occurrence of these two words 'shakes' and 'peere' under these circumstances is also among the observations which in the mass have been so much encouragement to Mr. Donnelly.

It will now be seen that his researches proceeded upon a rule based on the mutual relations of the paging, the brackets, the italics, and the hyphens of the Folio text. This implies that these irregularities were inserted in manuscript for reproduction in the text, and that the proofs of the latter must have been submitted to their author for correction at the risk of rendering necessary a re-setting of a large portion of the type. This is a tremendous assumption indeed, but even for this there is something to be said. In the first place, the corrections would amount to nothing more than the addition or deletion of one or two hyphens or brackets, in case there was a word too few or too many in the page or the column; and in the second place Mr. Donnelly is content to wait until the publication of the Cipher with its workings and results will reduce this consideration from the rank of an objection to that of an eternal source of amazement. That this would be the case in the event of his establishing the genuine nature of his assertions seems clear, for that the Cipher should be true is not impossible, while that a continuous story should be mathematically worked out of the Plays by means of a consistent use of a non-existent Cipher is, by any known or conjectured law of chances, plainly out of the question.

With respect to this matter of the addition and deletion of hyphens &c. in the proof sheets, an examination of the text will show that these do not really present the difficulties that at first appear inevitable. Hyphens might have been inserted between words which have such an original connection that their typographical junction would not create suspicion to the ordinary reader; this is

[11] *Apophthegms*, S., E., & H., vol. vii. p. 185: — 'Sir Nicholas Bacon being appointed a judge for the northern circuit, and having brought his trials that came before him to such a pass as the passing of sentence on malefactors, he was by one of the malefactors mightily importuned for to save his life; which, when nothing that he had said did avail, he at length desired his mercy on account of kindred. "Prithee," said my lord judge, "how came that in?" "Why, if it please you, my lord, your name is Bacon, and mine is Hog, and in all ages Hog and Bacon have been so near kindred that they are not to be separated." "Ay, but," replied Judge Bacon, "you and I cannot be kindred except you be hanged, for Hog is not Bacon until it be well hanged."' It is of no importance whether or not the anecdote is given by Bacon himself.

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rendered more likely by the fact that words in some cases appear so joined in one place while in another they stand separate, as 'fore-tells,' first-born,' 'death-bed.' It seldom happens that the necessities of the case produce such striking irregularities as that quoted above from the Induction to *II. Henry IV.*, where the words are the last of their page, as if the corrector had been on this occasion hard driven to make the numbers come right. An italic more or less can be secured by adding or omitting once the name of the interlocutor. Brackets are not so easily managed, and hence the more noticeable is their arbitrary use.

Mr. Donnelly reports other extraordinary discoveries. Agamemnon's speech containing the reference to the 'Masticke' jaws of Thersites (*Troilus and Cressida*, i. 3) does not appear in the Quarto, but is in the Folio inserted in the middle of the speech of Ulysses. This word commentators have generally altered into 'mastiff.' Mr. Donnelly assures us that it forms part of the word 'satire-o-masticke.' In the description of Falstaff's death in *Henry V.*, ii. 3, the Folio reading (p. 75 of the Histories) is 'for his Nose was as sharp as a Pen, and a Table of greene fields.' (This passage does not appear in the Quarto.) Theobald's emendation is now generally accepted—'and 'a babbled of green fields.' Mr. Donnelly declares, 'There was a necessity to speak in that sentence of the word "table," and it had to be dragged in whether it destroyed the sense or not.'[12] 'I have found,' he says, 'scores of other instances where the sense and the words were so twisted to bring in the Cipher story, and in many cases the necessities of the Cipher compelled Bacon to make his characters talk nonsense in passages that have puzzled commentators from that day to this.'

The above is an outline of what Mr. Donnelly has up to the present thought it safe to make known with reference to the origin and progress of the work of deciphering. It certainly is not much, but for reasons already given he declares that he cannot yet publish the whole rule. People must wait until he is out of danger of being forestalled, in the meantime taking what he says on trust.

The multiples are, he writes, not the most important part of the Cipher. They do not bring the words out in their order. The transposed words have to be rearranged in proper order according to another system, which it took him two more years to discover. When the rule is published, it will prove 'to be so simple and clear that any one with a reprint of the Folio can decipher the Plays for himself.'[13] To his correspondent in England he writes enthusiastically—

[12] It is, however, considered not improbable that 'mastiff' and 'babbled,' or 'talked,' were the words originally written, and that Bacon foresaw that commentators would easily hit upon them.

[13] Besides the large and expensive reproductions, there is one in reduced facsimile

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It is a most marvellous piece of work. The ingenuity used in constructing it is as great a subject of wonder to me as the genius manifested in the Plays has been to the world. . . . He seems to have written it, as it were, reckless of the trouble it would give him to work the words into the Plays—that is, *the Plays were bent and twisted to conform to the Cipher, not the Cipher to the Plays.*

Later:—

I find it almost hopeless to attempt to give you a due impression of the marvellous nature of this Cipher. You, however, if any one can, will be able to conceive the marvellous ingenuity, versatility, wittiness, and patience which are here revealed to our contemplation. Bacon's ingenuity and nimbleness of mind were a thousand times greater than his genius, though that genius was the vastest and profoundest ever known in the world. . . . It was to these Plays that Bacon alluded when he spoke of the 'pinnacle of human industry.'

This is strong language with a vengeance, but it must be remembered under the influence of what circumstances Mr. Donnelly was writing.

Again:—

As I work the marvel grows upon me, how any human brain could have been ingenious enough to construct such a wonderful mosaic work. These Plays (I think I told you before) are that 'pinnacle of human industry' to which Bacon alludes, enigmatically, in his acknowledged writings, when he asks that the reader 'will not be appalled by them' (I quote from memory), 'considering the great experience that was had.' . . . The publication of the Cipher and my work will place Bacon upon an unapproachable height in human estimation, as not only the first of men, intellectually, but, as *you* know, with a vast gap between him and the second.

In another letter he refers to the slowness of the process:—

It cannot be hastily or perfunctorily performed: the miscounting of a word, the reckoning of a hyphen too little or of a letter too much will throw out the count for pages and break the thread of discovery.

In another he writes:—

I know that it is hard to believe that one set of writings could be made the vehicle of another set, but the character of the age must be remembered, an age of tyranny and suppression; and we must remember too the extraordinary character of the mind that wrote the Plays—a mind not to be measured by any ordinary standard of ability or industry.

A very interesting part of his correspondence is that in which he speaks of the results of the application of the Cipher rule to the text:—

At first, as you know, I expected no more than to find written into the Plays (perhaps a word on a page) a brief statement that Francis Bacon was their author. But as I went on the Cipher grew under my hands until I found it to be a complete and elaborate narrative, perfect in all its parts, minute in detail; containing not only a statement of facts, but a description of his own feelings in the midst of the

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great troubles and dangers which surrounded him. . . . Beginning, as I chanced to do, upon the Plays of the first and second parts of *Henry IV.*, I found myself plunged into the middle of the Cipher story. You know how indignant Elizabeth was at the excitement and interest caused by the performance of the play of *Richard II.* . . .

Upon the subject of this play, the circumstances of the production of which are of such great importance to 'Baconians,' he has fortunately much to say; but this is concerned with such a wide subject that it cannot be entered upon here.

The Cipher story, he tells us, after treating of Essex's plots against the Cecils, proceeds to a minute and detailed account of Robert Cecil's jealousy of his cousin Francis Bacon and his detection of the drift and authorship of the Plays, of his confiding his suspicions to the Queen, and of the complications that ensued. On this point Mr. Donnelly has written at length to his friend in this country, quoting in full the graphic description in the Cipher of the exciting events that took place, in which Shakespeare, Burleigh, Bacon himself, and his faithful servant Harry Percy are the chief actors. This last-named person occupies a very prominent position throughout the Cipher story; he seems to have been admitted to the greatest intimacy with his master, and to have thoroughly deserved the confidence reposed in him. Shakespeare's character, antecedents, and career are dwelt upon at some length. With the utmost detail is recorded how the Queen ordered him to be arrested, and, if necessary, racked to divulge the name of the real author, and how Bacon managed to save the disclosure. It is, writes Mr. Donnelly, a wonderful story

how Bacon sent his faithful friend-servant to find Shakespeare and to get him to fly the country when the Queen gave orders for his arrest. Percy's disguise of himself; how he stooped down and embraced Bacon for the last time, as he was about to start on his mare (note the minute details) from the orchard at St. Albans; how he comforted him and told him that he would save him, Bacon meanwhile standing in the darkness and listening to the dull beats of the hoofs of his horse on the hard ground as he receded. His fondness for Percy's faithful and cheerful spirit, his feeling that only the errand of that one true man stood between him and the greatest disgrace and shame, &c. &c. The internal story will be found to be as thrilling and absorbing and as powerfully rendered as the Plays themselves. . . . The interview between Percy and Shakespeare takes place at Stratford in the presence of Shakespeare's wife and daughter. It is told with the utmost detail. The whole Shakespeare family is described, his young brother Edmund, his daughter Susanna, his wife, his sister. The very supper bill of fare is given, and a very mean one it was—'*dried cakes, mouldie and ancient*,' roast mutton far advanced in decomposition, the odour of which *perfumed* the room, bitter beer and worse Bordeaux stuff. The smell of the meal took away the dandy Percy's appetite. He told Shakespeare that the Queen's officers were after him, to arrest him as the nominal author of *Richard II.*, which represented the murder and deposition of the King, and which was held to be an incentive to treason. Shakespeare, Percy said, must fly to Holland or Scotland, and there abide until the storm blew over. Thereupon Shakespeare became violently abusive of Bacon—'Master Francis' he calls him—for getting him into such a scrape. '*He is*,' says Percy, '*the foul-mouthedst rascal in England*.' Shakespeare declares that he will confess

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the truth and clear his own skirts. Thereupon came the first anti-Baconian argument. It is the parent of all later ones. Percy told Shakespeare (not, probably, as a fact, but as a threat, and to drive him from the country, so as to save Bacon's exposure) that 'Master Francis' would deny the authorship, and that the world would surely believe him and not Shakespeare. For who, says Percy, 'could conceive of one man putting the immortal glory of the Plays on the shoulders of another? Did not Shakespeare bear his blushing honours through all the disreputable houses of London? Did he not profit by the Plays? Was he not transformed in new silk and feathers, and looked upon in the low society in which he shone as the one who wrote the Plays? The Queen would ask, "*Why kept'st thou silence so long?*"' and much more to the same purpose. So you see there is nothing new under the sun. Harry Percy anticipated all the anti-Baconian arguments by nearly two hundred and ninety years.

After other passages of a kindred nature Mr. Donnelly sums up as follows:—

If the Cipher were nothing more than the internal history of the Plays and of Bacon's life it would be intensely interesting; but it is more than that: it is the history of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, with all its plots and conspiracies and their effects on great historical events. As I take it, it is Bacon's appeal to posterity, and his impalement, for all the ages, of those who had so cruelly suppressed and persecuted and humiliated him. A terrible revenge! the gall and bitterness of a tortured life embalmed in poetry and the merriment of comedies. He was not only a Creator, like Providence, but, like Providence, he left his veins of secret meaning running hidden through the texture of his work. . . .

Mr. Donnelly is not unaware of the obvious objections to his demanding credence for a statement not supported by more evidence than is here produced. The reticence which in self-defence he is at present compelled to preserve will, he recognises, be held up as a proof that his assertions are one vast fraud. These suspicions he must for the present be content to undergo; but, though positive evidence must for a short time longer be withheld, he writes on this subject from another standpoint:—

Why should I assert that I have found such a Cipher—not a hop-skip-and-jump Cipher, but a mathematically accurate rule—if I have *not*? I ask no money from any one. If I published a book that was a fraud or a delusion, the few copies which might be sold before the truth was discovered would surely not compensate me for the everlasting shame and ridicule which would fall upon me. Can any one believe that I would concoct a deliberate lie, which only a few months would explode? And for what? Not for notoriety; I have enough of that already. Is it to be believed that I would imperil whatever little honour I may have gained by my exceptionally successful books *Atlantis* and *Ragnarok* by a pretended claim to a great discovery? [14]

With this the public must for the present be contented—or discontented. They will probably not have to wait long for the full exposition which will ensue upon his arrival in England. He is expected here within a few weeks, but the exact time must depend upon the amount of progress he is able to make with his work.

[14] These two most fascinating books are now in their twelfth and sixth editions respectively.

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I hold no brief for the 'Baconians.' The above is not an enunciation of their position. As before stated, their belief is not grounded upon this discovery. Though it is perhaps hardly fair to Mr. Donnelly's contribution, which will to the general public appear of less force, standing as it does here by itself, I have been anxious not to introduce any of the evidence upon which the Society's conviction rests. Nor have any of the *à priori* objections to the theory been adduced, not from any want of recognition of their number and force, but because against them are arrayed the publications containing the rudiments of the movement, which are available in England.

To the Cipher alone the foregoing pages have been confined. Consequently it is due to the 'Baconians' to point out that those not conversant with the rest of their evidence will not only not have learnt from the above any fair notion of the nature of their belief, but also will hardly be able to approach this phase of the movement in the same spirit of preparedness as they would otherwise bring to its consideration.

PERCY M. WALLACE.

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THE NATIONAL INDIAN CONGRESS.

The city of Bombay was the scene of a remarkable gathering at the close of last year. On the last three days of November a National Indian Congress assembled to deliberate upon the state of India, and, after full discussion, to embody their wishes in a series o resolutions for the information of the people and Government of Great Britain. In taking to itself the designation of 'National' the Congress accurately described its character. Representatives were there assembled from Calcutta, Madras, Poona, Allahabad, Lahore—in a word, from every part of British India. The proceedings were conducted throughout in the English language. The speeches, while clear and explicit upon the urgent need of various reforms, were characterised by a spirit of genuine loyalty to the established order of things; and the resolutions, as I hope to show presently, were remarkable not less for their practical sagacity than for their moderation. The Congress broke up with the determination to re-assemble—but this time at Calcutta—on the 28th of December, 1886. Now, this Congress is, to my mind, one of the most extraordinary occurrences that are to be found during the period of British rule in India. Many may dislike it, but it would be the merest folly to under-rate its profound importance. It is like the handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar's palace. It shows that the time has passed when the paternal despotism we have hitherto maintained in India could satisfy the new life and the new desires which the English language and English literature have breathed into the population. The voices which tell us of this great fact are altogether friendly. The debt of gratitude is freely admitted, and they only call upon us to worthily complete the work which has been begun. It rests with the people and their leaders in this country to determine the character of the response that shall be given to the appeal thus made from India.

The first resolution 'earnestly recommends that the impending inquiry into the condition of India should be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England.' So far as the nomination of a Royal Commission is concerned, this resolution

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has been anticipated by a refusal. The Ministry has decided to be guided by former precedents, and to entrust the inquiry to a parliamentary committee. There can be no question that a Royal Commission would have been the better and more efficient machinery. At the same time it is essential to point out that if the inquiries of the committee are carried on according to the practice hitherto, they will be almost useless. The evidence taken before the parliamentary committees of 1853 is contained in about a dozen bulky volumes, and was obtained almost wholly from English officials employed either in India or at the India Office, then located in Leadenhall Street. A few missionaries were also examined; but of the people of the country there were no representatives beyond three or four Parsees from Bombay. And yet, even in those days, those who make it their business to go through this voluminous evidence will find that by far the most valuable portions of it are contained in the appendices, in the form of petitions drawn up by native associations at the chief presidency towns. I would draw the especial attention of the student to one from the inhabitants of the town of Madras, giving a truly doleful picture of the fortunes of that presidency since it was privileged to enjoy the 'inestimable blessings of British rule.' The neglect of native evidence in 1853 was a serious misfortune then; to ignore it now would be a political crime.

The Indian National Congress has also expressed its desire that evidence should be taken in India as well as England; and this is a matter of the greatest importance. The conveyance of native witnesses from India to this country will heavily increase the costs of the inquiry, and even if carried out on the most lavish scale will only inadequately achieve the object desired. There are, it is true, a great number of highly educated and representative men in India who will not be deterred by scruples of caste or other hindrances from coming to this country; but there are also many—and these witnesses of a perfectly indispensable kind—who will be so deterred. An inquiry into the condition of India will be a very imperfect and unsatisfactory affair which does not include within its scope the state of feeling in the independent native states, and their political relations with the supreme power. Those best fitted to furnish information upon these points are men like Sir Dinkur Rao, Sir Salar Jung, Sir Mahdava Rao, and others whose position and occupations render it impossible for them to come to England. In British India, also, there are scores of native gentlemen held in the highest esteem among their countrymen, distinguished for their ability, their knowledge, and their public spirit, but who, from one cause or another, could not leave India.

Resolution No. 2 records that, 'in the opinion of the Congress, the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, is the necessary preliminary to all other reforms.'

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Personally, I cannot but rejoice at this frank expression of opinion. I believe that I may claim to be first in the field in drawing attention to the anomalous and inconvenient character of this singular body, and in advocating its dissolution. Its extreme unpopularity in India with all classes—officials, unofficial Europeans, and the people—is notorious, and the reason of it easy to divine. Either the members of the Indian Council do, or do not, exercise a prevailing authority over the Secretary of State for India. If they do not—if, as some people allege who ought to know, they are little more than very highly paid clerks—then clearly the sooner that such a costly and superfluous body is dissolved the better. If, on the other hand, they *do* determine the policy of the Secretary of State, on what ground is the judgment of the India Council held to be of higher authority than the judgment of instructed official opinion upon the spot? The probability is that the former alternative is the more correct of the two. The members of the Indian Council—such of them at least as are retired Indian officials—are doubtless content, for the most part, at the close of a laborious life, to draw their twelve hundred a year, and live very much at their ease in Zion. But the world has no evidence of this.

And practically it comes to this, that the final appeal in all matters Indian is supposed by the people of Great Britain and India to rest with a secret and irresponsible conclave of fifteen retired Indian officials. No institution could be imagined more repugnant to the spirit of British politics than this, and the profound hostility with which the princes and people of India regard it is most natural and inevitable. The Parliament of Great Britain is the tribunal to which the people of India look in all cases of collision between them and the Indian bureaucracy; but by this singular device of an Indian Council we have contrived to build up a second dead wall of officialism, an inner line of defence so to speak, beyond which the petitioners for Parliamentary interposition feel that they are unable to force their way.

Resolution No. 3 states that in the opinion of the Congress it is 'essential that the Supreme and Provincial Councils should be rendered largely representative, that all budgets should be referred to these councils for consideration; their members being, however, empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the Administration.' This particular change I have already advocated in a pamphlet on *The Poverty in India, and its Remedies.* Its expediency can hardly be denied by any one outside the charmed official circle. There are very few subjects connected with British rule in India on which we find two Indian officials in agreement; but there is one on which I believe that they are practically unanimous, and that is, that legislation in India is always legislation in the dark. It is impossible to ascertain beforehand with any degree of complete-

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ness or certainty either the wishes of the people or the probable consequences of the proposed legislation. And why is this? Simply because we have not called in the advice and assistance of the leaders of the people. There is no question here of the comparative ability of Englishmen and Indians. The knowledge of the Indian is altogether indispensable to the good government of the country. It is not only unjust to the people, but it is in the highest degree prejudicial to ourselves, to go on educating Indians to a knowledge of their political disabilities, to inspire them with political ambition by making them aware of their own abilities, and yet to provide no field for the intellectual activities that we have roused from sleep. The educated Indians are fully aware of the great importance of introducing a representative element into the Supreme and Provincial Councils. At the Congress, as elsewhere, they laid greater stress upon this than admission to the Covenanted Civil Service, and in so doing they exhibit true political insight. Representative government is the parent of all political reform, and, as Mr. Banerjee pointed out in a speech upon this subject, the constituencies from which to obtain fitting representatives are ready to hand. They will, to quote his words,

> consist of the local bodies which Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government has called forth into existence. They will comprise the public bodies, such as the chambers of commerce, the trades associations, the British Indian Association, and other similar associations. Let these constituencies send their members to the Legislative Council. With reference to the local bodies, I would suggest that the municipalities of district towns should each send a member to the Legislative Council, or that all the municipalities of a district in conference assembled might select a member to represent them in Council. The whole country, with all its districts, would thus be represented. Local and national self-government would thus be interwoven together, and the independence of the local bodies would be secured. The office of municipal commissioner would thus be a passport to still higher distinctions. With regard to the powers and functions of the Council, I would say that they should have some control over finance, and should be invested with the right of interpellation. The right of interpellation is a valued privilege. It will be useful to the Government; it will be the safeguard of popular rights. If there are unfounded statements in the newspapers, the Government will have an opportunity of clearing them away. If there are erring magistrates, guilty of high-handedness, the right will soon enable the popular leaders in the Council to call them to account.

Resolution 4 demands that greater facilities should be granted the people of India for admission into the Covenanted Civil Service. I regret this resolution. The time seems to have arrived for the gradual extinction of this exclusive service and the breaking down of the walls of partition which divide what are called 'subordinate' services from the higher. The urgent need of economy, apart from all other considerations, imperatively demands that the Civil Service, as a separate body, should cease to exist, because not until this has been done will it be possible to proportion the salaries of public servants

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to the resources of the country which they govern. And not only in the Covenanted Civil Service do sound policy and equity require a larger introduction of the native element: the need for it is much more urgent in the subordinate services, and what may be described as the 'non-political' branches of the Administration. In the 'protest' against the Income Tax Bill, drawn up by the Indian Association of Calcutta, I find the following remarkable statements:

> Lord Ripon recorded a resolution which distinctly laid down that at least one-fourth of the appointments in the junior grades of the Survey Department should be held by natives of India. The Committee notice with regret that not a single appointment has yet been made in favour of a native of India under the terms of the resolution. In November 1879 Lord Lytton recorded a resolution in favour of the appointment of natives to the higher ranks of the Railway Traffic Department. 'It should be clearly understood (observed this resolution) that all posts in the revenue establishment of State railways are open to natives of India; and as men in every respect qualified for the superior grades are found, the Government of India will be glad to receive from local administrations recommendations for this employment in suitable positions;' yet to this time not a single native of India has been appointed to the office of traffic or of assistant traffic superintendent.

Attached to this 'protest' is a statement showing the proportion in which Indians and Europeans are to be found in various branches of the Administration, which is highly instructive as showing the manner in which State patronage is distributed in British India. I have not room to give the statement entire, but I select one or two typical examples. The Bengal Opium Department is one to which no political character belongs, and where Indians, one would think, could hardly fail to be more efficient than Englishmen, and yet in this department no native can be nominated to an office with a salary beyond 100 rupees a month; and as a matter of fact, no native is in it at all. In the Postal Department the highest salary attached to the service is 2,000 rupees a month: the highest which a native of India can get is 600 rupees. In the Preventive and Salt Department the highest salary attached to the service is 1,000 rupees a month: the highest which a native of India can get is less than 100 rupees. In the Jail Department the highest salary is 2,000 rupees a month: the highest which a native of India can get is less than 100 rupees. And so on through all the departments. It is manifestly absurd to pretend that this profoundly unjust allotment of State patronage is occasioned by the lack of fit men among the children of the soil. The Indian delegates who visited this country a few months ago were, I take it, average specimens of the class to which they belong—the class, I mean, which has addressed itself with a kind of passion to the acquisition of the English language; and who that saw these men can doubt that they were fitted, both by ability and natural integrity, for the discharge of responsible public duties?

The fifth resolution runs as follows: 'That in the opinion of this Congress the proposed increase in the military expenditure of the

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Empire is unnecessary, and, regard being had to the revenues of the Empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive.' This resolution refers to the proposed increase of thirty thousand men to the Indian Army, and the construction of an entrenched camp in the Pisheen Valley, which, it is calculated, will raise the Indian military budget to nineteen millions a year. In 1856-57 the cost of the Indian Army was 12,781,916*l.* It is now 16,975,750*l.* exclusive of the cost of the proposed increase. In other words, the military expenditure has grown by about four millions and a quarter in the course of thirty years, and is still in a state of rapid expansion. The extra two millions are due exclusively to our Afghanistan policy; and no provision has yet been made for the defence of the frontier of Upper Burmah. As the Burmese will not submit to the exact discipline of our military service, the troops for the protection of the new province will have to be got by an increase of the Madras Army, and this, with the cost of erecting barracks, fortifications, and other military works in Upper Burmah, will in all probability increase the Indian military budget to the gigantic total of twenty millions.

The sixth resolution states:

> That in the opinion of this Congress, if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment, they ought to be met firstly by the re-imposition of customs duties, and secondly by the extension of the license tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, at present exempted from it, care being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained.

The Government response to this resolution has been, not a retrenchment of expenditure, but the imposition of an income tax assessable upon incomes of 500 rupees a year derived from other than agricultural sources. Lord Dufferin's defence of his revived impost is, that it compels the English in India, official and non-official, and the wealthier classes among the natives to contribute to the expenses of the State; and had it been confined to these classes, I, for my part, should have been heartily glad to see it established as a permanent source of revenue. I am convinced that we should hear very little about a 'spirited foreign policy'—about the sacred duty of extending the blessings of British rule over new countries—about 'the keys of India'—about all those subjects, in fact, which provide honours and emoluments for military men and a pleasant excitement for readers of newspapers—if the adventurous spirits who counselled these undertakings were made to pay for them in the shape of a heavy income tax. With the English in India, a policy of aggression is a policy that is always applauded, because they reap all its advantages and bear none of its burdens, and the impregnable character of the Indus frontier would be revived as if by magic if our countrymen in India had to bear the cost of carrying it beyond that river. But the Government of India cannot adopt so audacious a financial

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policy as this. In order to obtain the acquiescence of the English in a tax upon their incomes, they are obliged to extend a similar tax to the poorest among the people. They silence the clamour that would otherwise be raised, by pointing to the general incidence of the new impost. But any one who remembers the history of the income tax during the viceroyalty of Lord Mayo must feel tolerably confident that, after creating an immense amount of discontent, this tax, like the former one, will have to be repealed. In India an income tax can never be a productive tax, because about nineteen-twentieths of the population are not in the enjoyment of any incomes, great or small. But the amount of oppression practised by the income-tax assessors upon these poor and defenceless people is incalculable, and cannot be guarded against. This fact it was which induced Lord Northbrook, almost as the first act of his government, to abolish the income tax, which under his predecessor had formed a part of our Indian financial system. 'It may be true,' said the Honourable Mr. Inglis in 1871, in the course of a debate on this subject in the Governor-General's Council,

> that only 1 in 300 of the people pay income tax to Government, but it is equally true that of the 299 remaining, at least one-half are subjected to the most vexatious oppression, inquisition, and extortion when the preliminary lists are being drawn up, and that a very large number of these men have to pay in order to keep their incomes out of the lists.

And again:

> It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that for every rupee that is paid into the Treasury, another is paid to the subordinate native officials; that is, that the natives of India paid last year upwards of two million pounds sterling as income tax to Government, and two millions more as bribes. Everywhere throughout the country the people are being demoralised by the tax; everywhere false returns are sent in; everywhere the trading classes are beginning to keep two sets of books—one set showing accurately the real transactions, the other containing a carefully prepared garbled account to be shown to the income-tax assessors.

The sum for which this oppressive and demoralising tax is to be reimposed upon the people of India is stated by Sir Auckland Colvin to be 700,000*l.*; and were it possible to accept this estimate as even approximately correct, the measure would be indefensible. But double that amount will not cover the impending liabilities of the Indian Government. Sir Auckland Colvin himself acknowledges that the costs of the Burmese war and the still heavier costs yet to be incurred in effecting the pacification of the province are not taken into account in the sum of 700,000*l.* And all estimates as to the cost of the railway and military works in the Pisheen Valley are certain to be far below the actual results. The income tax has been revived in order to provide the Government of India with a source of revenue which, the machinery of collection having been once prepared, may be expanded at will to meet new emergencies. But it will be in the attempt to increase the income tax, or to extend the area of

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its incidence, that the Government will find itself baffled and defeated precisely as did Lord Mayo and his colleagues. The more money that the income-tax assessor is empowered to collect, the larger become the extortions which he practises for his own private advantage. In a short time there is a general murmur of complaint heard from all parts of the country; and for once, the English in India, officials not less than non-officials—a fellow-feeling making them wondrous kind—instead of attempting to ignore the outcry, use every exertion in their power to force it upon the attention of the Government. This active sympathy on the part of the ruling class naturally redoubles the vigour of the popular outcry; and the Government speedily discover that it is impossible to persevere in the collection of a tax repugnant to its own officials, and loudly denounced by both its English and its Indian subjects.

The seventh resolution, and the last on which it will be needful to make any comment, is to the following effect:

> That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burmah, and considers that if the Government unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burmah should be separated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted as a Crown colony.

Since this resolution has been passed, Upper Burmah has not only been annexed, but incorporated with the Indian Empire, and it would be idle to expect any return upon this policy. But there is in this country so profound a misapprehension as to the effects wrought by past annexations, that it will not be without use to point out the probable consequences on the peace and solvency of our Indian Empire, of this, our latest acquisition.

When the cost of the Burmese war was under discussion in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone cited Sind and the Punjab as instances of countries which had been annexed by the Indian Government with striking advantages to all concerned. This, I am aware, is the prevalent impression. The annexation of these two provinces has been invariably appealed to as a justification for every appropriation of our neighbours' possessions that we have made since, and yet it is easy to show that, from whatever point of view we regard these conquests, they have in their consequences been most disastrous to ourselves and the people of India. I will take the instance of the Punjab first. The one fact which, in popular opinion, justifies the annexation of the Punjab, is that when our old native army revolted, Sir John Lawrence created a new one from materials furnished by the Land of Five Rivers. But no one can suppose that the population of the Punjab entered our military service in 1857 out of pure gratitude because we had destroyed their independence. At any rate Sir John Lawrence was under no such hallucination. He acknowledges frankly enough, in more than one of his letters, that the Punjabees came forward at this crisis because they did not realise the formidable character of the

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revolt. Had they done so, he said, instead of assisting in its suppression, they would have seized upon the opportunity for recovering, or at any rate attempting to recover, their lately forfeited freedom. On the other hand, there is little doubt that but for the annexation of the Punjab and Sind there would have been no revolt of the old native army. The conquest of these provinces affected for evil both the disposition of our native soldiers and the policy of Lord Dalhousie. Following as it did close upon our first mad and unfortunate invasion of Afghanistan, it sapped the fidelity of the Bengal sepoy. Until then, the Bengal sepoy had regarded the native army in which he served as a garrison for the defence of Hindostan, properly so called, and the popularity of the service was largely due to this conviction. But the policy pursued in Afghanistan, in Sind, and in the Punjab bred the suspicion in his mind that the British Government in its insatiable earth-hunger was about to use its native troops, not as a garrison of defence, but a machinery of conquest; in other words, that the sepoy would be liable at any moment to be ordered far away from his home, from a climate which suited him, to perish in wars amid a strange people, and for causes in which he had and could have no interest. On the other hand, the annexation of the Punjab, and the general acclaim with which the act was greeted in this country, enabled Lord Dalhousie to enter unchecked upon that policy of annexation which, by the alarm and indignation it created throughout India, was the direct cause of the great insurrection of 1857. The waning loyalty of the native army was still further diminished by the general discontent among the classes from which it was recruited. The annexation of Oude, in gross violation of treaties of old standing, together with the issue of the famous greased cartridges, brought matters to a crisis; and the horrors of the Well of Cawnpore, the siege of Delhi, and the defence of Lucknow, are linked in a direct sequence with the annexation of Sind and the Punjab. This is not all. The incorporation of these provinces with British India brought us into immediate propinquity with Khelat on the one side, and Afghanistan on the other, and thus led directly to Lord Lytton's invasion of Afghanistan, and to the incalculable dangers which still await us in these barren and inhospitable countries. Financially, the consequences of this extension of territory have been disastrous in the extreme. Apart from the costs of the original conquest, neither the Punjab nor Sind has ever paid its way, if we debit against the revenues derived from these provinces the cost of the twenty-four expeditions against the hill tribes on our north-west frontier, the military lines of railway that we have been obliged to construct, and the prodigious cost of holding the frontier station of Peshawur, where fever and cholera swept away our English soldiers literally by thousands.

Morally, the annexation of these countries gave a shock to the

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popular belief in the good faith and rectitude of the British Government from which it has never recovered. The conquest of Sind was described by Sir Charles Napier—its instigator and executor—as an 'act of *honest* rascality,' and Mr. Gladstone does not attempt to defend it, but he seems to be under an impression that a sufficient ethical reason can be made out for that of the Punjab. In 1848, when the rebellion broke out in the Punjab, the British Government was the guardian of the infant Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. The native Government, as constituted by Lord Hardinge under the treaty of Lahore, co-operated with the British Government in the suppression of the revolt. It was not accused, nor, I believe, so much as suspected, of any disaffection, and from first to last all acts and operations were carried on in its name. Lord Dalhousie and the English in India were the allies of the Maharajah and his advisers; in no way their enemies. Nevertheless, at the termination of the war, Lord Dalhousie thought fit to treat the written engagements of his predecessor as so much waste paper, to depose the infant Maharajah from the throne on which Lord Hardinge had placed him, and to transform his territories into a British province.[1] A grosser abuse of power was never perpetrated. On the other hand, had we been content to leave Sind under the supervision of Sir James Outram, and the Punjab under that of Sir Henry Lawrence, not only would our moderation and rectitude have won the confidence of India (including the sepoys of our native army), but these countries would now be prosperous and friendly states—the bulwarks of our Empire, not, as they are, outlying provinces of it, which need ever new wars and new seizures of territory in order to provide for their defence.

There are, I am convinced, few of our Indian annexations which, if examined in the light of subsequent experience, would yield more favourable results than those of Sind and the Punjab. Upper Burmah assuredly will not prove an exception to this general rule. The ground has been already considerably cleared for a discussion of its probable consequences. Nobody will now pretend that we had any just cause of quarrel with Theebaw, or, in truth, any cause great or small. Nobody will now pretend that the acquisition of Upper Burmah is at all likely to be financially profitable. Nobody will assert that the inhabitants are at all desirous of being merged into the British Empire. And no one will now have the hardihood to assert that there is any chance for a great many years to come of opening up trade with the Chinese province of Yunnan. The first Burmese war cost the Indian exchequer fifteen millions of money; the second, between three and four; and this last one will not cost less

[1] Those who are desirous to get a clear understanding of the moral side of the annexation of the Punjab, and of Lord Dalhousie's policy generally, should study the writings of Major Evans Bell, more especially his *Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy*.

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than a million sterling before the account is closed. Of these twenty millions of money, at least fifteen millions have become a permanent part of the Indian debt. For a few years, it is true, the surplus revenue of Lower Burmah has probably sufficed to pay off the interest on this debt, but that surplus will now be converted into a chronic deficit by the demands of our newly acquired territory. Accordingly, the first result of this war will be an addition of 700,000*l.* annually to the charges upon the Indian revenue. For the rest, all that we have obtained is the formidable danger of having China as our immediate neighbour. Lord Dalhousie was not a statesman remarkable for prudence or foresight, but even he, after the second Burmese war, shrank from a policy which would cause the British frontier to run for four hundred miles along with that of China. But the certainty, at no distant date, of a conflict with China is not the most serious evil likely to result from the conquest of Upper Burmah. Far more serious are the distrust and apprehension which this open violation of the policy solemnly proclaimed in the Royal Proclamation of 1858 must of necessity engender in the minds of the peoples and the feudatories of India. This distrust and apprehension will not fail to extend to our precious ally, the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the people whom he rules. In the doom of King Theebaw and his people they will read the fate that is destined for themselves.

Anticipations of this kind lead inevitably to their own fulfilment. The process is the same though now it may be exercised upon a Shere Ali, now upon a King Theebaw, and now upon an Abd-al-Rahman Khan. The independence of a people is menaced by us, or circumstances happen which create the belief that it is so menaced. Then, in order to escape this impending fate, the menaced people try to form covert alliances with some other European Power, and the presumption and treachery of such a procedure are instantly considered by us as a sufficient reason for sending an army among them, and destroying their independence. The absolute certainty that we shall act towards the Afghans as we have done to the people of Upper Burmah, is the reason why I regard with dismay the enormous expenditure upon military works in the Pisheen Valley. To the English public these works are represented as defensive in their character. They are nothing of the kind. As soon as the entrenched camp is completed and securely linked to India by the most costly railway in the world, upon one pretext or another a forward dash will be made upon Kandahar, and the millions expended in the construction of the entrenched camp might as well have been flung into the sea. It is the conquest and occupation of all Afghanistan for which our Indian officials are now engaged in making preparations, not, as they profess, for the defence of British India. And whether we in this country choose to believe this or not, we may rest assured that no other interpretation will be put upon our proceedings by the Ameer and his subjects. The annexation

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of Upper Burmah will satisfy every Afghan that there is no dependence to be placed upon our professions of moderation—our bland protestations of respect for *his* independence. So long as Colonel Ridgway's Boundary Commission remains on the frontier, the Ameer will probably dissimulate his feelings, but their removal will too probably be the signal for resuming secret but cordial relations with his old friends and protectors, the Russians in Central Asia.

Therefore it is that, vast as is our present military expenditure in India, it is only the prelude of an expenditure a great deal heavier. We stand upon the brink of a financial catastrophe from which nothing can save us except a resolute reversal of the policy of annexation which has brought us into this perilous position. There is no more reason why the people of India should be burdened with the costs and responsibility of maintaining the province of Burmah than of Ceylon or the Cape of Good Hope. Burmah is not a part of India. Its people differ from the people of India in language, in religion, in appearance, in manners and habits. There is no similarity between the political and social institutions of the two countries; and the people of India, either now or at any future period, can be in no way advantaged by our occupation of Upper Burmah. Clearly, then, it seems to me that the demand that it should be detached from India and made into a Crown colony dependent upon its own resources, is an eminently just and prudent one, and would, among other good consequences, result in this, that our relations with China along the new frontier would be transferred from the fire-eaters of Calcutta to the wiser and more peaceable guardianship of a British Parliament.

JOHN SLAGG.

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THE CASE OF GALILEO.

THE world has heard a great deal of Galileo. He has figured very conspicuously in controversial literature for more than two centuries. Critics unfriendly to the Catholic Church point to him as a martyr of science, a victim of spiritual tyranny; they quote his case as a specimen of the Church's hostility to science, and as proof conclusive of the fallibility both of Church and Pope. Catholics, on the other hand, say, and not without reason, that for his treatment, such as it was, Galileo had himself very largely to blame; they say that he was proud, arrogant, and overbearing, that not content with science which was his province, he was perpetually meddling in theology which was not, and that this meddling was the real cause why somewhat severe measures were taken against him—for which measures, however, neither the Pope in his official capacity, nor the Church in any sense, was responsible. But now for the first time the hero of this protracted controversy is introduced by Mr. Mivart in a capacity altogether new—that is, as affording an argument for the undoubted orthodoxy of evolution. How far this argument serves its purpose, how far it tends to confirm Mr. Mivart's position, it is my present purpose to consider.

In the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for December 1884 I wrote a criticism of Mr. Mivart's theory. I said very little of the general theory of evolution, my object being to consider the theological aspect of the theory as applied to man. To this special aspect of the question my attention was called by a controversy between Mr. Huxley and Mr. Mivart, originating with an article by the former gentleman in the *Contemporary Review* for November 1871. In that article Mr. Huxley raised somewhat serious difficulties, and suggested difficulties more serious still against the harmony said by Mr. Mivart to exist between evolution and theology. I read Mr. Mivart's reply in the concluding chapter of his *Lessons from Nature*, and though my sympathies were entirely with him, I was forced to admit that he did not remove the difficulties suggested by his opponent. From those distinguished scientists, whose theological knowledge did not impress me very favourably, I turned to the Catholic theologians themselves to find what they taught with reference to the question in dispute, and the conviction very soon forced itself upon me that, whatever may be said of evolution as applied to lower

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organisms, the whole weight of Catholic theological teaching was opposed to the application of the evolution theory to man. To this conviction I gave expression in the *Ecclesiastical Record*, and I did so in language studiously mild and courteous, in a manner of which Mr. Mivart has nothing to complain except that I expressed very decidedly my dissent from his assertion of the complete orthodoxy of evolution as applied to man. Now surely a champion of 'intellectual freedom' ought not to deny to another the liberty which he claims for himself; he ought to regard it as a pardonable transgression on my part that I should form an opinion for myself, and express it calmly and temperately, even though that opinion happened not to harmonise with his own. But Mr. Mivart is not disposed to be thus tolerant. He is clearly impatient of contradiction, and this is not a philosophic state of mind. In his essay in this Review for July last, as well as in letters previously addressed to the *Tablet*, Mr. Mivart has written with considerable bitterness—indeed in a tone of lofty disdain—of me for venturing to question the correctness of his conclusions. I am, it appears, 'one of the ever-recurring band of obstructives who always turn out to have been in the wrong' (p. 35). I am the heir to everything that is dark and retrograde, opposed to everything that is liberal and enlightened in the ecclesiastical policy of the past; one of those 'narrow-minded and incompetent obstructives' whose opinions need be of no concern 'to those persons who, in addition to scientific knowledge, possess some acquaintance with the history of the seventeenth century' (p. 34). Now it is easy enough for a disputant who is so minded to charge his opponent with ignorance, but it is not always so easy to establish the charge. 'Incompetent obstructives' are no doubt very objectionable people, but they do less injury to any cause than is done by indiscreet advocates. Those opinions of mine which have so displeased Mr. Mivart were not, in reality, mine at all; I took them from the best known, the most trusted theologians of the Catholic Church. I gave the very words of my authorities, and all the necessary references to their works. Some of these made the evolution theory a special study, and are quite competent to pronounce an opinion on it; one of them at least, the Abbé Moigno, was a scientist far more widely known than even Mr. Mivart himself is. Now I submit that to class such men as 'incompetent obstructives,' though it may be a very heroic way, is certainly not a wise or an effectual way of disposing of them. Personalities serve no cause, and are sadly out of place in a discussion like this, and I therefore pass Mr. Mivart's by as if unsaid, merely observing that a few sentences of calm sound reasoning would do far more to advance his cause. Mr. Mivart has met two London priests, one 'the head of a college,' who are very useful for his purpose just now. They are anti-Copernicans, and they are so because they believe the Church is committed to that doctrine by the condemnation of

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Galileo. Now I may be permitted to say that I know a great many more priests than Mr. Mivart does, and I have not met even one such fossil among them. I have found them feeling on such questions as I myself feel, and I am in no sense nervous as to any possible conclusion of genuine science. I have read nearly all that Mr. Mivart has written, some of it with pleasure and profit, some of it with regret and pain. I am quite prepared to accept thankfully from him or from any one else real genuine science—strictly logical deductions, or inferences from sound principles or from well-established facts. But I am not prepared to accept from any one a *fasciculus* of conditional propositions as a substitute for science. I cannot regard as scientific a process which amounts to saying that something *would be* if ten thousand other things *had been*.

Mr. Mivart is, he thinks, absolved from the necessity of noticing my authorities because of 'a certain previous question;' that they merit no consideration is, he thinks, abundantly clear 'to those persons who, in addition to scientific knowledge, possess some acquaintance with the history of the seventeenth century' (p. 34). 'For a most instructive parallelism exists between the opposition of our present ecclesiastical obstructives to evolution and that offered by their predecessors to Copernicanism' (p. 36). The memorable conflict between science and ecclesiastical authority in the seventeenth century, resulting in Galileo's condemnation, has, according to Mr. Mivart, so discredited ecclesiastical authority, has so completely put it out of court in scientific discussion, that he does not hesitate to say, 'It is the very distinctness and authority with which scientific truths have been condemned which make secure beyond all possibility of question the complete scientific freedom of sincere Catholics' (p. 35). 'Viewing these events, however, in the light of our present knowledge, Catholics may far more thankfully exclaim: "How providential was that Divine permission by which such ecclesiastical authorities were allowed to fall into such egregious errors!"' (p. 38). And all this is the deliberate verdict of 'a loyal son of the Catholic Church.' Now, as Mr. Mivart has set this verdict before the readers of this Review, who are largely non-Catholic, I have some claim to be heard on the other side. If his 'previous question' have any interest for them, it is a true, not a false and distorted, version of it that is worth their hearing. I may be presumed to know as well as Mr. Mivart does what is the teaching of the Catholic Church. If there be weak points in the Church's armour, or sore points in her history, I may be presumed to be as interested in the matter as he is. The case of Galileo is not buried so far back into the history of the past that I may not know something of it, and something of its bearing on other points of Catholic doctrine. Mr. Mivart takes a very limited view of his 'instructive parallel.' To establish it he must contrast not merely the fact of condemnation in both cases, but

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also the value of the condemning authorities, and the nature of the doctrine in each case. Mr. Mivart will, I presume, admit that the solar system is not so important a fact for students of revelation as the creation of the first man, and that consequently the value of theological teaching on the one question is very different from its value on the other. The doctrine which I have set in opposition to Mr. Mivart's theory is an explanation of an article of faith founded on texts of Scripture, as clear apparently as any that exist—an explanation given by Fathers and theologians without break or interruption from the dawn of revelation down to the present time. In such teaching Catholics recognise the voice of the ordinary *magisterium* of the Church, and as such they accept it. As parallel to this, Mr. Mivart adduces a doctrine in no sense necessarily connected with any article of faith, and the Scriptural expressions which seem to favour it are indirect and incidental—expressions which we ourselves are every day using with the full knowledge of Copernicanism. Then there is no such consensus of teaching as I have cited on the other side. Bellarmine, I admit, seems to say that there is some such consensus. But if Mr. Mivart will examine the matter for himself he will find how very little the Fathers trouble themselves with the matter, and he will find that the very few commentators who refer to the Scripture texts merely explain them in accordance with the scientific ideas of their time without at all insinuating that any truth of faith was involved in the interpretation. And even Bellarmine does not by any means hold the consensus to be decisive against Copernicanism. For in his letter to F. Foscarini he says that though he does not believe that any proof of the earth's motion will be adduced, yet, should that occur, he is quite prepared to change his views as to the meaning of the Scripture texts. But surely if he regarded those texts as decisive against Copernicanism, on no possible supposition could he alter their meaning. He is not then a decisive witness against Copernicanism. And if there ever was anything like an ecclesiastical tradition against Copernicanism, it was broken long before Galileo's time. For a hundred years before that time churchmen of the highest character taught the doctrine for which Galileo is supposed to have been subsequently condemned. Nicholas de Cusa taught it, and was made a cardinal by Eugene IV. in 1431. Copernicus, himself a priest and a canon, did not suffer in the estimation of his superiors for having taught this doctrine. Widmanstadt, a disciple of Copernicus, taught the doctrine of his master in 1533 at Rome in presence of Clement the Seventh and the cardinals, and received the applause and the congratulations of them all. And Mr. Drinkwater, one of Mr. Mivart's own authorities, says: 'Copernicus had been allowed to dedicate his book to Paul the Third, and from the time of its first appearance under that sanction in 1543 until the year 1616 the theory was left in the hands of mathematicians and philosophers, who alternately attacked or

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defended it without receiving either support or molestation from ecclesiastical decrees' (p. 48). As far, then, as the doctrines are concerned, there is no approach to a parallel. But it is on the condemnation of Galileo that Mr. Mivart stakes all. What, then, is the value of that condemnation? It is necessary first of all to see what precisely is the ecclesiastical authority from which the condemnation emanated according to Mr. Mivart. He evidently means something more than a mere congregation of cardinals; he means the supreme teaching authority of the Church, including of course the Pope. At page 38 he speaks of the 'supreme ecclesiastical authority,' to which infallibility has been given. He quotes Urban the Eighth and Alexander the Seventh as ordering, confirming, and approving the condemnation of Galileo's doctrine. It is clear, therefore, that Mr. Mivart seeks to hold the Pope responsible for Galileo's condemnation, and for the 'erroneous judgment about the meaning of Scripture' —the 'egregious errors' which were implied in that condemnation. And this responsibility he seeks to fix upon the Pope in his public official capacity as teacher of the Church; for if he had been referring to the Pope merely as a private doctor, his whole case would crumble to the ground. His argument, then, is this. The doctrine of Galileo was condemned as heretical by the supreme ecclesiastical authority, that is, by the Pope teaching in his official capacity, and yet that doctrine is true; and therefore evolutionists—in fact scientists in every department—need not trouble themselves about ecclesiastical strictures on their doctrines, no matter how exalted the source whence those strictures come. 'Catholic men of science of the present day . . should in no wise allow their efforts after truth to be checked by the declarations of ecclesiastical authorities' (p. 43). The value of this argument depends of course on the official documents in Galileo's case. Mr. Mivart volunteers the admission that he is not competent to interpret correctly such documents. He says: 'I decline to attempt the task of furnishing an interpretation of legal ecclesiastical documents for which I have not the requisite technical knowledge' (p. 46). Now to decide dogmatically a case which depends on such documents without 'the requisite technical knowledge' is, I submit, to act the 'incompetent obstructive' all out. In the absence of that technical knowledge, the course open to Mr. Mivart was to consult some approved theologian, some expert, as to the meaning of such documents. The prudence of this course is unquestionable. The Lord Chancellor may be presumed to be a safer guide than Mr. Mivart in interpreting an Act of Parliament, and so too may a theologian be in interpreting a decree of the Index or Inquisition. But as Mr. Mivart did not adopt even this precaution, the very least that might be demanded from him is that he should give fully and fairly the text of the documents, or certainly as much of it as would put the reader in a position to judge calmly for himself what precisely is the

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thing decreed. This Mr. Mivart has not done, and the result is that any one whose information on Galileo's case is taken solely from his essay must of necessity fall into 'egregious errors' with regard to that case. There are two, and only two, official documents bearing directly on the case—the decree of the Index, dated the 5th of March, 1616, and that of the Inquisition, dated the 22nd of June, 1633. Mr. Mivart says that, 'by order of Urban the Eighth, the Inquisition formally promulgated certain statements for the express purpose that Catholic men of science might be informed what they were to hold on this subject.' These statements are two propositions censured, long before Urban became Pope, by the qualifiers of the Inquisition, whose 'express purpose' was *not to decide* (for they had no authority to do so) 'what Catholic men of science were to hold,' but to arrange and systematise the matter on which the cardinals were to pass judgment. These propositions formed the basis of the decree of A.D. 1616, and are recited as part of the history of the case in the preamble of the decree of A.D. 1633, but they were not 'formally promulgated' for 'Catholic men of science' by Index, or Inquisition, or Pope. The decree of A.D. 1616, as far as it bears on Galileo's case, is as follows:—

Decree of the Holy Congregation of most illustrious Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church specially deputed by our Holy Father, Pope Paul the Fifth, and the Holy Apostolic See, for the Index of Prohibited Books; and for the permission, prohibition, expurgation, and printing of them in the whole Christian world, to be published everywhere.

After referring to, and condemning, certain books in no way connected with Galileo's case, the decree proceeds as follows:—

And whereas it has come to the knowledge of the aforesaid Holy Congregation that that false Pythagorean doctrine, altogether opposed to Holy Scripture, on the mobility of the earth and the immobility of the sun, taught by Nicholas Copernicus in his book on the *Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies*, and by Didacus Astunica in his *Commentary on Job*, is being now promulgated and accepted by many, as may be seen from a printed letter of a certain Carmelite father, entitled 'Lettera del B. Padre Maestro Paolo Antonio Foscarini,' . . . wherein the aforesaid Father has endeavoured to show that the aforesaid doctrine of the immobility of the sun in the centre of the universe, and of the mobility of the earth, is consonant with truth, and is not opposed to Holy Scripture; therefore, lest such an opinion should grow on further to the destruction of Catholic truth (this Congregation) has decreed that the said (books) *Nicholas Copernicus de Revolutionibus* and *Didacus Astunica on Job* be suspended until they are corrected; and that the book of F. Paul Antony Foscarini should be altogether prohibited and condemned, and that all other books that teach the same thing should be prohibited, as by this present decree (the Congregation) prohibits, condemns, and suspends all respectively. In witness whereof this decree was signed and sealed with the hand and seal of the most illustrious and most reverend Lord Cardinal of Saint Cecilia, Bishop of Albano, on the 5th day of March, 1616.

Now on the face of this decree we read the character, the extent of the authority from which it emanated. It comes to us as the act of a number of cardinals, deputed by the Pope certainly, but deputed

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for a fixed and well-defined purpose, beyond which their authority did not extend. They are deputed for the 'permission, prohibition, expurgation, and printing of books,' and for the forming of an 'index of such books to be published everywhere.' They are not deputed, and they could not be, by the Pope, to make for us articles of faith, or to tell us with infallible certainty what is, or is not, heresy. Their prohibition of books, I admit, presupposes a judgment on the part of the cardinals that the books prohibited are unsound in doctrine or dangerous to morality. This judgment ought to be prudent, and generally is so, but no Catholic regards it as infallible. It is the judgment of a fallible tribunal. But the fallibility of that judgment is no reason for refusing obedience to the decree founded on it. Just as the judges in our law courts may be in error as to law in a given case and are not infallible expounders of law in any case, but no sane person would think of setting aside all their decisions on that account. And yet what no one would say of the judges is precisely what Mr. Mivart says of the theologians. A certain number of them happened to express an erroneous opinion on a subject on which they are confessedly fallible, and he says, never mind the ecclesiastical authorities—the theologians henceforward: 'Men of science should in no wise allow their efforts after truth to be checked by the declarations of ecclesiastical obstructives.' But it is said that this decree has been officially confirmed by the Pope, and that consequently the supreme teaching authority of the Catholic Church has declared Copernicanism to be heresy. Now is this so? Nothing need be clearer or more explicit than the language in which the Catholic doctrine on Papal infallibility is defined. The Vatican Council defined

> that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when, in the discharge of his office as pastor and teacher of all Christians, he, in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, defines a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the universal Church—is, by the divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter, endowed with that infallibility wherewith our Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed in defining doctrines of faith or morals.

The Pope thus speaks *ex cathedra*, or infallibly, when (1) he speaks as universal teacher, (2) when in virtue of his apostolic authority he defines a doctrine of faith or morals, (3) when he intends his teaching for all the members of the Church and means it to be binding on them all. In these circumstances Catholics believe the Pope to be infallible, and they accept his teaching unhesitatingly with the assent of faith. What the Pope's opinions may be on matters not revealed or not connected in any way with revelation, what his *private* opinions may be even with reference to things that are revealed, need be of no concern to Catholics. It is his *ex-cathedra*, that is his public solemn and official teaching, that claims from them the assent of faith. Now, even though I were to admit (which I do not for a moment) that the decree of 1616 was officially confirmed by the

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Pope, I ask, does that decree rank as *ex-cathedra* teaching in the sense defined by the Vatican Council—the only sense that is binding on Catholics? The Pope does not speak in it as universal doctor and teacher; *he does not speak in it at all.* There is no doctrine of faith or morals promulgated in it; the thing decreed in it is the prohibiting of certain books, and the suspension of certain others. That is, it is a purely disciplinary decree which may be altered according to circumstances, and such a decree is not rendered dogmatic by the approbation of the Pope. By such approbation the decree would acquire a more stringent binding force, but its nature is not changed. And it is the thing decreed, and not the preamble or the reasons for it, that is affected by the approbation. So true is this that even though there were question of a dogmatic definition issued by the Pope himself speaking *ex cathedra*, it is the definition itself, not the preamble to it or the arguments given in support of it, that is infallibly true. Bishop Fessler (*True and False Infallibility*) says: 'Even in dogmatic decrees, bulls, &c., not all that therein occurs in any one place, not all which occurs or is mentioned incidentally, not a preface nor *what is laid down as the basis of the decree*, is to be looked upon as a dogmatic definition, and so as matter of infallibility' (p. 46). And at page 65 he adds: 'Moreover, if we have before us a real and true dogmatic definition of the Pope, still only that portion of it is to be looked upon and accepted as an *ex-cathedra* utterance which is expressly designated in the definition, and nothing whatever is to be so regarded which is only mentioned as accessory matter.' I may remark that Dr. Fessler was the secretary of the Vatican Council, a sufficient guarantee for the complete orthodoxy of his theological views. Dr. Murray (*De Ecclesia*, Disp. XI. No. 25) says: 'Infallibility does not extend to the motives of the definition, nor to the arguments in favour of that definition.' Cardinal Hergenröther (*Church and State*) says: 'And we must, in every doctrinal decision of Pope or General Council, distinguish between the definition itself and the grounds or reasons alleged for it. Only the definition itself is infallible. This is no new distinction, but one that has ever been well known to theologians and canonists, and also to the Roman Court' (p. 31). And in favour of this view he quotes, *and quotes correctly*, Cano, Bellarmine, Suarez, and Veron. Father Knox (*Infallibility*) says: 'In the case of an infallible decree, it is only the doctrine ruled, and not the grounds alleged in support of that ruling, that is exempt from the possibility of error' (p. 92). Here, then, are Catholic theologians, ultramontanes of the most pronounced type, the very last men to minimise Papal prerogatives, and yet they so limit the doctrine of infallibility as completely to exclude such decrees as Galileo's condemnation from the list of *ex-cathedra* pronouncements. Now, as we are to take the interpretation of legal documents from lawyers, so too must we take

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the interpretation of the decrees against Galileo from theologians and canonists, experts in the interpretation of such documents. And they tell us that even the most solemn and authoritative approbation of such decrees is not an authoritative pronouncement on the motive of the decrees—that a Papal prohibition and condemnation of Copernican books is not an *ex-cathedra* judgment that the doctrine contained in these books is 'false and contrary to Scripture.' Therefore, were I to admit that the Pope solemnly approved and confirmed the decree of 1616, the assertion contained in the preamble of that decree, namely, that the doctrine was 'false and contrary to Scripture,' comes to us as the opinion of the cardinals and qualifiers, and as nothing more. And as such Mr. Mivart will not find it a very valuable prop for his *thesis*.

But the decree was not confirmed by the Pope or approved by him in any sense that could entitle it to be regarded as an *ex-cathedra* act. The decree itself bears no intrinsic evidence of such confirmation. It is published in the name *not of the Pope*, but of the Cardinal Bishop of Albano. The only extrinsic evidence of Papal confirmation is, first, the certificate given by Bellarmine to Galileo, in which the decree is spoken of as a 'declaration made by the Holy Father, and published by the Congregation of the Index;' and secondly, the alleged confirmation by the bull 'Speculatores' of Alexander the Seventh. Bellarmine's certificate was given to Galileo to meet a calumny circulated by his enemies, to the effect that he was forced to recant and abjure his errors. The recantation was supposed to have been made at an interview between Galileo and Bellarmine on the 26th of February, 1616. At a meeting of the Holy Office on the 3rd of March, at which the Pope was present, Bellarmine gave an account of the above interview. A *minute* of that meeting has been published by Gherardi. It is as follows:—

March 3, 1616.—The Lord Cardinal Bellarmine having reported that Galileo Galilei, mathematician, had in terms of the order of the Holy Congregation been admonished to abandon the opinions he has hitherto held that the sun is the centre of the spheres, and immovable, and that the earth moves, and had acquiesced therein; and the decree of the Congregation of the Index having been presented, prohibiting and suspending respectively the writings of Nicholas Copernicus (*De Rev.*), of Diego de Zuniga on Job, and of Paolo Antonio Foscarini, Carmelite friar; His Holiness ordered the edict of prohibition and suspension respectively to be published by the Master of the Sacred Palace.

Now, if the falsehood of the doctrine was one of the cardinal points discussed at this meeting, how strange that the minutes make no reference to it! They do not tell all that was said, but the decision that the doctrine was heretical was surely the most important part of the proceedings, and yet there is no reference to any such decision. And it is merely the *prohibition* and *suspension* of certain books that is sanctioned by the Pope; and this surely has none of the

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conditions of an *ex-cathedra* act. There is no truth of faith announced as necessary to be believed by all the faithful, no principle of morality enjoined as obligatory on all. A mere disciplinary edict is issued by a Congregation with the sanction of the Pope. I admit freely that Paul the Fifth, and after him Urban the Eighth, and the cardinals believed Galileo's speculations to be opposed to Scripture, at least in its *prima facie* meaning, and that this belief probably inspired their treatment of Galileo; but this belief does not come to us with the official stamp of papal *ex-cathedra* teaching upon it. It comes to us as their private opinion, and as such is in no sense binding upon us. Then there was no retractation, as there certainly would have been if Galileo's doctrine had been condemned as heretical by an *ex-cathedra* decree. No one at the time regarded the decree of 1616 as defining that Galileo's doctrines were heretical. In a letter to Picchena on the 6th of March (the day after the issue of the decree), he writes with evident satisfaction of the disappointment of his enemies because his doctrines were not defined to be heretical. Five days later (11th of March), he had a most friendly interview (*benignissima udienza*, his own words) with the Pope, when Paul the Fifth assured him that he and the cardinals were well aware of the malice of Galileo's enemies, and assured him also that during his pontificate he (Galileo) would have nothing to fear from them. Here, then, we have a man whose doctrine is said to have been defined heretical on the 5th of March, having on the 11th a most friendly audience with the pontiff who condemned him, and receiving from that author of his troubles assurances of sympathy and protection—and all this without being asked to retract one iota of his heretical tenets. Just fancy some political offender of a very pronounced type having, on the sixth day after his condemnation for high treason, a most friendly audience with Queen Victoria, and receiving from her Majesty solemn assurances of esteem and protection—such, in fact, as would during her reign render him quite independent of the lynx-eyed gentlemen of Scotland Yard! This picture is just as real as that one which is presupposed by Mr. Mivart's version of Galileo's condemnation. No one at the time believed that his opinions were defined to be heretical. Many of the cardinals were his best friends; among them were Del Monte, Orsini, and Barberini, afterwards Urban the Eighth. And Cardinal del Monte wrote to the Grand Duke on Galileo's departure from Rome, stating that, with the full knowledge of all that had taken place, he 'could assure his Highness that there was not the least imputation attaching to the philosopher' (Von Gebler, p. 96). And in the interval between 1616 and 1633 many ecclesiastics of high character and position were known to have held Galileo's opinions. On the other hand, during that period he was attacked by many able and determined opponents, and not one of them quoted against him an *ex-cathedra* condemnation of his

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doctrine—the best possible proof that the decree of 1616 was not regarded as a final decision emanating from 'supreme ecclesiastical authority.'

I have no desire to gloss over the conduct of Galileo's enemies in the interval between the decree of the Index in 1616 and that of the Inquisition in 1633, but no unprejudiced reader of the history of the period can deny that his own conduct tended very largely to bring on the trial before the Inquisition. At all events the trial came, and resulted in a very long decree, part of which is given by Mr. Mivart. The decree is much too long for insertion here. It reviews in detail all that was done in the case. It refers to Galileo's various writings, to the two propositions censured by the qualifiers, to Bellarmine's admonition and the mandate alleged to have accompanied it, to the decree of 1616 which it tells us was issued by the Congregation of the Index, and also to Bellarmine's certificate. The doctrine of Copernicus is undoubtedly regarded as heretical, on the ground that it is contrary to Scripture; and for holding such doctrine Galileo is adjudged 'suspected of heresy' and sentenced to certain penalties in consequence. The abjuration followed, in which he says, 'With a sincere heart and faith unfeigned, I curse, abjure, and abhor the above-named errors and heresies.' Now what is the authority from which this severe sentence emanated? Who are the 'WE' that 'pronounce, decide, define, and declare' in this case? Simply the cardinals. The decree begins 'We, Cardinal Gasper of the title S. Croce in Jerusalem, Borgia,' and nine other names follow. These, then, are the 'WE' that speak throughout the decree, that 'pronounce, define, and declare' everything that is declared in it, that invoke the sacred name, that pronounce Galileo 'suspected of heresy,' and give their reasons for the suspicion. At the conclusion of the decree the number dwindles down to seven, who again 'pronounce, sentence, declare, ordain, and condemn,' &c. The document concludes thus, 'So we the undersigned *cardinals* pronounce, F. Cardinal de Asculo,' and six other names follow. From first to last, then, this decree is the work of the cardinals. It has no authority beyond what they could impart to it, and infallible authority they certainly could not impart. It received no authoritative papal confirmation or approbation, and consequently Catholics are in no sense bound by the doctrinal allegations contained in it. The cardinals who issued it were no doubt commissioned by the Pope to try the case. In all probability the Pope shared their views with regard to Galileo and his doctrine. But the decree is not a papal act, and could not become so unless it were specially (by special mandate) approved and promulgated. This is the teaching of Catholic theologians and canonists with reference to such decrees as those we are considering. I shall merely refer to a few of the many authorities on this point:—Lacroix, *Theol. Mor.*, De Cons. lib. i. 934; Lehmkul, vol. i. p. 132;

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Schmalzgrueber, *Dis. Procem.* Nos. 384–385; Craisson, vol. i. No. 732; Grandclaude, vol. i. p. 53; Bouix, *De Curia*, p. 3, s. 3, &c. Without a special mandate of the Pope, then, approving of congregational decrees and authorising their promulgation, they are not regarded as *ex-cathedra* pontifical acts, and doctrinal statements embodied in them have no claim on the internal assent of the faithful.

But Mr. Mivart fancies that he finds this special mandate of approbation in the bull 'Speculatores' of Alexander the Seventh published on the 5th of March, 1664, with that Pontiff's issue of the Index. Mr. Mivart labours under more than one extraordinary hallucination with reference to this bull. In a note (p. 38) he says 'this fact has been discovered and published for the first time by the Rev. W. Roberts.' The very novelty of this discovery casts very serious doubt upon its value. Papal infallibility has had very many hostile critics who were not wanting in determination or in ability, and it is simply incredible that so powerful, so useful an argument would have escaped their notice. But the fact which Mr. Mivart regards as a discovery has been perfectly notorious for two hundred years. Benedict the Fourteenth referred to it in the bull prefixed to his own issue of the Index. St. Liguori referred to it in his *Dissertation on Prohibited Books*. Ferraris discusses it at considerable length. It is then no discovery, though the use now made of it is, I admit, new, and I attach no importance to the matter except as showing how conversant Mr. Mivart is with 'the history of the seventeenth century,' of which he supposes me to know so very little. Now the fact is that this bull, so far from being a special approbation of each decree contained in the Index to which it is prefixed, is not a special approbation of even one of them. It is merely a guarantee that we have an authentic copy of the Index, containing all the decrees published by the Congregation up to that time. It is a reissue by public authority of all these decrees, but it leaves each decree just as it was, and this Mr. Mivart would have seen had he read the bull for himself. The Pope begins by saying that the mission of the Church is mainly concerned with the faith and morals of her children, and that faith and morals are very intimately affected by the reading of good or bad books. He then refers to the origin of the Index, and he says that though 'many books were prohibited and condemned both by the Pope and by the cardinals of the Congregation' since Clement the Seventh issued his Index, yet 'there was no catalogue issued by public authority embracing systematically and clearly those prohibited books and condemned authors, on which account great confusion has arisen, and is every day likely to increase unless a remedy be provided. Accordingly, to meet the difficulty of finding out the truth in this matter,' the Pope says that with the advice of the Cardinals he 'has decreed to issue a new Index.' He then proceeds to state the plan on which the new Index was to be drawn up, and in this the aim was, first, 'that we may have a

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clear knowledge of all that was done from the beginning in this matter;' secondly, to facilitate reference for 'readers,' and for booksellers especially, whose error in this matter would be a source of error to others.' And the Pope says: 'When all this was, according to our desire, carefully, diligently, and accurately put into execution, and the new Index formed . . . this same general Index as aforesaid composed and revised by our order, and printed at our apostolic press, we confirm and approve,' &c.; and then follows all the usual technical phraseology of such documents. Here, then, is the object aimed at by Alexander the Seventh—to give an accurate authoritative copy of the decrees issued by the Index up to his time; to do this, in order that all that was done in each case may be accurately known, and that readers and booksellers may be relieved from the annoyance and confusion inseparable from the old system of publishing the decrees. No new decree is issued, no new obligation imposed, no change in the character of any of the decrees is made by this bull. It is, then, an issue, by public authority, of an authentic copy of the Index of Prohibited Books, and no one capable of forming an opinion on such documents has ever regarded it as anything more. And no Catholic theologian would for a moment regard this bull as equivalent to an approbation by special mandate of any decree contained in the volume to which it is prefixed, and it is only such special approbation that would render the decrees pontifical acts. The bull is a purely disciplinary act, perfectly valid until it is cancelled by an authority equal to that which issued it, but it condemns no new error, and defines no new truth. If Mr. Mivart's version of Galileo's case were correct, then Copernicanism must at that time be regarded as heresy publicly and solemnly so defined. But at the time no one regarded it in this light, no one quoted against it a solemn *ex-cathedra* definition. Gassendi, Riccoli, and De Cartes deny that the doctrine is heretical after the condemnation. Caramuel says that 'it is improbable, not heretical.' Tiraboschi says that the condemnation came 'not from the Catholic Church, but from a secondary and fallible tribunal.' F. Fabri, S.J., in 1665, and Ricci, Consultor of the Holy Office, in 1666, speak to the same effect even after the issue of the bull of Alexander the Seventh. Now can we fancy men of high character and in responsible ecclesiastical positions speaking in such terms of a man whose doctrine was solemnly defined to be heretical, whose person was condemned by the Holy Office, and whose condemnation in both senses was solemnly and publicly endorsed by the Pope? There is but one reasonable answer. No one at that time, when men could form a reliable judgment on the matter, put upon the case of Galileo that construction which prejudice and passion have so often put upon it in recent times. The conclusion is then inevitable—that there was no *ex-cathedra* pronouncement on the truth or falsehood of Galileo's doctrine, and his condemnation, such as it was, comes to us as the act, the judgment of a number of fallible

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men. And as such what is its value to Mr. Mivart as an argument? It proves, what requires no proof, that a number of theologians may err. Nothing more than this logically follows from it; and, granting all this, Mr. Mivart would have to show that the authorities quoted by me not only may err, but actually have erred. But he declines to consider them at all, and quietly takes it for granted, as the outcome of Galileo's case, that theologians in such circumstances 'always turn out to have been in the wrong'—a process of reasoning quite unworthy of one so saturated with science as Mr. Mivart professes to be. But it is not the opinions of a few isolated theologians that I have set in opposition to Mr. Mivart's theory. I have set against him 'a consensus of Catholic teaching founded on Scripture, and handed down to us by the principal Fathers and theologians in every age from the early dawn of Catholic tradition down to our own time. All along it is unbroken, consecutive, consistent, affirming a doctrine that is inconsistent with the application of Mr. Mivart's theory to man. This consensus is the voice of the ordinary *magisterium* of the Catholic Church, and to it all Catholics, no matter how profound their knowledge or how loud their boasting, are bound to bow. Mr. Mivart's parallel then breaks down on all points, and his headlong and unaccountable onslaught on 'supreme ecclesiastical authority' is a complete, a lamentable break-down. And if he desires to establish the complete orthodoxy of the evolution theory as applied to man, it must be by arguments taken from some source other than the condemnation of Galileo.

From his version of Galileo's case Mr. Mivart seeks to deduce another conclusion that is wider and more important by far than the theological character of evolution. He infers from it that scientists, in all their pursuits and speculations, are completely independent of 'supreme ecclesiastical authority,' and that therefore in every imaginary conflict (for real conflict there cannot be) between science and revelation, to reason and not to 'ecclesiastical authority' does the last appeal lie. He admits, it is true, that 'a loyal Catholic must of course say that when any matter is clearly of faith his conclusions must be wrong if they are opposed to it' (p. 45). But the value of this admission is completely neutralised by the statement that, whenever a conflict arises, the loyal Catholic 'has always the choice whether to distrust the fact of the decision or the fact of physical science.' In other words, loyal Catholics are free to believe just what they please. 'The perfect intellectual freedom of Catholics' is, he thinks, 'unanswerably demonstrated by Galileo's case' (p. 36). It proves 'not only our freedom with reference to such passages of Scripture, but also . . . our freedom, as good Catholics, with reference to ecclesiastical decrees also' (p. 39). 'Catholic men of science should in no wise allow their efforts after truth to be checked by the declarations of ecclesiastical authorities' (p. 43). Now it must be

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borne in mind that, in Mr. Mivart's argument, the 'ecclesiastical congregations' and 'ecclesiastical authorities' include the Pope, and that, too, in his official capacity as teacher of the Universal Church. Just as the Pope is included in that ecclesiastical authority which condemned Galileo, so, too, is he included in that ecclesiastical authority which, according to Mr. Mivart, has no right to interfere with science or scientific men—that is, Catholic men of science are in their speculations completely independent of the supreme teaching authority of the Church—almost a literal translation of the 14th condemned proposition of the *syllabus*. And 'to certain good Catholics' Mr. Mivart offers these considerations, which he thinks 'will effectually dissipate their scruples,' and which I think would 'effectually dissipate' their faith also. For the 'intellectual freedom' which Mr. Mivart claims is not freedom but wanton license, the offspring of intellectual pride, a license which loyal Catholics have never claimed, and which the Catholic Church has never granted. Mr. Mivart knows well that the Catholic Church claims to be not only the divinely appointed teacher of all that is contained in the divine deposit of faith, but its divinely commissioned custodian as well. This claim Mr. Mivart, as a Catholic, of course admits. And admitting it, he cannot deny that it is part of the office of the Church to watch carefully all such theories and speculations as bode danger to the faith. Hence it is that her jurisdiction extends *indirectly* to many things that form no part of the divine deposit of faith at all. That there are many sciences and many scientific conclusions with which the Church is in no way concerned is abundantly clear. The natural sciences as such are outside her province. They are founded on natural truths out of which they are deduced by processes of reasoning with which the Church has nothing to do. Between reason and faith, between any truth clearly established by reason and any truth of faith, there can be no real contradiction. Reason is as much God's gift as faith is, and both therefore must be always in harmony. If, then, there be a real conflict between a revealed truth and an alleged conclusion of science, the fancied scientific conclusion must be at fault. It must have been deduced from false principles, or by reasoning that is unsound. Hence it is that the Church, while indifferent to the facts and arguments of the natural sciences, is always vigilant as to the conclusions at which scientists profess to have arrived. She measures these conclusions by the standard of revealed doctrine, and if they be found inconsistent with that standard, she has *indirect* jurisdiction over them, and in virtue of her office as infallible guardian of the faith, and to ward off danger from her children, she condemns them; and in her judgment loyal Catholics are bound submissively to acquiesce. Then there are mixed questions which, besides being conclusions of natural science, are also revealed either explicitly or implicitly; and over all such questions, inasmuch as they are revealed, the Church

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has direct control, and of course there can be no questioning her judgment with reference to them. It follows, then, that the Church judges directly of many, and indirectly of very many more, of those questions which Mr. Mivart fancies are the exclusive province of the man of science; and her office as divinely commissioned guardian of the deposit of faith would be impossible if her authority did not extend to such questions. And hence it is that loyal Catholics have always bowed to that authority, and that Catholics who have read Mr. Mivart's article are pained and shocked by the extraordinary assertions it contains. He tells us that 'ecclesiastical authority did give a judgment which impeded the progress of science' (p. 39). This is all but a literal translation of the 12th proposition condemned in the *syllabus*. And history justifies the condemnation, for it teaches that as long as scientific men confined themselves to their own province they were encouraged by 'ecclesiastical authority,' and that they met with opposition from that authority only when they began to dogmatise in a province not their own. That license which Mr. Mivart claims for scientific men the Church will not grant them; her whole life is a protest against it, and it has been sternly reprobated by repeated solemn and authoritative declarations of the supreme head of the Church in our own times. The encyclical 'Quanta cura' is very explicit in its reprobation of that license. The brief 'Inter gravissimas' addressed to the Archbishop of Munich in 1862, when 'Old Catholicism' was in its embryo, lays down the following plain statement, which is very profitable matter for meditation for Catholic men of science:—

> Wherefore the Church, in virtue of the power entrusted to her by her Divine Author, has the right and the duty not only of refusing to tolerate, but also of proscribing and condemning, all errors, if the integrity of the faith and the salvation of souls demand it; and all philosophers who wish to be sons of the Church, and philosophy itself likewise, are bound in duty never to say anything contrary to the Church's teaching, and to retract those things about which she may have admonished them. Moreover we decree and declare that the opinion which teaches the contrary to this is altogether erroneous, and in the highest degree insulting to the faith of the Church and her authority.

And in the brief 'Tuas libenter' addressed to the same Archbishop in 1863, Pius the Ninth says: 'For although the natural sciences depend on their own principles known from reason, yet Catholic students of these sciences must keep their eyes on revelation as a guiding star, that they may avoid the labyrinths of error.' And the Holy Father goes on to tell Catholic scientists that their obligation is not at all restricted to such things as are defined by the Apostolic See, but that they are also bound to accept as decisive the voice of the ordinary *magisterium* of the Church. Mr. Mivart gives his estimate of these 'utterances' with lamentable clearness. He disregards them, but they are none the less wise and true, obligatory on, and accepted by, all loyal children of the Catholic Church. Thus the Church has acted always,

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and her action is proof conclusive of her right to act. Mr. Mivart admits this, for he says: 'An infallible authority must know the limits of its revealed message. If authority can make a mistake in determining its own limits, it may make a mistake in a matter of faith' (p. 38). And since authority cannot 'make a mistake in determining its own limits,' it remains for all loyal Catholics to keep within the limits so repeatedly and so clearly laid down. I am quite as anxious as Mr. Mivart can be to avoid anything that may be an unnecessary strain upon the belief of good Catholics, or that may be an unnecessary obstacle in the way of persons desirous of joining the Catholic Church, but it would be cowardly as well as unchristian to conceal from those who are within the Church the extent of their obligations, or to hold out delusive hopes of intellectual license to those who are without. If persons are to become Catholics or to continue such, it must be, not on their own terms, but on the terms of the Catholic Church. This is nothing more than saying that the Catholic Church has a fixed and definite creed. Mr. Mallock wrote recently that the clergymen of a certain school seemed to regard their Church as 'seized in a sort of intellectual custom house,' and considered it their duty 'to cast overboard as many articles of faith as science could object to.' Catholics and the Catholic Church would be in just this position if Mr. Mivart's ideas on ecclesiastical authority were correct.

The doctrine of the immediate formation—the independent creation—of our first parents, Mr. Mivart regards as 'inexpressibly shocking;' it 'could never have been the creation of a God of truth and goodness, but rather of a malignant father of lies' (p. 45). This is very strong language of a doctrine which, whether true or false, has been believed by the greatest, the holiest, the wisest men and women who have ever been. But why is this doctrine 'inexpressibly shocking'? Because Mr. Mivart sees in man certain things which he cannot explain to his own satisfaction unless this doctrine were what he describes it. Then, unless the plan of man's creation be such as to get Mr. Mivart's *nihil obstat*, 'it must be a process worthy only of a malignant father of lies!' Truly a modest man is this philosopher, and most fortunate is the Catholic Church in possessing a son who is sufficiently learned to enlighten her even 'on the meaning of Scripture which was universally supposed to be her province,' and sufficiently loyal to warn her against opening her lips 'on physical science which was not her province,' and who is good enough to expose and refute her 'egregious errors' whenever she may happen to disregard his warning. But then, by a strange perversity, the Church disregards such admonitions, and keeps on 'never minding' the philosophers—treats some of them as 'incompetent obstructives.' Worse still, she now and then puts one of them on the Index, as a spectacle—a warning to others of his kind—just as a farmer shoots a

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crow and suspends it to a pole in his corn-field, to warn off other trespassers of the same class. Of course philosophers of a certain class think this very unreasonable conduct on the part of the Church, and naturally say that the Church is the enemy of science. But the common sense of sober-thinking people ultimately vindicates the Church, and the philosophers are quietly forgotten. Thus has arisen the false idea that the Catholic Church is hostile to science, and this idea is to some extent strengthened by the efforts of some well-meaning Catholics, who attempt seriously to refute so palpable, so notorious a calumny. We sometimes hear the question asked, 'May a Catholic study science?' As well might the question be, 'May a Catholic take his breakfast?' 'Ubinam gentium sumus?' said the indignant Roman long ago. Are we now living in the time when Tertullian hurled his indignant eloquence against the calumniators of the Christian name? Are we Catholics at this time to go about hat in hand apologising for our ignorance, when the intellectual triumphs of our co-religionists are the most notorious facts in history? Are we then, like cowards, to play the game of our calumniators by putting the silly question, 'May a Catholic study science?' Yes, Catholics may study, and have studied science, with zeal and with success, and in its study, as well as in everything else, they have all the intellectual freedom which reasonable men, believing in revelation, can demand. In every honourable enterprise, in every learned profession, in every department of knowledge, Catholics have distinguished themselves. And the Church rejoices in the triumphs of her children. She blesses them, encourages them, patronises them, but she does not like to see any of her 'loyal sons' proceeding on the supposition of his own personal infallibility. When loyal Catholics study science, as they are quite free to do, the Church insists that they should not lose sight of the advice wisely given them by her Supreme Head: 'Catholici earum scientiarum cultores divinam revelationem, veluti rectricem stellam, præ oculis habeant oportet, qua prælucente sibi a Syrtibus et erroribus caveant' (Munich Brief, Dec. 21, 1863).

J. Murphy, C.C.

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE: A REPLY.

As one who for some years has taken a great interest in the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women, perhaps I may be allowed to offer a few observations in reply to Mrs. Chapman's article on this subject.

There are fortunately only two matters of fact in regard to which Mrs. Chapman's paper calls for a reply: the first of these is the assertion that women do not wish for the suffrage; the second is that the advocates of 'women's rights' strongly insist on the absolute mental equality of the sexes as a main ground for the concession of the franchise to women. In both these statements Mrs. Chapman, in my opinion, has unintentionally fallen into error.

With regard to the first, Mrs. Chapman makes the assertion in the broadest possible terms that there is no genuine demand on the part of women for representation. 'One thing is clear,' she writes, 'that neither among educated nor uneducated women, among those who think most nor among those who work most, among rich women nor among poor, is there any great and pressing and genuine desire for the suffrage.' The facts surely point the other way: if the case of educated women, thinkers and workers, is considered first, there is a remarkable preponderance of opinion among them in favour of women's suffrage. There is hardly any distinguished English woman of the latter half of the nineteenth century who has made an honourable name through the work she has done in literature, science, education, or philanthropy who has not expressed her sympathy with the movement for the extension of the suffrage to women. We have had warm help and support from Miss Martineau, Mrs. Somerville, Miss Mary Carpenter, Mrs. Jameson, Mrs. Nassau Senior, Mrs. Grote, Miss Emily Davies, Miss Clough, Mrs. W. Grey, Miss Nightingale, Miss Anna Swanwick, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Miss Edith Pechey, Miss Frances Power Cobbe, Mrs. Pfeiffer, Mrs. Butler, Miss Irby, Miss Clara Montalba, Mme. Bodichon, Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie, &c. A page could easily be filled with names, but I have merely taken a selection hastily and almost at random from among the great army of women who have done good work for the world in various ways, and who have joined their forces with those of the men and

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women who are endeavouring to remove the electoral disabilities of women. Of course it is not contended that among the women whom we think of when we speak of thinkers and workers, there is absolute unanimity on this or any other subject; but for every name among women thinkers and workers which can be quoted as opposed to women's suffrage, I should not mind undertaking to quote at least a dozen, and that without going very far afield, who support it.

With regard to the masses of women, it is difficult to get at precise facts. We have, however, some indications which encourage the belief that the mass of women do wish that those among them who possess the statutory qualifications, should be enfranchised. I never saw a paper specially intended for women, from *The Queen* downwards, which is not favourable to women's suffrage. Petitions have repeatedly been sent up to Parliament signed by a very large majority of the women householders in a particular place. The petition from Hyde, near Manchester, may be quoted as an example, where out of 700 women householders 608 petitioned Parliament to grant them the suffrage. Mrs. Chapman does not, however, think much of petitions, so she will not be influenced by the fact that year after year for eighteen years hundreds of thousands of women have petitioned Parliament to pass the Women's Suffrage Bill. She will perhaps find more significance in the annual attendance at the Trades' Union Congress of a deputation of working women, who of late years have always been able to carry the majority of the Congress with them in support of a resolution affirming the principle of women's suffrage. In 1885 this resolution was carried by 70 to 6. In schools and colleges for girls where there are debating societies it is possible to gather some indication of the tendency of public opinion among young women. A short time ago at Newnham College, Cambridge, a resolution condemning women's suffrage was lost by 56 to 13. At a working women's college in London in which there are several hundred women, some of the members of the college were lately talking over with the secretary desirable subjects for discussion at the debating society. The secretary suggested women's suffrage, but the women present objected on the ground that a debate was no good on a subject on which all were agreed; there was, they urged, no possibility of getting anyone to oppose a proposition so obviously just as that women householders and ratepayers should be allowed to vote in Parliamentary elections.

The progress of events often opens women's eyes to their need of representation. The pit-brow women, whose work and wages will be taken from them if the bill relating to mines now before Parliament becomes law, are receiving this kind of enlightenment. Their numbers are estimated at about 5,000; there are 1,300 in West Lancashire alone. Several cases similar to this, where the claims of the unrepre-

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sented are set aside and those of the represented only are attended to, have had a very convincing effect upon the minds of working women as to the practical hardships which follow from their exclusion from the suffrage.

As to the second of the assertions of which I venture to question the accuracy, I do not think it is true that the advocates of 'women's rights' strongly insist on the absolute mental equality of the sexes. Like Marco Polo, I wish to set down things seen as seen, things heard as heard only; therefore I confine my remarks to what has come under my own observation in the conduct of the women's suffrage movement in England during the last twenty years. The leaders of the movement, and its rank and file, have entertained some one and some another view as to the comparative natural capacity of the sexes. But whether they think men and women similar in this respect, or dissimilar but equal, or dissimilar and unequal, they have all, I believe, agreed that the matter was not of any real importance to the question in hand. It is certain that, whatever the inherent natural capacity of a woman's mind may be, its development largely depends on education, circumstances, and opportunity. All that the advocates of women's rights have wished or claimed on behalf of women is that, whatever their natural gifts may be, the opportunity of developing those gifts should not be denied to them. The physical strength of the average woman is inferior to that of the average man; but this does not afford any reason for subjecting women to lowering physical conditions: wholesome food, fresh air, daily exercise, and suitable clothing are as necessary for making the best of the physical powers of the weaker as of the stronger sex. Analogous reasoning can be applied to the educational, social, and political conditions of a woman's life. The question is not whether men and women are equal, but whether the conditions by which men and women are surrounded are calculated to bring out and make the best of their natural powers, whatever these may be. Whether our cups hold a pint or a quart, we wish for the opportunity of filling them. With regard to the effect which a larger measure of freedom has had in developing the natural capacities of women's minds, I think we have every reason to be satisfied with the result of the experiment so far as it has gone. The respect for the individual rights of every human being, which was partly the cause and partly the outcome of the French Revolution, marks the beginning of the modern era so far as the position of women is concerned. The great discovery that women were human beings 'fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a' man is, is conveniently dated in England by the publication in 1792 of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Previous to that, hardly any woman, save here and there a saint, a queen, or a king's mistress, had done any work which

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left its mark on the history of art, politics, literature, or science. Whatever the natural gifts of women may be, before that time they were undeveloped in comparison with a later period. Since that time we have had indeed among women no Shakespeare, no Dante, no Beethoven, no Newton, but in our scarcely completed century we have had, in literature alone, women whose works the world will not willingly let die. Jane Austen, the two Brontës, Mrs. Browning, and George Eliot are not a poor harvest for one nation to have reaped as a result of giving greater scope and greater opportunities of development to the natural powers, whatever they may be, of one half of its inhabitants. 'We live by admiration, hope, and love.' Our love and admiration for the great women given to us during the last half century, as a result of the comparative freedom accorded to Englishwomen by advancing civilisation, leads us to hope that yet greater women may be given to us in the time to come, when a larger measure of liberty and greater opportunities of development will have been won.

We are moving and growing slowly towards larger ideas as to the capacity of women and what it is fitting that they should or should not do. At one time it was thought impossible that a woman should ever acquire the difficult art of cutting hair; a male hairdresser remarked, 'It took *me* a fortnight to learn it,' and believed that this settled the question. A little later it was discovered that women could keep accounts, and keep them well. When I was being shown over the Savings Bank Department of the General Post Office, the excellence of the work of the women there was specially pointed out to me by the kindness of the gentleman who was then head of the branch. Taking down one of the heavy ledgers, and showing with official pride the beautifully neat columns of figures, he said, 'At one time I did not believe that females were capable of making figures like these.' I smiled, and hoped that further surprises were in store for him. Till Ellen Watson won the first prize for Mathematics at London University and Miss Scott was eighth wrangler at Cambridge, many people believed that—Mrs. Somerville notwithstanding—there was something in the female brain which rendered it incapable of apprehending the mysteries of mathematical science. It is evident, then, that there is more capacity on the part of women to undertake successfully various kinds of work than at one time was dreamed of. It will never be certainly known whether their mental powers are equal to those of men till their chances have been equal during a long period of time. It may be that physical laws have irrevocably ordained that their chances never can be equal; and that by the service they render to the world in another way women are eternally handicapped, if a comparison is made between their achievements and those of men. If this be so, we argue not against Heaven's hand or will; but we ask, all the same, on behalf of women, that they should

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have the opportunity of developing whatever powers nature may have vouchsafed to them.

It should be remarked that, contemporaneously with the greater activity of women during the last half century in those spheres which were at one time held to be fit for men exclusively, the work that always has been and probably always will be specially women's work has not been neglected; on the contrary, in almost every department women have done their own special work, since a larger degree of liberty has been afforded them, with increased zeal and intelligence. I need only refer to the great improvement in the education of the young; to the careful training now sought by all women who wish to devote themselves to the nursing of the sick; to the revival of fine needlework, artistic and utilitarian; to the schools for teaching cookery; to the increase of skill and thought employed in beautifying the home; to the work of women as poor-law guardians; to the method of really helping the poor which is associated with the name of Miss Octavia Hill; and last, but not least, to that noble army of martyrs who, in ever-increasing numbers and with increasing wisdom and self-devotion, give their lives to rescuing from unspeakable misery the most wretched and unhappy of their sex.

Mrs. Chapman concedes everything that has been already won; it is only where the immediate issue of the battle is still doubtful that she joins the forces of reaction. She is convinced that it is right that women should vote in municipal and school-board elections and should serve the community as poor-law guardians; for school boards and boards of guardians deal, she urges, with local not national interests, and for these the distinguishing feminine characteristics are strong qualifications; and she further hints in another passage that wise women will recognise that great questions of national interest are the subjects appropriate for the consideration of masculine minds, while feminine minds should occupy themselves with such questions as are connected with household management and the care of the sick. Is there not a fallacy here? Is it not right that all human beings should like the best things best, and be most interested in the things that are most interesting? It often helps one to test the value of an argument to translate it from the abstract to the concrete. Will wise women recognise during the next few months that it is scarcely fitting that they should occupy themselves with an attempt to understand Mr. Gladstone's proposals for the future government of Ireland, and that they will find a subject in every way worthy of the contemplation of the female mind in the 'Substitutes for Butter' Bill? When the question arises whether the Church of England shall be disestablished, are women to leave its fate to be decided by others, while they occupy themselves exclusively, so far as public affairs are concerned, with those matters which Mrs. Chapman accurately describes as a sort of housekeeping on a large

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scale? It is impossible in practice to separate the daily interests of men and women in this way. They live together as husbands and wives, fathers and daughters, brothers and sisters, mothers and sons. Those great questions of national interest which deeply stir the heart and mind of the country excite the most intense interest on the part of both men and women. It is true that from the natural difference of sex, and from the different conditions of their lives, women may look upon these and other questions from a point of view somewhat different from that of men. It is this very difference, from whatever cause it may arise, that, in my view, gives to women their strongest possible claim to representation. If women and men were just alike in everything but clothes and outward form, the representation of men would virtually represent women also; but, being different, the true representation of the country demands that this difference should be able to make itself felt constitutionally through representation. The main work of most women's lives is domestic, and is likely to remain so; this gives in their eyes a special value to the domestic virtues of truthfulness, morality, sobriety, economy, and order. Would not the course of legislation be favourably influenced if, through the constitutional channels of representation, more weight were given in public affairs to what promotes these virtues?

It appears to be thought that, if women vote for members of Parliament, they must bid a final adieu to all personal influence over their fellow-creatures. The *non sequitur* is obvious. Almost everyone exercises influence in a greater or less degree over those with whom he is brought into contact. Sometimes the influence is good and sometimes it is bad. An unselfish, noble character, one that cherishes high ideals, makes all great and brave and beautiful things easier in the entire circle where his influence radiates. That is one of the most blessed things in the world. It will not be stopped by women voting for members of Parliament. There have been men and women in all times and in all countries who have exercised this beneficent personal influence over both men and women. But personal influence is not necessarily good: sometimes it is akin to flattery and cajolery, or may be prompted by a desire for selfish ascendency. I am not so Utopian as to imagine that this bad kind of personal influence will be extirpated by allowing women to vote for members of Parliament. I am afraid that the bad sort of personal influence, as well as the good, belongs to that class of 'great, unalterable facts underlying all our arrangements,' which Mrs. Chapman speaks of. But there is room to hope that to extend the blessings of liberty and self-government to women may help them to a more generous patriotism, to higher ideals and a keener appreciation of public duty; and in this case their influence for good would be strengthened, and such influence as is not good would be correspondingly diminished. Mr. Gladstone once said, in the pages, I believe, of this Review: 'All who live in a

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country should take an interest in that country, love that country; and the vote gives that sense of interest, fosters that love.' It is impossible to doubt, unless it is contended that circumstances have no modifying effect on character, that the entire exclusion of women from direct political power and responsibility has weakened their sense of patriotism and public duty. How many men since Adam have been hindered in making the right choice between duty and temptation by 'the woman whom Thou gavest to be with me!' Browning makes Andrea del Sarto say to his wife:—

> Had I been two, another and myself,
> Our head would have o'erlooked the world!
> . . . . . .
> Had you enjoined them on me, given me soul,
> We might have risen to Rafael, I and you.
> . . . . Had the mouth there urged
> 'God and the glory! never care for gain!'
> . . . . . .
> I might have done it for you.

The thought may arise that it is easy to blame another for one's own shortcomings, and it is not uncommon to hear Adam's excuse sharply animadverted upon. If not manly, it is said to have been very like a man; but I am afraid that Eve's share in the transaction, if not womanly, was very like a woman.

It is a truism to say women have not always thrown their weight on the side of duty, irrespective of gain, reputation, and everything else. The question as to the suffrage is really this: Will the extension of political privileges to some women tend in any degree to awaken in all women a higher sense of civic duty, a juster power of comparison between the value of personal aims and national wellbeing? The tragedy of Lydgate and Rosamund Vincy in *Middlemarch* should ever be before the eyes of women. The life of the young husband, full of promise, of fine ideals, of generous enthusiasm, is marred and turned to dust and ashes by the entire incomprehension of the beautiful girl whom he married that life could have any higher aims than to get into good society and lead the van of provincial gentility. I am afraid we shall have Rosamunds always with us; but everything which lifts up women's lives, whether it be education or political responsibility or industrial independence, ought to be thankfully grasped at, in the faith that they will all help to weaken the Rosamund who is the Edward Hyde to the Dr. Jekyll of so many of us.

There is one circumstance in particular which tells us to be of good cheer in this matter of the extension of the suffrage to women. Women's suffrage will not come, when it does come, as an isolated phenomenon; it will come as a necessary corollary of other changes which have been gradually and steadily modifying during this century the social history of our country. It will be a political change, not

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of a very great or extensive character in itself, based upon social, educational and economic changes which have already taken place. It will have the effect of adjusting the political machinery of the country to the altered social conditions of its inhabitants. The revolution has been quietly taking place for at least two generations; the political change will not be a revolution, but a public recognition by the State that the lot of women in England is no longer what it was at the beginning of the century.

Mrs. Chapman is rather scornful when she speaks of the comparatively mean and humble character of the Women's Suffrage Bill which was read a second time by the House of Commons in February. It is, as everyone knows, a bill to enfranchise exactly the same women who in boroughs have already been entrusted with the school board and municipal franchises; that is, it will, if it passes, give the right of voting to unmarried women and widows who are householders, and will not enfranchise wives as well. The limitation is no doubt open to attack; probably all limitations of the suffrage are so; but I think it can be defended on the same ground as that on which the principle of the Reform Bill of 1832 was defended. A 10*l.* rental suffrage was illogical; there was no reason to believe that all the virtues of citizenship immediately disappeared from a man's character if his rent were lowered from 10*l.* to 9*l.* 10*s.* But the limitation was defended, and successfully defended, on the ground that this was as far as the general public opinion of the country justified Lord Grey's Government in going in the direction of reform. Most of those who have had an opportunity of judging believe that the general public opinion of the country is now fully prepared to support the enfranchisement of single women and widows who are householders, but is not prepared to go further and enfranchise wives as well. In regard to this question, I think wives would gain immediately and immensely through the representation of single women. It is not as if they were really two different classes, and that some women were born married and others were born widows or old maids. Unmarried women are every day becoming wives, and wives, alas! are every day becoming widows. There must always be the closest identity in feeling and in interests between married and unmarried women. A Guardianship of Infants' Bill would probably pass in a single session if every member of Parliament had the twelve per cent. of unmarried women and widows among his constituents which he will have if the Women's Suffrage Bill passes in its present form. And the bill thus passed would bear only a remote resemblance to the homœopathic dose of justice wrapped up in the bill now before Parliament, but would be based on the law of nature, which gives every child, under normal conditions, to the joint guardianship of both its parents, and not to the uncontrolled power of one of them.

There is little danger that unmarried women and widows will be

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neglectful of the interests of their married sisters. There may be, perhaps, some little danger the other way. Married women sometimes give themselves rather laughable airs of superiority over unmarried women. Even Mrs. Chapman is not exempt from this failing. She is quite sure of the answer to the question, 'Where shall wisdom be found?' if the choice lies between women who are married and those who are not; she has her little thrust at the unmarried women 'with hardly any experience of life beyond managing each her own maidservant and her own cat, if, indeed, the cat and the maidservant do not manage her.' This, to use a colloquial expression, will not hold water. It is not possible, except by way of a jest, for one section of women, of all ranks, creeds, and positions, to affect contempt for another equally heterogeneous section of women. The 800,000 single women and widows in England who are householders and ratepayers are fair samples of the female population of the country, and one with another are as likely to be self-reliant, thoughtful, and conscientious as married women are. I always recommend those who affect contempt for old maids and bachelors to read Charles Lamb's Essay on *The Behaviour of Married Persons*. If they are robust enough to endure being laughed at, it does them good.

Only one word more. Mrs. Chapman speaks of the way in which the second reading of the bill was carried in the House of Commons as if it had been the result of something underhand. She has been misled no doubt by an article in the *Times* which gave this impression. The facts are these. The second reading of the Women's Suffrage Bill was down as the third order of the day for Thursday, the 18th of February. This was the day the House reassembled after the adjournment necessary for the formation of the present Government. Two days before this it was noticed by the friends of women's suffrage that there would be a chance of the bill being reached, and they accordingly spared no pains to make this generally known. The position of the bill, supposing it could be reached, was a very strong one; for there are 348 members of the present House who are its supporters. A paragraph was sent, in the interests of the bill, to every London morning paper, announcing the possibility of the motion for the second reading being reached, and the probability of a majority in its favour in case it was reached. The *Times* omitted to insert this paragraph, and then accused the supporters of women's suffrage of carrying the second reading of the bill by means of secresy and questionable tactics. Secresy, or at least a suppression of the facts relating to the prospects of the bill, was manifested on the occasion, but not on the part of the friends of women's suffrage.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

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THE FACTORS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION.

CONCLUDED.

THE growth of a thing is effected by the joint operation of certain forces on certain materials; and when it dwindles, there is either a lack of some materials, or the forces co-operate in a way different from that which produces growth. If a structure has varied, the implication is that the processes which built it up were made unlike the parallel processes in other cases, by the greater or less amount of some one or more of the matters or actions concerned. Where there is unusual fertility, the play of vital activities is thereby shown to have deviated from the ordinary play of vital activities; and conversely, if there is infertility. If the germs, or ova, or seed, or offspring partially developed, survive more or survive less, it is either because their molar or molecular structures are unlike the average ones, or because they are affected in unlike ways by surrounding agencies. When life is prolonged, the fact implies that the combination of actions, visible and invisible, constituting life, retains its equilibrium longer than usual in presence of environing forces which tend to destroy its equilibrium. That is to say, growth, variation, survival, death, if they are to be reduced to the forms in which physical science can recognise them, must be expressed as effects of agencies definitely conceived—mechanical forces, light, heat, chemical affinity, &c.

This general conclusion brings with it the thought that the phrases employed in discussing organic evolution, though convenient and indeed needful, are liable to mislead us by veiling the actual agencies. That which really goes on in every organism is the working together of component parts in ways conducing to the continuance of their combined actions, in presence of things and actions outside; some of which tend to subserve, and others to destroy, the combination. The matters and forces in these two groups, are the sole causes properly so called. The words 'natural selection,' do not express a cause in the physical sense. They express a mode of co-operation among causes—or rather, to speak strictly, they express an effect of this mode of co-operation. The idea they convey seems perfectly intelligible. Natural selection having been compared with

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artificial selection, and the analogy pointed out, there apparently remains no indefiniteness: the inconvenience being, however, that the definiteness is of a wrong kind. The tacitly implied Nature which selects, is not an embodied agency analogous to the man who selects artificially; and the selection is not the picking out of an individual fixed on, but the overthrowing of many individuals by agencies which one successfully resists, and hence continues to live and multiply. Mr. Darwin was conscious of these misleading implications. In the introduction to his *Animals and Plants under Domestication* (p. 6) he says:—

'For brevity sake I sometimes speak of natural selection as an intelligent power; . . . I have, also, often personified the word Nature; for I have found it difficult to avoid this ambiguity; but I mean by nature only the aggregate action and product of many natural laws,—and by laws only the ascertained sequence of events.'

But while he thus clearly saw, and distinctly asserted, that the factors of organic evolution are the concrete actions, inner and outer, to which every organism is subject, Mr. Darwin, by habitually using the convenient figure of speech, was, I think, prevented from recognising so fully as he would otherwise have done, certain fundamental consequences of these actions.

Though it does not personalise the cause, and does not assimilate its mode of working to a human mode of working, kindred objections may be urged against the expression to which I was led when seeking to present the phenomena in literal terms rather than metaphorical terms—the survival of the fittest[1]; for in a vague way the first word, and in a clear way the second word, calls up an anthropocentric idea. The thought of survival inevitably suggests the human view of certain sets of phenomena, rather than that character which they have simply as groups of changes. If, asking what we really know of a plant, we exclude all the ideas associated with the words life and death, we find that the sole facts known to us are that there go on in the plant certain inter-dependent processes, in presence of certain aiding and hindering influences outside of it; and that in some cases a difference of structure or a favourable set of circumstances, allows these inter-dependent processes to go on for longer periods than in other cases. Again, in the working together of those many actions, internal and external, which determine the lives or deaths of organisms, we see nothing to which the words fitness and unfitness are applicable in the physical sense. If a key fits a lock, or a glove a hand, the relation of the things to one another is presentable to the perceptions. No

[1] Though Mr. Darwin approved of this expression and occasionally employed it, he did not adopt it for general use; contending, very truly, that the expression Natural Selection is in some cases more convenient. See *Animals and Plants under Domestication* (first edition) Vol. I, p. 6; and *Origin of Species* (sixth edition), p. 49.

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approach to fitness of this kind is made by an organism which continues to live under certain conditions. Neither the organic structures themselves, nor their individual movements, nor those combined movements of certain among them which constitute conduct, are related in any analogous way to the things and actions in the environment. Evidently the word fittest, as thus used, is a figure of speech; suggesting the fact that amid surrounding actions, an organism characterised by the word has either a greater ability than others of its kind to maintain the equilibrium of its vital activities, or else has so much greater a power of multiplication that though not longer lived than they, it continues to live in posterity more persistently. And indeed, as we here see, the word fittest has to cover cases in which there may be less ability than usual to survive individually, but in which the defect is more than made good by higher degrees of fertility.

I have elaborated this criticism with the intention of emphasising the need for studying the changes which have gone on, and are ever going on, in organic bodies, from an exclusively physical point of view. On contemplating the facts from this point of view, we become aware that, besides those special effects of the co-operating forces which eventuate in the longer survival of one individual than of others, and in the consequent increase through generations, of some trait which furthered its survival, many other effects are being wrought on each and all of the individuals. Bodies of every class and quality, inorganic as well as organic, are from instant to instant subject to the influences in their environments; are from instant to instant being changed by these in ways that are mostly inconspicuous; and are in course of time changed by them in conspicuous ways. Living things in common with dead things, are, I say, being thus perpetually acted upon and modified; and the changes hence resulting, constitute an all-important part of those undergone in the course of organic evolution. I do not mean to imply that changes of this class pass entirely unrecognised; for, as we shall see, Mr. Darwin takes cognisance of certain secondary and special ones. But the effects which are not taken into account, are those primary and universal effects which give certain fundamental characters to all organisms. Contemplation of an analogy will best prepare the way for appreciation of them, and of the relation they bear to those which at present monopolise attention.

An observant rambler along shores, will, here and there, note places where the sea has deposited things more or less similar, and separated them from dissimilar things—will see shingle parted from sand; larger stones sorted from smaller stones; and will occasionally discover deposits of shells more or less worn by being rolled about. Sometimes the pebbles or boulders composing the shingle at one end of a bay, he will find much larger than those at the other:

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intermediate sizes, having small average differences, occupying the space between the extremes. An example occurs, if I remember rightly, some mile or two to the west of Tenby; but the most remarkable and well-known example is that afforded by the Chesil bank. Here, along a shore some sixteen miles long, there is a gradual increase in the sizes of the stones; which, being at one end but mere pebbles, are at the other end immense boulders. In this case, then, the breakers and the undertow have effected a selection—have at each place left behind those stones which were too large to be readily moved, while taking away others small enough to be moved easily. But now, if we contemplate exclusively this selective action of the sea, we overlook certain important effects which the sea simultaneously works. While the stones have been differently acted upon in so far that some have been left here and some carried there; they have been similarly acted upon in two allied, but distinguishable, ways. By perpetually rolling them about and knocking them one against another, the waves have so broken off their most prominent parts as to produce in all of them more or less rounded forms; and then, further, the mutual friction of the stones simultaneously caused, has smoothed their surfaces. That is to say in general terms, the actions of environing agencies, so far as they have operated indiscriminately, have produced in the stones a certain unity of character; at the same time that they have, by their differential effects, separated them: the larger ones having withstood certain violent actions which the smaller ones could not withstand.

Similarly with other assemblages of objects which are alike in their primary traits but unlike in their secondary traits. When simultaneously exposed to the same set of actions, some of these actions, rising to a certain intensity, may be expected to work on particular members of the assemblage changes which they cannot work in those which are markedly unlike; while others of the actions will work in all of them similar changes, because of the uniform relations between these actions and certain attributes common to all members of the assemblage. Hence it is inferable that on living organisms, which form an assemblage of this kind, and are unceasingly exposed in common to the agencies composing their inorganic environments, there must be wrought two such sets of effects. There will result a universal likeness among them consequent on the likeness of their respective relations to the matters and forces around; and there will result, in some cases, the differences due to the differential effects of these matters and forces, and in other cases, the changes which, being life-sustaining or life-destroying, eventuate in certain natural selections.

I have, above, made a passing reference to the fact that Mr. Darwin did not fail to take account of some among these effects directly produced on organisms by surrounding inorganic agencies.

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Here are extracts from the sixth edition of the *Origin of Species* showing this.

'It is very difficult to decide how far changed conditions, such as of climate, food, &c., have acted in a definite manner. There is reason to believe that in the course of time the effects have been greater than can be proved by clear evidence. . . . Mr. Gould believes that birds of the same species are more brightly coloured under a clear atmosphere, than when living near the coast or on islands; and Wollaston is convinced that residence near the sea affects the colours of insects. Moquin-Tandon gives a list of plants which, when growing near the sea-shore, have their leaves in some degree fleshy, though not elsewhere fleshy' (pp. 106–7). 'Some observers are convinced that a damp climate affects the growth of the hair, and that with the hair the horns are correlated' (p. 159).

In his subsequent work, *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, Mr. Darwin still more clearly recognises these causes of change in organisation. A chapter is devoted to the subject. After premising that 'the direct action of the conditions of life, whether leading to definite or indefinite results, is a totally distinct consideration from the effects of natural selection;' he goes on to say that changed conditions of life 'have acted so definitely and powerfully on the organisation of our domesticated productions, that they have sufficed to form new sub-varieties or races, without the aid of selection by man or of natural selection.' Of his examples here are two.

'I have given in detail in the ninth chapter the most remarkable case known to me, namely, that in Germany several varieties of maize brought from the hotter parts of America were transformed in the course of only two or three generations.' (Vol ii, p. 277.) [And in this ninth chapter concerning these and other such instances he says 'some of the foregoing differences would certainly be considered of specific value with plants in a state of nature.' (Vol. i, p. 321.)] 'Mr. Meehan, in a remarkable paper, compares twenty-nine kinds of American trees, belonging to various orders, with their nearest European allies, all grown in close proximity in the same garden and under as nearly as possible the same conditions.' And then enumerating six traits in which the American forms all of them differ in like ways from their allied European forms, Mr. Darwin thinks there is no choice but to conclude that these 'have been definitely caused by the long-continued action of the different climate of the two continents on the trees.' (Vol. ii, pp. 281–2.)

But the fact we have to note is that while Mr. Darwin thus took account of special effects due to special amounts and combinations of agencies in the environment, he did not take account of the far more important effects due to the general and constant operation of these agencies.[2] If a difference between the quantities of a force

[2] It is true that while not deliberately admitted by Mr. Darwin, these effects are not denied by him. In his *Animals and Plants under Domestication* (vol. ii, 281), he refers to certain chapters in the *Principles of Biology*, in which I have discussed this general inter-action of the medium and the organism, and ascribed certain most general traits to it. But though, by his expressions, he implies a sympathetic attention to the argument, he does not in such way adopt the conclusion as to assign to this factor any share in the genesis of organic structures—much less that large share which I believe it has had. I did not myself at that time, nor indeed until quite recently, see how extensive and profound have been the influences on organization

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which acts on two organisms, otherwise alike and otherwise similarly conditioned, produces some difference between them; then, by implication, this force produces in both of them effects which they show in common. The inequality between two things cannot have a value unless the things themselves have values. Similarly if, in two cases, some unlikeness of proportion among the surrounding inorganic agencies to which two plants or two animals are exposed, is followed by some unlikeness in the changes wrought on them; then it follows that these several agencies taken separately, work changes in both of them. Hence we must infer that organisms have certain structural characters in common, which are consequent on the action of the medium in which they exist: using the word medium in a comprehensive sense, as including all physical forces falling upon them as well as matters bathing them. And we may conclude that from the primary characters thus produced there must result secondary characters.

Before going on to observe those general traits of organisms due to the general action of the inorganic environment upon them, I feel tempted to enlarge on the effects produced by each of the several matters and forces constituting the environment. I should like to do this not only to give a clear preliminary conception of the ways in which all organisms are affected by these universally-present agents, but also to show that, in the first place, these agents modify inorganic bodies as well as organic bodies, and that, in the second place, the organic are far more modifiable by them than the inorganic. But to avoid undue suspension of the argument, I content myself with saying that when the respective effects of gravitation, heat, light, &c., are studied, as well as the respective effects, physical and chemical, of the matters forming the media, water and air, it will be found that while more or less operative on all bodies, each modifies organic bodies to an extent immensely greater than the extent to which it modifies inorganic bodies.

Here, not discriminating among the special effects which these various forces and matters in the environment produce on both classes of bodies, let us consider their combined effects, and ask—What is the most general trait of such effects?

Obviously the most general trait is the greater amount of change wrought on the outer surface than on the inner mass. In so far as the matters of which the medium is composed come into play, the unavoidable implication is that they act more on the parts directly exposed to them than on the parts sheltered from them. And in so

which, as we shall presently see, are traceable to the early results of this fundamental relation between organism and medium. I may add that it is in an essay on 'Transcendental Physiology,' first published in 1857, that the line of thought here followed out in its wider bearings, was first entered upon.

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far as the forces pervading the medium come into play, it is manifest that, excluding gravity, which affects outer and inner parts indiscriminately, the outer parts have to bear larger shares of their actions. If it is a question of heat, then the exterior must lose it or gain it faster than the interior; and in a medium which is now warmer and now colder, the two must habitually differ in temperature to some extent —at least where the size is considerable. If it is a question of light, then in all but absolutely transparent masses, the outer parts must undergo more of any change producible by it than the inner parts—supposing other things equal; by which I mean, supposing the case is not complicated by any such convexities of the outer surface as produce internal concentrations of rays. Hence then, speaking generally, the necessity is that the primary and almost universal effect of the converse between the body and its medium, is to differentiate its outside from its inside. I say almost universal, because where the body is both mechanically and chemically stable, like, for instance, a quartz crystal, the medium may fail to work either inner or outer change.

Of illustrations among inorganic bodies, a convenient one is supplied by an old cannon-ball that has been long lying exposed. A coating of rust, formed of flakes within flakes, incloses it; and this thickens year by year, until, perhaps, it reaches a stage at which its exterior loses as much by rain and wind as its interior gains by further oxidation of the iron. Most mineral masses—pebbles, boulders, rocks—if they show any effect of the environment at all, show it only by that disintegration of surface which follows the freezing of absorbed water: an effect which, though mechanical rather than chemical, equally illustrates the general truth. Occasionally a 'rocking-stone' is thus produced. There are formed successive layers relatively friable in texture, each of which, thickest at the most exposed parts, and being presently lost by weathering, leaves the contained mass in a shape more rounded than before; until, resting on its convex under-surface, it is easily moved. But of all instances perhaps the most remarkable is one to be seen on the west bank of the Nile at Philæ, where a ridge of granite 100 feet high, has had its outer parts reduced in course of time to a collection of boulder-shaped masses, varying from say a yard in diameter to six or eight feet, each one of which shows in progress an exfoliation of successively-formed shells of decomposed granite: most of the masses having portions of such shells partially detached.

If, now, inorganic masses, relatively so stable in composition, thus have their outer parts differentiated from their inner parts, what must we say of organic masses, characterised by such extreme chemical instability?—instability so great that their essential material is named protein, to indicate the readiness with which it passes from one isomeric form to another. Clearly the necessary inference is that

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this effect of the medium must be wrought inevitably and promptly, wherever the relation of outer and inner has become settled: a qualification for which the need will be seen hereafter.

Beginning with the earliest and most minute kinds of living things, we necessarily encounter difficulties in getting direct evidence; since, of the countless species now existing, all have been subject during millions upon millions of years to the evolutionary process, and have had their primary traits complicated and obscured by those endless secondary traits which the natural selection of favourable variations has produced. Among protophytes it needs but to think of the multitudinous varieties of diatoms and desmids, with their elaborately-constructed coverings; or of the definite methods of growth and multiplication among such simple *Algæ* as the *Conjugatæ*; to see that most of their distinctive characters are due to inherited constitutions, which have been slowly moulded by survival of the fittest to this or that mode of life. To disentangle such parts of their developmental changes as are due to the action of the medium, is therefore hardly possible. We can hope only to get a general conception of it by contemplating the totality of the facts.

The first cardinal fact is that all protophytes are cellular—all show us this contrast between outside and inside. Supposing the multitudinous specialities of the envelope in different orders and genera of protophytes to be set against one another, and mutually cancelled, there remains as a trait common to them—an envelope unlike that which it envelopes. The second cardinal fact is that this simple trait is the earliest trait displayed in germs, or spores, or other parts from which new individuals are to arise; and that, consequently, this trait must be regarded as having been primordial. For it is an established truth of organic evolution that embryos show us, in general ways, the forms of remote ancestors; and that the first changes undergone, indicate, more or less clearly, the first changes which took place in the series of forms through which the existing form has been reached. Describing, in successive groups of plants, the early transformations of these primitive units, Sachs [3] says of the lowest *Algæ* that 'the conjugated protoplasmic body clothes itself with a cell-wall' (p. 10); that in 'the spores of Mosses and Vascular Cryptogams' and in 'the pollen of Phanerogams' . . . 'the protoplasmic body of the mother-cell breaks up into four lumps, which quickly round themselves off and contract, and become enveloped by a cell-membrane only after complete separation' (p. 13); that in the *Equisetaceæ* 'the young spores, when first separated, are still naked, but they soon become surrounded by a cell-membrane' (p. 14); and that in higher plants, as in the pollen of many Dicotyledons, 'the contracting daughter-cells secrete cellulose

[3] *Text-Book of Botany, &c.*, by Julius Sachs. Translated by A. W. Bennett and W. T. T. Dyer

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even during their separation' (p. 14). Here, then, in whatever way we interpret it, the fact is that there quickly arises an outer layer different from the contained matter. But the most significant evidence is furnished by 'the masses of protoplasm that escape into water from the injured sacs of *Vaucheria*, which often instantly become rounded into globular bodies,' and of which the 'hyaline protoplasm envelopes the whole as a skin' (p. 41) which 'is denser than the inner and more watery substance' (p. 42). As in this case the protoplasm is but a fragment, and as it is removed from the influence of the parent-cell, this differentiating process can scarcely be regarded as anything more than the effect of physico-chemical actions: a conclusion which is supported by the statement of Sachs that 'not only every vacuole in a solid protoplasmic body, but also every thread of protoplasm which penetrates the sap-cavity, and finally the inner side of the protoplasm-sac which encloses the sap-cavity, is also bounded by a skin' (p. 42). If, then, 'every portion of a protoplasmic body immediately surrounds itself, when it becomes isolated, with such a skin,' which is shown in all cases to arise at the surface of contact with sap or water, this primary differentiation of outer from inner must be ascribed to the direct action of the medium. Whether the coating thus initiated is secreted by the protoplasm, or whether, as seems more likely, it results from transformation of it, matters not to the argument. Either way the action of the medium causes its formation; and either way the many varied and complex differentiations which developed cell-walls display, must be considered as originating from those variations of this physically-generated covering which natural selection has taken advantage of.

The contained protoplasm of a vegetal cell, which has self-mobility, and when liberated sometimes performs amœba-like motions for a time, may be regarded as an imprisoned amœba; and when we pass from it to a free amœba, which is one of the simplest types of first animals, or *Protozoa*, we naturally meet with kindred phenomena. The general trait which here concerns us, is that while its plastic or semi-fluid sarcode goes on protruding, in irregular ways, now this and now that part of its periphery, and again withdrawing into its interior first one and then another of these temporary processes, perhaps with some small portion of food attached, there is but an indistinct differentiation of outer from inner (a fact shown by the frequent coalescence of the pseudopodia in Rhizopods); but that when it eventually becomes quiescent, the surface becomes differentiated from the contents: the passing into an encysted state, doubtless in large measure due to inherited proclivity, being furthered, and having probably been once initiated, by the action of the medium. The connexion between constancy of relative position among the parts of the sarcode, and the rise of a contrast between superficial and central parts, is perhaps best shown in the minutest and simplest *Infusoria*, the *Monadinæ*.

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The genus *Monas* is described by Kent as 'plastic and unstable in form, possessing no distinct cuticular investment; . . . the food-substances incepted at all parts of the periphery;'[4] and the genus *Scytomonas* he says 'differs from *Monas* only in its persistent shape and accompanying greater rigidity of the peripheral or ectoplasmic layer.'[5] Describing generally such low forms, some of which are said to have neither nucleus nor vacuole, he remarks that in types somewhat higher 'the outer or peripheral border of the protoplasmic mass, while not assuming the character of a distinct cell-wall or so-called cuticle, presents, as compared with the inner substance of that mass, a slightly more solid type of composition.'[6] And it is added that these forms having so slightly differentiated an exterior, 'while usually exhibiting a more or less characteristic normal outline, can revert at will to a pseud-amœboid and repent state.'[7] Here, then, we have several indications of the truth that the permanent externality of a certain part of the substance, is followed by transformation of it into a coating unlike the substance it contains. Indefinite and structureless in the simplest of these forms, as instance again the *Gregarina*,[8] the limiting membrane becomes, in higher *Infusoria*, definite and often complex: showing that the selection of favourable variations has had largely to do with its formation. In such types as the *Foraminifera*, which, almost structureless internally though they are, secrete calcareous shells, it is clear that the nature of this outer layer is determined by inherited constitution. But recognition of this consists with the belief that the action of the medium initiated the outer layer, specialized though it now is; and that even still, contact with the medium excites secretion of it.

Limited, as thus far drawn, to a certain common trait of those minute organisms which are mostly below the reach of unaided vision, the foregoing conclusion appears trivial enough. But it ceases to appear trivial on passing into a wider field, and observing the implications, direct and indirect, as they concern plants and animals of sensible sizes.

Popular expositions of science have so far familiarized many readers with a certain fundamental trait of living things around, that they have ceased to perceive how marvellous a trait it is, and, until interpreted by the Theory of Evolution, how utterly mysterious. In past times, the conception of an ordinary plant or animal which prevailed, not throughout the world at large only but among the most instructed, was that it is a single continuous entity. One of these living things was unhesitatingly regarded as being in all respects

[4] *A Manual of the Infusoria*, by W. Saville Kent. Vol. i, p. 232.
[5] *Ib.* Vol. i, p. 241.
[6] *Ib.* Vol. i, p. 56.
[7] *Ib.* Vol. i, p. 57.
[8] *The Elements of Comparative Anatomy*, by T. H. Huxley, pp. 7–9.

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a unit. Parts it might have, various in their sizes, forms, and compositions; but these were components of a whole which had been from the beginning in its original nature a whole. Even to naturalists fifty years ago, the assertion that a cabbage or a cow, though in one sense a whole, is in another sense a vast society of minute individuals, severally living in greater or less degrees, and some of them maintaining their independent lives unrestrained, would have seemed an absurdity. But this truth which, like so many of the truths established by science, is contrary to that common sense in which most people have so much confidence, has been gradually growing clear since the days when Leeuwenhoeck and his contemporaries began to examine through lenses the minute structures of common plants and animals. Each improvement in the microscope, while it has widened our knowledge of those minute forms of life described above, has revealed further evidence of the fact that all the larger forms of life consist of units severally allied in their fundamental traits to these minute forms of life. Though, as formulated by Schwann and Schleiden, the cell-doctrine has undergone qualifications of statement; yet the qualifications have not been such as to militate against the general proposition that organisms visible to the naked eye, are severally compounded of invisible organisms—using that word in its most comprehensive sense. And then, when the development of any animal is traced, it is found that having been primarily a nucleated cell, and having afterwards become by spontaneous fission a cluster of nucleated cells, it goes on through successive stages to form out of such cells, ever multiplying and modifying in various ways, the several tissues and organs composing the adult.

On the hypothesis of evolution this universal trait has to be accepted not as a fact that is strange but unmeaning. It has to be accepted as evidence that all the visible forms of life have arisen by union of the invisible forms; which, instead of flying apart when they divided, remained together. Various intermediate stages are known. Among plants, those of the *Volvox* type show us the component protophytes so feebly combined that they severally carry on their lives with no appreciable subordination to the life of the group. And among animals, a parallel relation between the lives of the units and the life of the group is shown us in *Uroglena* and *Syncrypta*. From these first stages upwards, may be traced through successively higher types, an increasing subordination of the units to the aggregate; though still a subordination leaving to them conspicuous amounts of individual activity. Joining which facts with the phenomena presented by the cell-multiplication and aggregation of every unfolding germ, naturalists are now accepting the conclusion that by this process of composition from *Protozoa*, were formed all classes of the *Metazoa*[9] —(as animals formed by this compounding are now called); and that

[9] *A Treatise on Comparative Embryology*, by F. M. Balfour, Vol. II, chap. xiii.

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in a similar way from *Protophyta*, were formed all classes of what I suppose will be called *Metaphyta*, though the word does not yet seem to have become current.

And now what is the general meaning of these truths, taken in connexion with the conclusion reached in the last section? It is that this universal trait of the *Metazoa* and *Metaphyta*, must be ascribed to the primitive action and re-action between the organism and its medium. The operation of those forces which produced the primary differentiation of outer from inner in early minute masses of protoplasm, pre-determined this universal cell-structure of all embryos, plant and animal, and the consequent cell-composition of adult forms arising from them. How unavoidable is this implication, will be seen on carrying further an illustration already used—that of the shingle-covered shore, the pebbles on which, while being in some cases selected, have been in all cases rounded and smoothed. Suppose a bed of such shingle to be, as we often see it, solidified along with interfused material, into a conglomerate. What in such case must be considered as the chief trait of such conglomerate; or rather—what must we regard as the chief cause of its distinctive characters? Evidently the action of the sea. Without the breakers, no pebbles; without the pebbles, no conglomerate. Similarly then, in the absence of that action of the medium by which was effected the differentiation of outer from inner in those microscopic portions of protoplasm constituting the earliest and simplest animals and plants, there could not have existed this cardinal trait of composition which all the higher animals and plants show us.

So that, active as has been the part played by natural selection, alike in modifying and moulding the original units—largely as survival of the fittest has been instrumental in furthering and controlling the combination of these units into visible organisms, and eventually into large ones; yet we must ascribe to the direct effect of the medium on the first forms of life, that character of which this everywhere-operative factor has taken advantage.

Let us turn now to another and more obvious attribute of higher organisms, for which also there is this same general cause. Let us observe how, on a higher platform, there recurs this differentiation of outer from inner—how this primary trait in the living units with which life commences, re-appears as a primary trait in those aggregates of such units which constitute visible organisms.

In its simplest and most unmistakable form, we see this in the early changes of an unfolding ovum of primitive type. The original fertilized single cell, having by spontaneous fission multiplied into a cluster of such cells, there begins to show itself a contrast between periphery and centre; and presently there is formed a sphere consisting of a superficial layer unlike its contents. The first change,

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then, is the rise of a difference between that outer part which holds direct converse with the surrounding medium, and that inclosed part which does not. This primary differentiation in these compound embryos of higher animals, parallels the primary differentiation undergone by the simplest living things.

Leaving, for the present, succeeding changes of the compound embryo, the significance of which we shall have to consider by-and-by, let us pass now to the adult forms of visible plants and animals. In them we find cardinal traits which, after what we have seen above, will further impress us with the importance of the effects wrought on the organism by its medium.

From the thallus of a sea-weed up to the leaf of a highly developed phænogam, we find, at all stages, a contrast between the inner and outer parts of these flattened masses of tissue. In the higher *Algæ* 'the outermost layers consist of smaller and firmer cells, while the inner cells are often very large, and sometimes extremely long;'[10] and in the leaves of trees the epidermal layer, besides differing in the sizes and shapes of its component cells from the parenchyma forming the inner substance of the leaf, is itself differentiated by having a continuous cuticle, and by having the outer walls of its cells unlike the inner walls.[11] Especially significant is the structure of such intermediate types as the Liverworts. Beyond the differentiation of the covering cells from the contained cells, and the contrast between upper surface and under surface, the frond of *Marchantia polymorpha* clearly shows us the direct effect of incident forces; and shows us, too, how it is involved with the effect of inherited proclivities. The frond grows from a flat disc-shaped gemma, the two sides of which are alike. Either side may fall uppermost; and then of the developing shoot, the side exposed to the light 'is under all circumstances the upper side which forms stomata, the dark side becomes the under side which produces root-hairs and leafy processes.'[12] So that while we have undeniable proof that the contrasted influences of the medium on the two sides, initiate the differentiation, we have also proof that the completion of it is determined by the transmitted structure of the type; since it is impossible to ascribe the development of stomata to the direct action of air and light. On turning from foliar expansions, to stems and roots, facts of like meaning meet us. Speaking generally of epidermal tissue and inner tissue, Sachs remarks that 'the contrast of the two is the plainer the more the part of the plant concerned is exposed to air and light.'[13] Elsewhere, in correspondence with this, it is said that in roots the cells of the epidermis, though distinguished by bearing hairs, 'are otherwise similar to those of the fundamental tissue' which they clothe,[14] while the cuticular covering is relatively thin; whereas in stems the

[10] Sachs, p. 210. [11] *Ibid.* pp. 83–4. [12] *Ibid.* p. 185.
[13] *Ibid.* p. 80. [14] *Ibid.* p. 83.

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epidermis (often further differentiated) is composed of layers of cells which are smaller and thicker-walled: a stronger contrast of structure corresponding to a stronger contrast of conditions. By way of meeting the suggestion that these respective differences are wholly due to the natural selection of favourable variations, it will suffice if I draw attention to the unlikeness between imbedded roots and exposed roots. While in darkness, and surrounded by moist earth, the outermost protective coats, even of large roots, are comparatively thin; but when the accidents of growth entail permanent exposure to light and air, roots acquire coverings allied in character to the coverings of branches. That the action of the medium causes these and converse changes, cannot be doubted when we find, on the one hand, that 'roots can become directly transformed into leaf-bearing shoots,' and, on the other hand, that in some plants certain 'apparent roots are only underground shoots,' and that nevertheless 'they are similar to true roots in function and in the formation of tissue, but have no root-cap, and, when they come to the light above ground, continue to grow in the manner of ordinary leaf-shoots.'[15] If, then, in highly developed plants inheriting pronounced structures, this differentiating influence of the medium is so marked, it must have been all-important at the outset while types were undetermined.

As with plants, so with animals, we find good reason for inferring that while the specialities of the tegumentary parts must be ascribed to the natural selection of favourable variations, their most general traits are due to the direct action of surrounding agencies. Here we come upon the border of those changes which are ascribable to use and disuse. But from this class of changes we may fitly exclude those in which the parts concerned are wholly or mainly passive. A corn and a blister will conveniently serve to illustrate the way in which certain outer actions initiate in the superficial tissues, effects of very marked kinds, which are related neither to the needs of the organism nor to its normal structure. They are neither adaptive changes nor changes towards completion of the type. After noting them we may pass to allied, but still more instructive changes. Continuous pressure on any portion of the surface causes absorption, while intermittent pressure causes growth: the one impeding circulation and the passage of plasma from the capillaries into the tissues, and the other aiding both. There are yet further mechanically produced effects. That the general character of the ribbed skin on the under surfaces of the feet and insides of the hands, is directly due to friction and intermittent pressure, we have the proofs; first, that the tracts most exposed to rough usage are the most ribbed; second, that the insides of hands subject to unusual amounts of rough usage, as those of sailors, are strongly ribbed all over; and third, that in hands which are very little used, the parts commonly ribbed become quite smooth.

[15] Sachs, p. 147.

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These several kinds of evidence, however, full of meaning as they are, I give simply to prepare the way for evidence of a much more conclusive kind.

Where a wide ulcer has eaten away the deep-seated layer out of which the epidermis grows, or where this layer has been destroyed by an extensive burn, the process of healing is very significant. From the subjacent tissues, which in the normal order have no concern with outward growth, there is produced a new skin, or rather a pro-skin; for this substituted outward-growing layer contains no hair-follicles or other specialities of the original one. Nevertheless, it is like the original one in so far that it is a continually renewed protective covering. Doubtless it may be contended that this make-shift skin results from the inherited proclivity of the type—the tendency to complete afresh the structure of the species when injured. We cannot, however, ignore the immediate influence of the medium, on recalling the facts above named, or on remembering the further fact that an inflamed surface of skin, when not sheltered from the air, will throw out a film of coagulable lymph. But that the direct action of the medium is a chief factor we are clearly shown by another case. Accident or disease occasionally causes permanent eversion, or protrusion, of mucous membrane. After a period of irritability, great at first, but decreasing as the change advances, this membrane assumes the general character of ordinary skin. Nor is this all: its microscopic structure changes. Where it is a mucous membrane of the kind covered by cylinder-epithelium, the cylinders gradually shorten, becoming finally flat, and there results a squamous epithelium: there is a near approach in minute composition to epidermis. Here a tendency towards completion of the type cannot be alleged; for there is, contrariwise, divergence from the type. The effect of the medium is so great, that, in a short time, it overcomes the inherited proclivity and produces a structure of opposite kind to the normal one.

Fully to perceive the way in which these evidences compel us to recognise the influence of the medium as a primordial factor, we need but conceive them as interpreted without it. Suppose, for instance, we say that the structure of the epidermis is wholly determined by the natural selection of favourable variations; what must be the position taken in presence of the fact above named, that when mucous membrane is exposed to the air its cell-structure changes into the cell-structure of skin? The position taken must be this:—Though mucous membrane in a highly evolved individual organism, thus show the powerful effect of the medium on its surface; yet we must not suppose that the medium had the effect of producing such a cell-structure on the surfaces of primitive forms, undifferentiated though they were; or, if we suppose that such an effect was produced on them, we must not suppose that it was inheritable. Contrariwise we must suppose that such effect of the medium either was not wrought

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at all, or that it was evanescent: though repeated through millions upon millions of generations it left no traces. And we must conclude that this skin-structure arose only in consequence of spontaneous variations not physically initiated (though like those physically initiated) which natural selection laid hold of and increased. Does any one think this a tenable position?

And now we approach the last and chief series of morphological phenomena which must be ascribed to the direct action of environing matters and forces. These are presented to us when we study the early stages in the development of the embryos of the *Metazoa* in general.

We will set out with the fact already noted in passing, that after repeated spontaneous fissions have changed the original fertilised germ-cell into that cluster of cells which forms a gemmule or a primitive ovum, the first contrast which arises is between the peripheral parts and the central parts. Where, as with lower creatures which do not lay up large stores of nutriment with the germs of their offspring, the inner mass is inconsiderable, the outer layer of cells, which are presently made quite small by repeated subdivisions, forms a membrane extending over the whole surface—the blastoderm. The next stage of development, which ends in this covering layer becoming double, is reached in two ways—by invagination and by delamination; but which is the original way and which the abridged way, is not quite certain. Of invagination, multitudinously exemplified in the lowest types, Mr. Balfour says:—'On purely *à priori* grounds there is in my opinion more to be said for invagination than for any other view;'[16] and, for present purposes, it will suffice if we limit ourselves to this: making its nature clear to the general reader by a simple illustration.

Take a small india-rubber ball, not of the inflated kind, nor of the solid kind, but of the kind about an inch or so in diameter with a small hole through which, under pressure, the air escapes. Suppose that instead of consisting of india-rubber its wall consists of small cells made polyhedral in form by mutual pressure, and united together. This will represent the blastoderm. Now with the finger, thrust in one side of the ball until it touches the other: so making a cup. This action will stand for the process of invagination. Imagine that by continuance of it, the hemispherical cup becomes very much deepened and the opening narrowed, until the cup becomes a sac, of which the introverted wall is everywhere in contact with the outer wall. This will represent the two-layered 'gastrula'—the simplest ancestral form of the *Metazoa*: a form which is permanently represented in some of the lowest types; for it needs but tentacles round

[16] *A Treatise on Comparative Embryology.* By Francis M. Balfour, LL.D., F.R.S. vol. ii. p. 343 (second edition).

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the mouth of the sac, to produce a common hydra. Here the fact which it chiefly concerns us to remark, is that of these two layers the outer, called in embryological language the epiblast, continues to carry on direct converse with the forces and matters in the environment; while the inner, called the hypoblast, comes in contact with such only of these matters as are put into the food-cavity which it lines. We have further to note that in the embryos of *Metazoa* at all advanced in organisation, there arises between these two layers a third—the mesoblast. The origin of this is seen in types where the developmental process is not obscured by the presence of a large food-yolk. While the above-described introversion is taking place, and before the inner surfaces of the resulting epiblast and hypoblast have come into contact, cells, or amœboid units equivalent to them, are budded off from one or both of these inner surfaces, or some part of one or other; and these form a layer which eventually lies between the other two—a layer which, as this mode of formation implies, never has any converse with the surrounding medium and its contents or with the nutritive bodies taken in from it. The striking facts to which this description is a necessary introduction, may now be stated. From the outer layer, or epiblast, are developed the permanent epidermis and its outgrowths, the nervous system, and the organs of sense; from the introverted layer, or hypoblast, are developed the alimentary canal and those parts of its appended organs, liver, pancreas, &c., which are concerned in delivering their secretions into the alimentary canal, as well as the linings of those ramifying tubes in the lungs which convey air to the places where gaseous exchange is effected; and from the mesoblast originate the bones, the muscles, the heart and blood-vessels, and the lymphatics, together with such parts of various internal organs as are most remotely concerned with the outer world. Minor qualifications being admitted, there remain the broad general facts, that out of that part of the external layer which remains permanently external, are developed all the structures which carry on intercourse with the medium and its contents, active and passive; out of the introverted part of this external layer, are developed the structures which carry on intercourse with the quasi-external substances that are taken into the interior—solid food, water, and air; while out of the mesoblast are developed structures which have never had, from first to last, any intercourse with the environment. Let us contemplate these general facts.

Who would have imagined that the nervous system is a modified portion of the primitive epidermis? In the absence of proofs furnished by the concurrent testimony of embryologists during the last thirty or forty years, who would have believed that the brain arises from an infolded tract of the outer skin, which, sinking down beneath the surface, becomes embedded in other tissues and eventually surrounded by a bony case? Yet the human nervous system in common

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with the nervous systems of lower animals is thus originated. In the words of Mr. Balfour, early embryological changes imply that—

'the functions of the central nervous system, which were originally taken by the whole skin, became gradually concentrated in a special part of the skin which was step by step removed from the surface, and has finally become in the higher types a well-defined organ embedded in the subdermal tissues. . . . The embryological evidence shows that the ganglion-cells of the central part of the nervous system are originally derived from the simple undifferentiated epithelial cells of the surface of the body.'[17]

Less startling perhaps, though still startling enough, is the fact that the eye is evolved out of a portion of the skin; and that while the crystalline lens and its surroundings thus originate, the 'percipient portions of the organs of special sense, especially of optic organs, are often formed from the same part of the primitive epidermis' which forms the central nervous system.[18] Similarly is it with the organs for smelling and hearing. These, too, begin as sacs formed by infoldings of the epidermis; and while their parts are developing they are joined from within by nervous structures which were themselves epidermic in origin. How are we to interpret these strange transformations? Observing, as we pass, how absurd from the point of view of the special-creationist, would appear such a filiation of structures and such a round-about mode of embryonic development, we have here to remark that the process is not one to have been anticipated as a result of natural selection. After numbers of spontaneous variations had occurred, as the hypothesis implies, in useless ways, the variation which primarily initiated a nervous centre might reasonably have been expected to occur in some internal part where it would be fitly located. Its initiation in a dangerous place and subsequent migration to a safe place, would be incomprehensible. Not so if we bear in mind the cardinal truth above set forth, that the structures for holding converse with the medium and its contents, arise in that completely superficial part which is directly affected by the medium and its contents; and if we draw the inference that the external actions themselves initiate the structures. These once commenced, and furthered by natural selection where favourable to life, would form the first term of a series ending in developed sense-organs and a developed nervous system.[19]

Though it would enforce the argument, I must, for brevity's sake, pass over the analogous evolution of that introverted layer, or hypoblast, out of which the alimentary canal and attached organs arise. It will suffice to emphasise the fact that having been originally external, this layer continues in its developed form to have a quasi-externality, alike in its digesting part and in its respiratory part; since it

[17] Balfour, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 400, 401.

[18] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 401.

[19] For a general delineation of the changes by which the development is effected, see Balfour, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 401–4.

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continues to deal with matters alien to the organism. I must also refrain from dwelling at length on the fact already adverted to, that the intermediate derived layer, or mesoblast, which was at the outset completely internal, originates those structures which ever remain completely internal, and have no communication with the environment save through the structures developed from the other two: an antithesis which has great significance.

Here, instead of dwelling on these details, it will be better to draw attention to the most general aspect of the facts. Whatever may be the course of subsequent changes, the first change is the formation of a superficial layer or blastoderm; and by whatever series of transformations the adult structure is reached, it is from the blastoderm that all the organs forming the adult originate. Why this marvellous fact?

Meaning is given to it if we go back to the first stage in which *Protozoa*, having by repeated fissions formed a cluster, then arranged themselves into a hollow sphere, as do the protophytes forming a *Volvox*. Originally alike all over its surface, the hollow sphere of ciliated units thus formed, would, if not quite spherical, assume a constant attitude when moving through the water; and hence one part of the spheroid would more frequently than the rest come in contact with nutritive matters to be taken in. A division of labour resulting from such a variation being advantageous, and tending therefore to increase in descendants, would end in a differentiation like that shown in the gemmules of various low types of *Metazoa*, which, ovate in shape, are ciliated over one part of the surface only. There would arise a form in which the cilium-bearing units effected locomotion and aeration; while on the others, assuming an amœba-like character, devolved the function of absorbing food: a primordial specialisation variously indicated by evidence.[20] Just noting that an ancestral origin of this kind is implied by the fact that in low types of *Metazoa* a hollow sphere of cells is the form first assumed by the unfolding embryo, I draw attention to the point here of chief interest; namely, that the primary differentiation of this hollow sphere is in such case determined by a difference in the converse of its parts with the medium and its contents; and that the subsequent invagination arises by a continuance of this differential converse.

Even neglecting this first stage and commencing with the next, in which a 'gastrula' has been produced by the permanent introversion of one portion of the surface of the hollow sphere, it will suffice if we consider what must thereafter have happened. That which continued to be the outer surface was the part which from time to time touched quiescent masses and occasionally received the collisions consequent on its own motions or the motions of other things. It was the part to receive the sound-vibrations occasionally propagated

[20] See Balfour, vol. i. p. 149, and vol. ii. pp. 343–4.

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through the water; the part to be affected more strongly than any other by those variations in the amounts of light caused by the passing of small bodies close to it; and the part which met those diffused molecules constituting odours. That is to say, from the beginning the surface was the part on which there fell the various influences pervading the environment, the part by which there was received those impressions from the environment serving for the guidance of actions, and the part which had to bear the mechanical re-actions consequent upon such actions. Necessarily, therefore, the surface was the part in which were initiated the various instrumentalities for carrying on intercourse with the environment. To suppose otherwise is to suppose that such instrumentalities arose internally where they could neither be operated on by surrounding agencies nor operate on them,—where the differentiating forces did not come into play, and the differentiated structures had nothing to do; and it is to suppose that meanwhile the parts directly exposed to the differentiating forces remained unchanged. Clearly, then, organisation could not but begin on the surface; and having thus begun, its subsequent course could not but be determined by its superficial origin. And hence these remarkable facts showing us that individual evolution is accomplished by successive in-foldings and in-growings. Doubtless natural selection soon came into action, as, for example, in the removal of the rudimentary nervous centres from the surface; since an individual in which they were a little more deeply seated would be less likely to be incapacitated by injury of them. And so in multitudinous other ways. But nevertheless, as we here see, natural selection could operate only under subjection. It could do no more than take advantage of those structural changes which the medium and its contents initiated.

See, then, how large has been the part played by this primordial factor. Had it done no more than give to *Protozoa* and *Protophyta* that cell-form which characterises them—had it done no more than entail the cellular composition which is so remarkable a trait of *Metazoa* and *Metaphyta*—had it done no more than cause the repetition in all visible animals and plants of that primary differentiation of outer from inner which it first wrought in animals and plants invisible to the naked eye; it would have done much towards giving to organisms of all kinds certain leading traits. But it has done more than this. By causing the first differentiations of those clusters of units out of which visible animals in general arose, it fixed the starting place for organisation, and therefore determined the course of organisation; and doing this, gave indelible traits to embryonic transformations and to adult structures.

Though mainly carried on after the inductive method, the argument at the close of the foregoing section has passed into the

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deductive. Here let us follow for a space the deductive method pure and simple. Doubtless, in biology *à priori* reasoning is dangerous; but there can be no danger in considering whether its results coincide with those reached by reasoning *à posteriori*.

Biologists in general agree that in the present state of the world, no such thing happens as the rise of a living creature out of non-living matter. They do not deny, however, that at a remote period in the past, when the temperature of the Earth's surface was much higher than at present, and other physical conditions were unlike those we know, inorganic matter, through successive complications, gave origin to organic matter. So many substances once supposed to belong exclusively to living bodies, have now been formed artificially, that men of science scarcely question the conclusion that there are conditions under which, by yet another step of composition, quaternary compounds of lower types pass into those of highest types. That there once took place a gradual divergence of the organic from the inorganic, is, indeed, a necessary implication of the hypothesis of Evolution, taken as a whole; and if we accept it as a whole, we must put to ourselves the question—What were the early stages of progress which followed, after the most complex form of matter had arisen out of forms of matter a degree less complex?

At first, protoplasm could have had no proclivities to one or other arrangement of parts; unless, indeed, a purely mechanical proclivity towards a spherical form when suspended in a liquid. At the outset it must have been passive. In respect of its passivity, primitive organic matter must have been like inorganic matter. No such thing as spontaneous variation could have occurred in it; for variation implies some habitual course of change from which it is a divergence, and is therefore excluded where there is no habitual course of change. In the absence of that cyclical series of metamorphoses which even the simplest living thing now shows us, as a result of its inherited constitution, there could be no *point d'appui* for natural selection. How, then, did organic evolution begin?

If a primitive mass of organic matter was like a mass of inorganic matter in respect of its passivity, and differed only in respect of its greater changeableness; then we must infer that its first changes conformed to the same general law as do the changes of an inorganic mass. The instability of the homogeneous is a universal principle. In all cases the homogeneous tends to pass into the heterogeneous, and the less heterogeneous into the more heterogeneous. In the primordial units of protoplasm, then, the step with which evolution commenced must have been the passage from a state of complete likeness throughout the mass to a state in which there existed some unlikeness. Further, the cause of this step in one of these portions of organic matter, as in any portion of inorganic matter, must have been the different exposure of its parts to incident forces. What

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incident forces? Those of its medium or environment. Which were the parts thus differently exposed? Necessarily the outside and the inside. Inevitably, then, alike in the organic aggregate and the inorganic aggregate (supposing it to have coherence enough to maintain constant relative positions among its parts), the first fall from homogeneity to heterogeneity must always have been the differentiation of the external surface from the internal contents. No matter whether the modification was physical or chemical, one of composition or of decomposition, it comes within the same generalisation. The direct action of the medium was the primordial factor of organic evolution.

In his article on Evolution in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Professor Huxley writes as follows:

'How far "natural selection" suffices for the production of species remains to be seen. Few can doubt that, if not the whole cause, it is a very important factor in that operation. . . .

'On the evidence of palæontology, the evolution of many existing forms of animal life from their predecessors is no longer an hypothesis, but an historical fact; it is only the nature of the physiological factors to which that evolution is due which is still open to discussion.'

With these passages I may fitly join a remark made in the admirable address Prof. Huxley delivered before unveiling the statue of Mr. Darwin in the Museum at South Kensington. Deprecating the supposition that an authoritative sanction was given by the ceremony to the current ideas concerning organic evolution, he said that 'science commits suicide when it adopts a creed.'

Along with larger motives, one motive which has joined in prompting the foregoing articles, has been the desire to point out that already among biologists, the beliefs concerning the origin of species have assumed too much the character of a creed; and that while becoming settled they have been narrowed. So far from further broadening that broader view which Mr. Darwin reached as he grew older, his followers appear to have retrograded towards a more restricted view than he ever expressed. Thus there seems occasion for recognising the warning uttered by Prof. Huxley, as not uncalled for.

Whatever may be thought of the arguments and conclusions set forth in this article and the preceding one, they will perhaps serve to show that it is as yet far too soon to close the inquiry concerning the causes of organic evolution.

HERBERT SPENCER.

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RAILWAY TRAFFIC AND CHARGES.

Of the provisions which this Bill contains, those which have caused most apprehension to the Railway interest, and which will encounter most opposition, are undoubtedly the provisions by which power is given to the Board of Trade, subject to the control of Parliament, to revise rates. It is in respect of these provisions that such 'exciting terms' as 'confiscation' and 'breach of faith' have been used: expressions which are apparently not due to hallucinations which exist only in the minds of those who lead the railway world, for the Joint Committee on Railway Amalgamation in 1872 shared by anticipation their apprehensions. Discussing the question of immediate or periodical revision of rates, their report says (p. xxxv), 'On what principles is it to be performed, and by whom? If no rule is laid down to guide the revisers, the power of revision will amount to a power to confiscate the property of the companies. It is not likely that Parliament would attempt to exercise any such power itself, still less that it would confer such a power on any subordinate authority.'

The report goes on to discuss the rules which, it was suggested, might be laid down to guide the revisers, and shows that they are impracticable; but as no rule is laid down in Mr. Mundella's Bill, it is unnecessary to discuss them, and the fact remains that, in the opinion of that committee, this Bill provides a power to confiscate shareholders' property. The thought naturally occurs, what a valuable instrument would be ready to hand in this power if ever the State thought fit to purchase the railways. It would be so easy to depreciate the property which had to be purchased. Would the temptation to make some use of this power be resisted in such a case, and for how long?

Let us, however, examine the case for the Bill. Nobody, as yet, has had the courage to say that Parliament would be justified in interfering with powers of charge, which were granted to the railway companies, in return for solid national advantages, as part of their charter, unless the power to interfere had been accepted by them as part of the bargain. Accordingly, the contemplated interference is excused upon the ground that the shareholders have accepted their powers subject to a saving clause which justifies the proposed revision

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of rates. Now, as a matter of legislative morality, such a saving clause would only justify the proposed revision, if it was intended to provide for that revision, and accepted as providing for it, and not for some other revision to take effect under different circumstances, and on different terms, from those which Mr. Mundella's Bill contemplates. Parliament, therefore, has to consider any evidence there may be, which tends to show what the real signification and intent of the clause is. It is not enough to interpret the words of the clause, as a court of law would do, 'on the view.' For it must be remembered that Parliament is interpreting the terms of its own bargain; and surely a party to a contract, who meant to be just and honest, would do to his friend—or even his enemy—what he intended to do when the contract was made, whether the legal construction of the words which were used would be more favourable to himself or not. Thus the circumstances under which the clause came into existence, and its history, become of great importance for the purpose of arriving at its true interpretation.

The clause, the latter part of which is relied on as justifying the present Bill, is as follows:—

> Nothing herein contained shall be deemed or construed to exempt the railway by this Act authorised to be made from the provisions of any general Acts relating to railways which may hereafter pass, or during the present session of Parliament, or from any future revision or alteration under the authority of Parliament of the maximum rates of fare and charges authorised by this Act.

This clause first appears in its present form in 1845. It was ordered to be introduced into all railway Acts of that session. It afterwards became a standing order clause applicable to all railway Bills. As no different meaning has ever been assigned to it, nor special attention called to it, it may be safely assumed that the clause was intended to bear the same meaning in the Acts of 1885 as in those of 1845; but the earlier date is the more important one, because most of the Acts of the great railway companies date back to about that period.

It is my first object to show, by reference to what took place in Parliament in 1844 and 1845, that the clause does not justify a revision of rates at all (unless a notice, that Parliament might one day consider whether a revision of rates was justifiable, can be said to justify a revision without any such consideration taking place); and that the revision of rates which was contemplated by the clause was a revision, the policy of which was to be considered under circumstances which have never arisen and were totally different from those which are now said to make revision necessary. Secondly, I shall endeavour to show that, whatever the effect of the clause may be, Parliament is not justified in exercising such a power now, or upon the terms which the Bill proposes.

In 1844 the policy which ought to be adopted when powers were

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granted to make railways was much discussed. A committee, of which Mr. Gladstone, then President of the Board of Trade, was chairman, sat to consider the subject, and an Act, commonly called Mr. Gladstone's Act (7 & 8 Vict. cap. 85) was passed, based upon its recommendations. Revision of rates was one of the subjects which that Act dealt with, and the terms upon which such a revision might be put in force in the case of future railways were stated. But the principle that it was justifiable to exercise such a power was not accepted by Parliament. On the contrary, in deference to a strong feeling which was manifested in the House against the exercise of such a power upon any terms (75 Hansard, 1189), Mr. Gladstone undertook to insert the following preamble in the Act:—

> Whereas it is expedient that the policy of revision or purchase should in no manner be prejudged by the provisions of this Act, but should remain for the future consideration of the legislature upon grounds of general and national policy. . . .

At the same time, so necessary was it thought to treat railway enterprise *uberrimâ fide*, and to avoid doing anything which would prospectively discourage the disposition, then so actively in operation, to extend the railway system by the formation of new lines (Rep. Com. Rys. 1844), that, as Mr. Gladstone expressed it in introducing his Bill,

> the Government thought they were bound, in reserving this power, to tell those parties who were now going to invest large sums in national improvement, what were the terms, and the limits, within which, if Parliament thought fit to purchase or revise, it should so purchase or revise. (75 Hansard, 492.)

These terms were, that no revision should take place until twenty-one years after the powers to make the railway had been obtained, nor unless 10 per cent. had been paid for three years in succession; above all, the dividends of the companies whose rates were revised were to be guaranteed at 10 per cent. during the time the revised scale of rates was in operation. In 1844 therefore Parliament took the policy of revision of rates into consideration, but deliberately abstained from deciding it, leaving it for future discussion upon grounds of general and national policy; but the terms upon which, and the circumstances under which, revision might be permissible were carefully elaborated, for the express purpose of informing intending investors what they had to expect if Parliament should afterwards determine that it was justifiable to interfere with their profits.

It was at the very commencement of the following session that the present clause came into existence, and whatever else the reservation at the end of it may express, it certainly did not commit Parliament to the principle that revision was justifiable. As Lord Salisbury said in 1872, 'It contains no decision as to what moral right Parliament has to interfere with the receipts of shareholders' (Royal Com. Evid.

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q. 1486). The clause leaves the question of revision in identically the same position as it was in 1844: a question to be decided upon grounds of general and national policy. Indeed such a question could not have been even debated upon a resolution the avowed object of which was, as I shall show, to leave things as they were. All it pretended to say was that nothing in the special Act should deprive Parliament of the right to revise rates, if it had any. If anybody had thought that it would have been construed as justifying the revision of rates, it would no doubt have met with the same opposition as the similar proposal in Mr. Gladstone's Bill of the previous session of the same Parliament, and with a similar result. If, however, any doubt remained whether the clause justifies revision, what took place in 1847 leaves no room for the existence of such a doubt. In that year an attempt was made to put the very same construction upon the clause which is now suggested, and a Bill was introduced by which railway companies whose Acts contained the clause were to have their rates made subject to revision every ten years. The Bill caused great apprehension in the country, and such an outcry was raised against it on the ground that it was a breach of faith on the part of Parliament, and an attempt to evade the conditions on which Mr. Gladstone's Act had been allowed to pass, that it had to be withdrawn on the second reading without debate. In passing it is interesting to notice that the plea on which the power to revise was sought for was that 'of affording to the public the advantages derivable from an altered state of circumstances' (80 Hansard, 854). As rates have been reduced since then, much more than working expenses, that principle would certainly not justify the revision now sought for. No attempt has since been made to obtain the sanction of Parliament to the policy of revision.

Conclusion 1. Parliament has never accepted the principle that it is justified in revising rates. It has in 1844 and 1847 declined to accept that principle.

If, then, the clause does not justify revision, but only amounts to a notice that Parliament may consider the policy of revision at some future period, let us see what were the contingencies which, if they happened, Parliament thought might possibly make revision justifiable, and in reference to which the notice was given.

The first part of the clause, which relates to general legislation, had been inserted in the railway Acts in 1844 in accordance with a recommendation of Mr. Gladstone's committee. It was again moved as a resolution of the House in 1845, and the words relating to revision of rates were added to it by amendment. The amendment was based upon, and had reference to, a new procedure which had been adopted by a resolution of the House in that session. It had been determined that committees on railway Bills should fix the maximum charges for the carriage of goods as well as for tolls, to which there had always

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been a limit (79 Hansard, 1241). The mover of the amendment, who assumed that the maximum rates would be the rates which would be actually charged for all distances, stated that committees had much difficulty in carrying out their duty in this respect, and that the result of the adoption of the new procedure was quite uncertain. It was in view of the novelty of the procedure, and as a temporary measure, until the result should be ascertained and legislation proposed, that the amendment was accepted by the House. The mover of the resolution stated 'that he was not presuming to legislate for railways;' 'all that he asked was that the clause should be applied to every future railway Bill until the subject should be taken up by Government with a view of devising some general measure respecting them' (80 Hansard, 854). And it was unquestionably because it was deemed uncertain what the effect of the new system of fixing maximum rates would be, that the latter part of the clause was introduced. It was thought that the rates might be fixed so high as to enable the companies to make huge profits. Under the circumstances it was natural enough that Parliament should say, 'We give you, the companies, notice that, if the bargain turns out more favourable to you than you say it will, we will, if necessary, discuss the policy of revising rates before the period which the Act of 1844 fixes.'

These rates have, however, now been in force for forty years. Time has shown that the profits which railway companies can make under them are very modest. The contingencies contemplated by the clause have in fact never happened, and it has remained a dead letter up to the present time, when it is proposed to apply it for a purpose differing *toto cælo* from that for which it was introduced. It is now intended to revise rates, not because the profits of the railway companies are too large, but because the traders say that their profits are too small, and that railway rates ought to be reduced. If anybody had thought in 1846 that Parliament reserved to itself a right of reducing rates if trade required the reduction, independently of what profit the railway companies were making, I wonder how much of the 124,000,000*l.* would have been forthcoming which was authorised to be raised to make railways with in that year, and how much of it would have gone to make railways in France, which it was then thought a great object to prevent.

Conclusion 2. The revision contemplated by the saving clause was a revision the policy of which was to be considered, if contingencies happened which have not happened, and under conditions wholly different from those which are now alleged to make revision necessary.

The terms upon which the revision contemplated by the clause was to take place have next to be considered. The Act of 1844, as we have seen, declared what the terms were upon which Parliament thought that persons who had put their money into works of national

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improvement ought to be treated, if rates were revised. They were avowedly published for the information of intending investors. The Act which contains them is still in force. It applies to every railway Act that has ever been passed since 1844, and was incorporated in express terms in each Act up to 1854. The clause and the Act must inevitably therefore be read together, as part of the special Act in which they are both included; and Parliament, which is bound, both on the grounds of morality and expediency, to satisfy the reasonable expectations that it has created, cannot be justified in revising rates except upon the terms which it has thus held out year by year as applicable to revision, if revision should take place. There seems to be no escape from this position. Parliament in 1844 said, 'The terms upon which any future revision of rates shall be made are that there shall be a 10 per cent. guarantee while the revised rates are in operation.' These terms were made applicable to all future Acts. How can it be reasonably argued that, because a proviso has also been inserted in those Acts that nothing in *them* shall prevent Parliament from revising rates, it would be justified in throwing over those terms altogether and revising without reference to them? Is that fulfilling a just expectation on the part of investors, whom Parliament was sorely afraid of frightening *before* their money had been spent in works of national improvement. The Royal Commission of 1865 recognised that the terms of the Act of 1844 were still applicable in the event of the purchase of railways by the State (Rep. p. 75); why are they not to be applied if rates are to be revised?

Conclusion 3. If Parliament is justified in revising rates under the saving clause, the revision must be upon the terms prescribed by the Act of 1844, which applies to all the special Acts in which the saving clause is contained.

Let us, however, now assume that the clause in itself would justify Parliament in revising rates without any restrictions as to terms. Even in that case, if Parliament, by the course of action it has adopted, has led shareholders reasonably to believe that the clause was a tradition which could not or would not be acted upon, where can any justification be found for refusing to fulfil expectations founded on such a course of conduct? There can be no doubt that such a belief exists, and the reasonableness of it is not difficult to demonstrate. The fate of the Bill of 1847, coupled with the fact that no attempt has ever been made since to reopen the question, is strong evidence that Parliament had relinquished all intention of acting upon the clause. The fact that a large part of the railway system, certainly the most important part of it, has been exercising these powers for forty years is of itself sufficient to raise such a presumption. But when it is remembered that these powers have been complained of before numerous select committees and a royal

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commission (who reported that the complaint of high rates was general) by traders who, to the end of the chapter, will think themselves ill-used; that the clause which was so strongly relied upon was pointed out at these inquiries, and the same argument founded upon them then as now, but that each report has refused to accept any such argument, or to recognise any such right in Parliament; what has before been a presumption becomes an almost irresistible conclusion.

Conclusion 4. If Parliament ever would have been justified in exercising the power of revision which is now claimed, it is not justified in doing so now, because it has so acted as to lead reasonable people to believe that such a power would not be exercised, who, in that belief, have invested money in railways.

Lastly, let us consider whether, even if the clause justifies a present revision of rates unfettered by any prearranged terms, the justification extends to the revision which the Bill proposes.

Now I suppose that no one would openly contend that Parliament would be justified in revising rates except upon the terms of enabling a fair interest to be obtained upon capital invested in railways. Does the proposed revision conform to this limitation? It will probably be said that Parliament, to whose control the proposed revision is to be committed, may be safely trusted to see that rates are not so reduced as to prevent a fair return upon capital being obtained. But even Parliament cannot compel the clouds to fall; and how, with the best intentions, is this to be done? In the first place it is to be observed that the power is to be exercised in 1887, and that, consequently, the capital upon which the fair interest has to be paid is not represented by the nominal capital of the companies, upon which the rate of dividend calculated by Mr. Mundella at 4¼ per cent. was based. It must be a much lower rate than that, depending upon how much stock is held by original subscribers, and how much has been purchased at a premium. Calculated in this way, the average rate of interest which shareholders receive must be a very moderate one, and one which would not leave any margin for reduction of rates. But there is also an insurmountable practical difficulty in the way of effecting the intentions of Parliament in this matter, even if they are assumed to be all-beneficent. It is well put by the committee of 1872, in discussing the question of a revision of rates with reference to an absolute limitation of dividend. The report says (p. xxxv) that proposal

implies that the authority to which the revision is committed can judge what rates will enable the company to make the given dividend upon a given capital. This is a function which a government department ought not to undertake. It involves the necessity of determining what are the proper expenses of the company and what economies they can practise. These are matters which require the skill and experience of the managers themselves, and any attempt on the part of a government department to do it for them is impossible, unless the agents of the govern-

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ment were to undertake an amount of interference with the internal concerns of the companies which is neither desirable nor practicable.

It is so. Neither the best intentioned joint committee of Parliament, nor the Board of Trade, nor even the officials of the companies themselves, could tell on *à priori* considerations what effect a reduction of rates would have upon dividends. But, if that is so, to trust in the beneficent intentions of Parliament would be misplaced confidence, because Parliament would be unable, however willing it might be, to see that shareholders' proper interests are protected if revision takes place. The only way in which this could be done would be by guaranteeing a minimum dividend, which is not proposed.

Conclusion 5. Parliament, therefore, is not in any case justified in revising rates in the manner proposed by the Bill, because the only terms upon which revision would be justifiable would be such as would secure to shareholders a fair interest upon the money invested by them; whereas, the effect of revision of rates upon their profits cannot be predicted, and no guarantee of dividends is proposed by the Bill.

I wish to make some observations upon two matters in conclusion. It is said on behalf of the Bill that it is not intended to reduce rates, but to revise maximum rates. That is an utter fallacy. What would be the use of passing an Act to revise rates which nobody is paying? Besides, maximum rates are in very many cases charged for short distance traffic, which in some districts forms the bulk of the traffic, and therefore revision of maximum rates means, *pro tanto*, reduction of rates. And why, I would ask, is power given to traders' associations to set the Board of Trade in motion from time to time to obtain a revision of maximum rates, unless the result of that revision, which would entail upon them the expense of promoting the provisional order, would be to enable them to obtain a reduction of rates which they were actually paying?

It is also said by many people, who are inclined to think the Bill does an injustice to the railway companies, that they have brought it upon themselves, and deserve to be badly treated, because they have carried the foreigners' stuff at cheaper rates than home produce. That is a question upon which the railway companies have a great deal to say, only they have, as I think very injudiciously, never said it. But suppose that their action in that respect is all that it has been said it is. I want to point out, as emphatically as I can, that it has no more to do with the revision of rates proposal than Mr. Gladstone's Irish Bill has to do with the battle of Hastings. No revision of rates can possibly prevent railway companies carrying home and foreign produce at differential rates. That is a question wholly and entirely of undue preference, and it is absolutely untouched by the revision of rates clauses in the Bill.

ERNEST MOON.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.

WHETHER the Government of Ireland Bill be or be not a triumph of statesmanship, the statement in which it was introduced was perhaps Mr. Gladstone's masterpiece of persuasive and impressive oratory. The prosperity of a speech, even more than of a jest, lies in the ear of him that hears it rather than in the tongue of him that makes it; and the unexampled audience which listened to Mr. Gladstone on Thursday, the 9th of April, removes his speech beyond the range of comparative criticism even with his own previous efforts. The scene which then presented itself was unique in the Parliamentary history of England, and was without precedent or parallel in that of any other country. Such an audience was never gathered together in the House of Commons, filling up every inch of standing room, crowding the galleries with all that is most distinguished in the public life of the nation, disturbing the old Conservative furniture by the introduction of revolutionary chairs, blocking up the passages by a new method of Parliamentary obstruction. If the audience was unique, so were the actor, the theme, and the occasion. The foremost man of England stood forth to propose legislation which affronted the prepossessions of generations, almost of a century; which both the great parties in the State had up to that moment almost unanimously scouted; and which, in their view, threatened the disruption of the Empire, and undermined the greatness of England. The alarm and distrust of five-sixths of the audience were qualified only by the eager hopes of the representatives of Ireland, who saw in Mr. Gladstone the English Grattan of the closing years of the nineteenth century, prepared to rebuild the edifice of Irish Parliamentary independence which his predecessor erected more than a century ago, and of which he had seen, too, the demolition. The scene was dramatic in its true sense, but it was not theatrical. The elements of which it consisted were simple, consisting only of those which were essential to the action which was going on, and had nothing in them introduced for the sake of effect and display. Chatham's crutch and flannels and Burke's dagger were claptrap artifices to which there was nothing corresponding at this great historic moment. The fact that Mr. Gladstone could

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during several hours half convince an audience of hostile disposition was his greatest oratoric triumph. The lucid exposition, in which the copious throng of words is marshalled in perfect order, and the moral elevation, which are the inspiring genius of his eloquence, were never more remarkably displayed. The age and unexampled services of the orator, the courage of conviction with which at a critical moment he was ready, in the interests of the public welfare, to break with his own past and with that of the nation, and to embark on an adventure strange and new, to try unknown seas instead of timidly hugging the shore, had the highest political heroism in it, though to some it might have seemed a heroism which only thin partitions divided from madness. The House was, however, under the wand of the enchanter, and an interval was necessary in order that judgment might resume its interrupted sway. Mr. Trevelyan described the Prime Minister's speech as for the moment benumbing the faculties of those who heard it. The corrective of the enchanter's wand is, however, in close attendance upon it, and consists in that humble instrument, the reporter's pencil. That is the great disenchanter and leveller. It equalises the tones and gestures of Mr. Gladstone and of Mr. Goschen, the articulation of Lord Hartington and of Mr. Chamberlain.

> Look at that paper; if you print the speeches,
> Pitt seems George Rose, and like Sir Richard preaches—
> Nor tune, nor majesty, nor patriot fires:
> Methinks the wit of Sheridan expires.
> Lost in Dundas the Caledonian twang.

The appeal is from the debate as heard to the debate as printed and read, from the measure as expounded to the measure as printed, from the commentary and gloss to the text. This appeal has probably brought home to the mind of Mr. Gladstone himself and of his colleagues that without great modifications his Bill cannot be passed. His speech, in winding up the debate, was almost as much a reply to the speech with which he opened it as to the criticisms of Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Hartington, and Lord Randolph Churchill. In the interval between the introduction of the Home Rule Bill and that of the Land Purchase Bill, which are parts of one organic legislative whole, vital and essential provisions lost their vital and essential character, and arrangements denounced on Thursday as impossible were brought, after the interval of a week, within the range of practicability.

To Mr. Gladstone Mr. Pitt has apparently become the evil genius of Ireland, and it is only by undoing the spells which he has thrown over her that she can be liberated.

> Without his rod reversed,
> And backward mutterings of dissevering power,
> We cannot free the lady that sits here,
> In stony fetters, fixed and motionless.

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It is not a rhetorical exaggeration to say that the Government of Ireland Bill repeals the Act of Union. It does so, not indeed in terms, but directly and by more than remote and possible consequence. The union with Ireland was essentially a legislative union. That was the one change which it brought about. All the other provisions of the Act of 1800 were subsidiary and instrumental to this purpose. The essence of the Bill, the vital clause, if phrases may be used which Mr. Gladstone has found dangerous, and has now taken the pledge against, runs as follows: 'That it be the third Article of the Union that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.' If Mr. Gladstone's Bill becomes law as it stands, the United Kingdom will cease to be represented in one and the same Parliament, and that Parliament will no longer be entitled to call itself the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It will become what it was from 1707 to 1800, simply the Parliament of Great Britain, exercising functions of Imperial legislation and control, it is true, but not the Parliament of the United Kingdom any more than it is the Parliament of the British Empire, not the Parliament of Ireland any more than of Canada.

Nor is this the only provision of the Act of Union which the Government of Ireland Bill repeals. The Articles of the Union are eight in number. The first two deal with the Crown and with the succession to it in both countries, and these, of course, are not interfered with. The third, which has been quoted, establishes the legislative union, and it is set aside. The fourth regulates the numbers of the lords spiritual and temporal and of the commoners who shall sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of course it falls through with the third. The fifth constitutes the two Churches of England and Ireland a united Church, and declares that 'the continuance and preservation of the said United Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland shall be taken and deemed to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union.' That article has, of course, been done away with. The sixth puts British and Irish subjects on the same footing as regards trade, navigation, and treaties with foreign powers. This article is not affected by the Bill as it stands. On second thoughts Mr. Gladstone has allowed it to remain, having abandoned, in deference to the objections of Mr. Chamberlain and others, his original intention of placing customs' duties within the province of the Irish Legislative Body; though, of course, in withdrawing from the representatives of Ireland that control of trade, navigation, and treaties, which they possessed as members of the United Parliament, the conditions of the Union are modified in this particular too. The seventh article regulates the debt of the two countries,

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and their respective contributions to the expenditure of the United Kingdom. The financial clauses of the Government of Ireland Bill (12–20) modify the arrangements adopted under the seventh article of the Union. The eighth article places the judicial system of Ireland under the control and protection of this United Parliament. Mr. Gladstone's Bill substitutes for it the control of the Irish Legislative Body. The only other provisions of the Act of Union are the adoption into it of an Act of the Irish Parliament regulating the mode of summoning and returning Irish peers and commoners to the United Parliament, which becomes obsolete by their exclusion from that Parliament, and the permission to use the great seal of Ireland within Ireland, and to continue the Privy Council of Ireland. All that Mr. Gladstone leaves of the Act of Union are the provisions relating to the settlement of the Crown, which are independent of the Act, the use of the great seal, and the retention of the Privy Council.

It is a misemployment of words to speak of provisions such as these as involving only a modification and revision of the Act of Union. They abrogate it. The ascertainment of the fact does not of course necessarily carry with it any judgment, adverse or favourable, as to its justice and expediency. The legislative union may merit no better fate than the ecclesiastical union, which, in spite of its essential and fundamental character, Mr. Gladstone righteously and courageously abolished in 1869. The lords temporal and the commoners of Ireland may deserve to be cleared out of St. Stephen's as the lords spiritual have been. But there is no use in disguising the fact that the United Parliament is threatened with the same fate, or promised the same good fortune—to employ a neutral alternative—as that which befell the United Church seventeen years ago.

The judgment which will be formed of Mr. Gladstone's measure of Home Rule will, of course, depend upon the view which is taken of the ends at which such a measure ought to aim. Is the efficiency of the Union to be impaired in order to establish Home Rule in Ireland, or is Home Rule to be established in Ireland with a view to maintaining a more perfect and cordial and on all essential points more complete union? Are you a Unionist in the first place, and a Home Ruler in the second? or are you a Home Ruler in the first place, and a Unionist in the second, or in no place at all? Is as much Home Rule to be granted as is compatible with and, I will add, contributory to the Union? or is as much and no more of the Union to be maintained as is compatible with the principle of Home Rule in Ireland? The answer which each man gives in his own mind to these questions will determine the judgment which he will form of Mr. Gladstone's Bill.

The preamble of the Act of Union describes the spirit and purpose

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which should still animate statesmen. The object of legislation should be, in the words of the King's message there recited to the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, 'to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms.' The 'essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland' will be best secured, as Mr. Pitt and the Parliament of his day thought, in promoting 'the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire.' Mr. Pitt's aim was precisely what it should be, and it ought to be the aim of all his successors. But his method has been proved by the experience of eighty-five years to be at fault. The road he took has carried him and those who have followed in his footsteps away from the goal which he endeavoured to reach. The union between England and Ireland has been that not of free converse and movement within defined limits, but of close smothering contact, not the union of friendship and affection, but the union of the policeman with the prisoner whom he has handcuffed. It has not been a union for the common purposes and interests of the two kingdoms, but a union which has allowed each to interfere in a meddling and vexatious manner with the special concerns of the other. Great Britain has passed bad laws, or good laws badly devised or otherwise unacceptable for the internal regulation of Ireland. Ireland has through several Parliaments prevented Great Britain from regulating its own affairs. It is time that this deadlock and antagonism came to an end, and an end can be brought to it in one way only—by allowing each of the two kingdoms, Great Britain and Ireland, or, if it should be desired, each of the three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland, to be master within its own house, and in its own insular or peninsular business, and bringing them together, without the elements of irritation and alienation arising from mutual interference in the affairs of each other.

Mr. Gladstone looks at the problem almost exclusively from an Irish point of view. It is to him a question of social order in Ireland, and the two subjects of Irish government and of the land are simply the two channels through which he endeavours to find access to that most vital point of all. To others it is, rightly as I think, primarily a question of the strength and well-being of the entire United Kingdom, including Ireland. If any sacrifice has to be made, it must be of the part to the whole, and not of the whole to the part. The strength flows indeed from the parts to the whole, but it is sent with redoubled force and efficacy from the whole back again to the parts. A weak or ailing member of the political as of the natural body is compatible with general strength of the entire system, and that general strength will contribute to restore the infirm limb. But a general malady of the system will soon affect each limb. The medicine which tries to nurse into health at the expense of the whole body the offending eye or the offending hand, will probably weaken the whole body without

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strengthening the peccant member. Local applications, unaccompanied by general treatment, are as little likely to be effective in political therapeutics as in any other branch of the healing art. In any conflict of claims between Ireland and the United Kingdom as a whole, the Ministers and Parliament of the United Kingdom are bound not only by the obligations of the trust they have undertaken, but also by regard for the real interests of Ireland, to consider the general welfare of the United Kingdom first, and the special indulgences required by Ireland second.

One principal object of removing the purely internal affairs of Ireland from the cognisance of the Imperial Parliament ought to be to enable the representatives of Ireland to take part in legislation for the United Kingdom, the control of its Government, and the direction of its external policy unembittered by its meddling with their own insular concerns. The Irish patriotism of Irish members and of the Irish people is strong, and it is proper that a field for its exercise and display should be found for them in Ireland. It is inconvenient sometimes in Westminster. What is weak in them is imperial patriotism, to use a bad adjective—British patriotism, or, as I should like to call it (in the relation which the word has to the common language, the literature, the traditions, and the dominant race in the three islands, ignoring its narrower application to 'South Britain') English patriotism. This result cannot be brought about by turning Irish peers and Irish commoners out of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and by debarring them from participation in Imperial legislation and policy. Mr. Gladstone has more than once referred to the completeness and directness of political representation in the United States, the wide basis of the suffrage, the intimate relation in which each individual citizen stands to the Government, as constituting the strength of the Union, and as having brought the Republic safely through the war. Unless Irish human nature differs from human nature in the United States, unless it has been qualified, not by a double, but only by a half or quarter dose of original sin, exclusion from the common affairs of the Empire will produce indifference or even disloyalty to the Empire. The separation of taxation from representation, to say nothing of the constitutional monstrosity of such a practice at this time, though it might be acquiesced in by Irishmen for the moment and for a purpose, would probably lead before long to such a controversy as a century ago arose between England and her American colonies, and place before us the alternative of separation or conquest. Ireland, as a tributary state, would be a vassal state, and, in spite of reserves and forms and constitutional technicalities, the Queen would be converted from the Sovereign to the Suzerain of Ireland. We should have to return to the usage which prevailed until the time of Henry the Eighth, and to speak not of the kingdom but of the lordship of Ireland.

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If Home Rule is incompatible with the fair and equal representation of Ireland in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the idea of Home Rule must, in the interest alike of Ireland and the United Kingdom, be abandoned. If it is incompatible with any particular scheme of Home Rule, that particular scheme stands condemned. It must be either transformable or abandoned. In his speech on the 9th of April, Mr. Gladstone advanced by logical steps to a fatal conclusion. If, he said, Ireland has a domestic Parliament of her own, she cannot come to Westminster to control English and Scotch affairs. Can she come hither for the settlement not of English and Scotch but of Imperial affairs? Can a line of separation be drawn? Mr. Gladstone announced his reluctant but very positive conviction that the thing was impossible. 'I believe,' he said, 'it passes the wit of man; at any rate it passes not my wit alone, but the wit of many with whom I have communicated.' The House of Commons, he said truly, was not merely a legislative House; it was a House controlling the Executive. Irish members would be within their right, Mr. Gladstone argued, in supporting a vote of censure against the Foreign Minister. The vote, if carried, would involve not merely his resignation, but, on the principle of collective ministerial responsibility, would dislodge a government charged with the interests of England and Scotland. The distinction between Imperial affairs could not therefore be carried out in practice; and for this reason 'Irish members and Irish peers cannot, if a domestic legislature be given to Ireland, justly retain a seat in the Parliament at Westminster.' On reconsideration, however, Mr. Gladstone seemed inclined to view the problem more hopefully; and if the wit of man can solve it, he can solve it. But it is not easy to see how. Mr. Gladstone's exposition of the difficulty is forcible, but it tells not against the continued representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament, not against the principle of Home Rule in general, but against this part of the scheme of Home Rule which Mr. Gladstone has devised. The Irish members, if they are introduced into a Parliament which is at once the Imperial Parliament and the Parliament of Great Britain, would easily find the means of voting indirectly, but really and with decisive effect, upon the domestic affairs of England and Scotland. Let us suppose, what is by no means outside the range of possibility, that Ministers, having a Liberal majority over English and Scotch Conservatives, introduce a measure for the establishment of secular education. Such a scheme would be bitterly though, if they depended on their own strength, fruitlessly opposed by the Roman Catholics, English and Irish, resident in Great Britain, and by the majority of the Conservatives. What would be the tactics which it would be natural and, according to the usages of party warfare, justifiable for them to adopt? A Conservative member would give notice of a motion of censure on the Government on some matter of foreign

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policy, let us say, on which Irish members would be indisputably qualified to vote. A time would be chosen which would compel a decision to be taken before some stage of the English Secular Education Bill. The Government, in the case supposed, would be defeated by the combined Conservative and Irish forces, and the Secular Education Bill would be lost with them. The elder Pitt vowed that he would conquer America in Germany. English unsectarian education might be defeated by the allied Conservative and Irish forces in Egypt or Central Asia. The retention of the Irish peers and commoners in the Imperial Parliament is incompatible with Mr. Gladstone's scheme of Home Rule. This is a conclusive objection to that scheme in its present shape.

The solution must be looked for, and when looked for will be found, not in the banishment of Ireland from the Imperial Parliament, but in the banishment of the purely domestic business of England and Scotland from the Imperial Parliament. In other words, the principle of Home Rule must be extended to Great Britain. A Parliament for this island as a whole, or separate Parliaments meeting for purely English and Scotch business in Westminster and Edinburgh, would solve the difficulty as to the discrimination of Imperial from purely English and Scotch business. It is said that England and Scotland do not desire the change. But it does not follow that they would not be ready, on sufficient grounds of reason and the general advantage, to accept the change which they have not been the first to demand. They have not felt the inconvenience of the present system so seriously, though its inconvenience is often embarrassing. Lord Hartington has urged that we are ready to give to Ireland, on terms of perfect equality, all that we give to England and Scotland. Perhaps this doctrine might sometimes be equitably converted, and we might consent to give to England and Scotland what it is urgent to give to Ireland. I may be allowed in this connection to quote the conclusion with which Mr. Goldwin Smith a quarter of a century ago closed his survey of *Irish History and Irish Character*:—

> In virtue of her [Ireland's] long unsettlement and special claims to consideration, she is affording a fair field for the discussion of political, ecclesiastical, and social questions, which the English nation, satisfied with an early and limited progress, will not suffer to be mooted directly in respect to herself. An Irish famine repealed the Corn Laws. Irish outrage gave to the Empire the benefit of a regularly organised police. The desperate state of Irish property led to the passing of an Encumbered Estates Act. Ireland has introduced the system of mixed education. In Ireland the relations between landlord and tenant have been first made the subject of discussion, with some prospect of an equitable solution. In Ireland was promulgated the potent aphorism, 'Property has its duties as well as its rights.' In Ireland, where the members of the dominant Church are in a small and hopeless minority, and the Establishment is clearly a political evil, the great question of Church and State will probably be first raised with effect and receive its most rational solution.

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Seven years after these words were written, Mr. Gladstone, owing to the unexpected development of public opinion which brought the matter within the sphere of practical politics, carried the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Mr. Goldwin Smith would not admit the application I am about to make of his principle. But it may be given to Ireland to lead the way in introducing throughout the United Kingdom a rational distribution of legislative and administrative functions between local Parliaments for the two islands, or the three kingdoms, and an imperial Parliament dealing with the common interests of the United Kingdom.

Of one thing it is, I think, reasonable to feel assured. England and Scotland will not be parties to any system which places Ireland in a position inferior to themselves, nor would Ireland, though she might accept it for a moment, with a view not to completer or closer union, but to total separation, permanently acquiesce in it. The government of Ireland, in important relations, by a Parliament in which she was not represented would be an exercise of authority more dangerous to the ruling power than to the ruled. It would accustom men's minds in England and Scotland to ways of thinking and acting which might prove perilous to sound principles of government. The tyranny of the Athenian democracy over its subject islands undermined the democracy at home. Slaveholding is at least as dangerous to the slaveholder as to the slave. If equality between England, Scotland, and Ireland is to be maintained, it must be in one or other of three ways. There is the system established by the Act of Union, which gives England, Scotland, and Ireland each its fair share of representation in one Parliament, dealing alike with imperial and local concerns. This system has broken down. Parliament has proved unequal to the task of necessary legislation; the executive is overweighted; Ireland has been for eighty-five years in a state of open or secret rebellion. There is the federal system which prevails in every great Parliamentary nation, except Italy and France, and in those countries the centralised methods of government are constant sources of difficulty and danger. This probably will be the final solution. I do not say that the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, and the United States furnish precedents which we can closely follow, or analogies which are strictly to the point. But singly and collectively they indicate a general scheme and method which capable statesmanship and popular goodwill such as Mr. Gladstone can call to his aid would be able to apply to the case of the United Kingdom.

The third method of securing equality between England and Ireland is by their complete separation for all legislative and administrative purposes—a separation which would probably carry with it not only the Parliamentary independence of Ireland, but ultimately severance from the Crown of England too.

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In its present shape, Mr. Gladstone's Bill tends to this result. No country worthy of self-government would permanently or long consent to be debarred from dealing by its representatives with the momentous topics not merely of external and Imperial policy, but even of domestic legislation, which the Legislative Body of Ireland is formally prohibited from touching or even approaching. The list is divided into two classes, the first of which is described in the marginal summary as 'Exceptions from Powers of Irish Legislature;' the second as 'Restrictions on Powers of Irish Legislature.'

The exceptions from the powers of the Irish Legislature, as to which it is declared that 'any law made in contravention of this section shall be void,' are thirteen in number. They consist of subjects which would properly fall within the province of a Federal Parliament; and, if Ireland were a member of such a federation, and were fairly represented in its Parliament, there would be no objection to their being withheld from the competence of the Irish Legislature. But in Mr. Gladstone's Bill, as it at present stands, though in this respect he will, it may be hoped, find it practicable to modify it in the sense I have indicated, England and Scotland are to legislate for Ireland on these paramount questions:—The status and succession of the Crown; peace and war; the national defences; treaties with foreign powers; offences against the law of nations; treason, alienage, naturalisation; trade, navigation, and quarantine; external postal and telegraph services; beacons, lighthouses, and sea-marks; money, weights and measures, copyright and patents—any law passed by the Irish Legislative Body on any of these subjects is declared to be null and void. The representatives of Great Britain are to legislate for Ireland on these things, and the representatives of Ireland cannot, as Mr. Gladstone's Bill now stands, touch them with a finger.

The subjects on which the powers of the Legislative Body are restricted—that is to say, on which it 'shall not make any law,' are the establishment or endowment of any form of religion, or the prohibition of its free exercise; the imposition of disabilities or privileges on account of religious belief; interference with denominational education or charities; the refusal of a conscience clause in schools; the rights and property of corporations (without the leave of her Majesty in Council); duties of customs and duties of excise; and the Government of Ireland Act itself. Irish members have declared that they will be content with a position similar to that of Canada. But the present Bill does not give them any such position. Most of the matters with which the Irish governing body is prohibited from dealing are expressly reserved in the British North America Act of 1867 to the Parliament of the Dominion. Ireland is put in a position corresponding not with that of Canada, but with that of Ontario. One of the viceroys of Ireland, who held office towards the close of the eighteenth century, expressed his view

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of his official authority by a caricature which he drew of himself with his hands tied behind his back and his mouth open. The exceptions from, and the restrictions on, the powers of the Legislative Body of Ireland leave it in the position in which Lord Townshend depicted himself, its hands tied behind its back, and its mouth open. It may, perhaps, talk, but it cannot act.

These restrictions are certainly proposed, and they may possibly be accepted, in good faith. But though in Ireland an agitator, Mr. Parnell in Westminster is a tactician. Mr. Parnell has habitually said, when the settlement of Ireland has been in question, that he cannot guarantee permanent acquiescence in it. No man can guarantee circumstances, or the movement of public opinion and feeling. No honest man will even guarantee the future state of his own mind, or restrain his freedom of speech and action. It is as certain as anything future can be that, if Mr. Gladstone's Government of Ireland Bill becomes law in its present form, very few years will elapse before attempts are made to remove 'the exceptions from' and 'the restrictions on' the powers of the Irish Legislature. These efforts in the circumstances will be laudable and righteous. With the present development of Parliamentary government and the ideas which prevail as to the representative system, no nation worthy of itself will consent to be excluded from dealing with the topics which the Irish Legislative Body is allowed to approach only with its hands tied behind its back and its mouth open. Her representatives must have their equal share of authority in regard to them, if not in Westminster, then in Dublin. Irish Parliamentary life will be worth nothing, Ireland will be a parish and not a nation, if she is debarred from dealing with the matters which give their chief dignity to politics. If she is to handle them at Westminster, we must either maintain the Union as it is—which is now scarcely possible, and is not desirable—or adopt the federal system, in which probably the true solution lies. If Ireland is to deal with these high matters in Dublin, she becomes independent of the Imperial Parliament. Irish Parliamentary independence, if it is real, will carry with it the dependence of the executive power on Parliament, that is to say, independent of the Crown, as advised by ministers dependent on the British Parliament and subject to British influences.

This part of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, not in the intention of its author, but in its logical consequences, the working out of which would no doubt be variously hindered, delayed, and concealed, favours complete separation. In 1887 we should begin again the struggle with the Irish Parliament which marks the history of our relations with that country, but which assumes new vigour, in 1753. In less than thirty years from that time Ireland had gained her point. It probably would not take her longer now. The struggle now would

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be against the statutory limitation of the powers of the Irish Legislative Body.

Sometimes in good faith, as often probably by way of experiment, laws trespassing on the subjects excluded from the powers of the Legislative Body would be passed, and the constitutional questions involved would be referred, under the twenty-fifth clause of the Government of Ireland Bill, to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, which is erected into a kind of Supreme Court as between Ireland and England, in analogy with its functions as regards our colonies and India. On other occasions the instrumentalities provided for the amendment of the organic statute would be put into force. By these means a constant agitation, involving frequent conflict between the Irish Government and the Imperial Power, would go on. By subtle and gradual usurpations involving at last a practice, by explanatory and enlarging laws, by amendments of the organic statute, it is likely that the Legislative Body of Ireland would gradually acquire the powers now withheld from it.

An analogous, though, owing to the difference of circumstances, a not precisely similar course, marked the history of the Irish Parliament. It always maintained in theory, and often attempted to vindicate, the independence of which Grattan at length obtained the recognition from the British Parliament. An English statute of Richard the Third's reign asserts in bad Latin a principle constitutionally sounder than that on which Mr. Gladstone's Bill is based: 'Hibernia habet Parliamenta, et faciunt leges, et nostra statuta non ligant eos, quia non mittunt milites ad Parliamentum.' Poynings's Act, which, as Mr. Gladstone stated in the House, was passed by the Irish Parliament, and was therefore a self-surrender of powers, is only ten years later in date than the statute of Richard the Third just quoted. Its provision that the statutes lately made in England be deemed good and effective in Ireland, was simply an adoption of previous legislation. It did not therefore apply, according to the Irish contention, to English Acts subsequent to it.

The celebrated work of Molyneux, published in 1697, *The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated*, is the classic vindication of the principle which Grattan triumphantly asserted a century later. The English Parliament replied by censuring the book and having it burned. The right of the Irish Parliament to originate money bills and to maintain them in their original form in spite of amendments by the English Privy Council was asserted and denied, and compromised, in the true constitutional fashion, by expedients which did not involve concession of the point in dispute on either side. The right of the British House of Lords to decide Irish cases, which forms a part of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, was contested in Ireland.

In 1753 the renewed struggle of the Irish Parliament against its

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control by England was begun by the claim of the Irish House of Commons to dispose, of its own authority and without the consent of the King, of certain surplus revenues. The pretension was not of course admitted in England, and the Irish Parliament provided against the dispute arising in future by appropriations calculated to leave no bone of contention in any subsequent surplus. These are a few illustrations of incessant and ultimately successful struggles against limitations such as Mr. Gladstone's Bill imposes, and which are likely, in a short time, to lead to corresponding conflicts with an identical result.

The best way out of these difficulties lies not in the removal of the restrictions upon the Irish Legislative Body, which would be complete separation, but in the admission of Irish peers and commoners to the Imperial Parliament to which these matters properly belong. This cannot be done, as I have endeavoured to show, by leaving it the Parliament of England and Scotland, as well as of the United Kingdom. In such a Parliament the line cannot be drawn so as to prevent Irish measures from interfering, indirectly perhaps but effectively, with English and Scotch business.

Separate Parliaments for Great Britain and Ireland, or for England, Scotland, and Ireland, subordinate to an Imperial Parliament, representing fairly the two or the three countries, is the only logical and practical solution of the difficulty. A step must be taken in this direction, or things must remain as they are. But to leave things as they are is to fall back upon a system of coercion which is likely to issue in civil war and the suppression of all constitutional liberties in Ireland.

Nor would our difficulty be in Ireland alone. The Irish, like the Jews and the Greeks, are now a dispersed race, and carry their sense of nationality and their hatred to England into every country in which they dwell, and they will find points and instruments of attack wherever they may be. To say this, to point to the danger of outrage and violence on a scale greater than any we have known, is not to address an argument to cowardice. It is simply to appeal to prudence and common sense. The cowardice lies in shutting the eyes to dangerous probabilities, so probable as to be practically certainties While the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Bill in its present shape is inexpedient and indeed impossible, the delay of legislation would be full of peril. The transformation of the measure in the main after the manner which I have ventured to suggest, and its speedy enactment thus modified, is the course which a prudent statesmanship will follow.

I have not thought it desirable to speak of the details of the Bill. They exhibit Mr. Gladstone's unique power of political contrivance and construction. The constitution of the Irish Legislative Body, its division into two orders, the veto by the first order, the

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financial arrangements of the bill, the functions assigned to the Lord Lieutenant, the relation of the judges to the new Irish Government, the associated scheme of land purchase—these and other things are matters for subsequent adjustment. The essence of the measure, its vital principle—its second-reading principle, so to speak—lies in the relations which it is proposed to establish between the Irish Legislative Body and the Parliament of the United Kingdom. If this can be satisfactorily arranged, the rest will be of comparatively easy arrangement in Committee. It is strongly to be desired that the reconsideration of the question of Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, which Mr. Gladstone has half promised, will lead to the renewal of the one vital objection to a scheme inspired by the most generous purpose, and capable of forming a precedent for the further extension of the system of Home Rule within the United Kingdom.

FRANK H. HILL.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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THE

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AMERICAN HOME RULE.

AMERICAN experience has been frequently cited, in the course of the controversy now raging in England over the Irish question, both by way of warning and of example. For instance, I have found in the *Times* as well as in other journals—the *Spectator*, I think, among the number—very contemptuous dismissals of the plan of offering Ireland a government like that of an American State, on the ground that the Americans are loyal to the central authority, while in Ireland there is a strong feeling of hostility to it, which would probably increase under Home Rule. The Queen's writ, it has been remarked, cannot be said to run in large parts of Ireland, while in every part of the United States the Federal writ is implicitly obeyed, and the ministers of Federal authority find ready aid and sympathy from the people. If I remember rightly, the Duke of Argyll has been very emphatic in pointing out the difference between giving local self-government to a community in which the tendencies of popular feeling are 'centrifugal,' and giving it to one in which these tendencies are 'centripetal.' The inference to be drawn was, of course, that as long as Ireland disliked the Imperial government the concession of Home Rule would be unsafe, and would only become safe when the Irish people showed somewhat the same sort of affection for the English connection which the people of the State of New York now feel for the Constitution of the United States.

Among the multitude of those who have taken part in the controversy on one side or the other, no one has, so far as I have observed, pointed out that the state of feeling in America toward the central

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government with which the state of feeling in Ireland towards the British Government is now compared, did not exist when the American Constitution was set up; that the political tendencies in America at that time were centrifugal not centripetal, and that the extraordinary love and admiration with which Americans now regard the Federal government are the result of eighty years' experience of its working. The first Confederation was as much as the people could bear in the way of surrendering local powers when the War of Independence came to an end. It was its hopeless failure to provide peace and security which led to the framing of the present Constitution. But even with this experience still fresh, the adoption of the Constitution was no easy matter. I shall not burden the pages of this Review with historical citations showing the very great difficulty which the framers of the Constitution had in inducing the various States to adopt it, or the magnitude and variety of the fears and suspicions with which many of the most influential men in all parts of the country regarded it. Anyone who wishes to know how numerous and diversified these fears and suspicions were, cannot do better than read the series of papers known as 'The Federalist,' written mainly by Hamilton and Madison, to commend the new plan to the various States. It was adopted almost as a matter of necessity, that is, as the only way out of the Slough of Despond in which the Confederation had plunged the union of the States; but the objections to it which were felt at the beginning were only removed by actual trial. Hamilton's two colleagues, as delegates from New York, Yates and Lansing, withdrew in disgust from the Convention, as soon as the Constitution was outlined, and did not return. The notion that the Constitution was produced by the craving of the American people for something of that sort to love and revere, and that it was not bestowed on them until they had given ample assurance that they would lavish affection on it, has no foundation whatever in fact. The devotion of Americans to the Union is, indeed, as clear a case of cause and effect as is to be found in political history. They have learned to like the Constitution because the country has prospered under it, and because it has given them all the benefits of national life without interference with local liberties. If they had not set up a central government until the centrifugal sentiment had disappeared from the States, and the feeling of loyalty for a central authority had fully shown itself, they would assuredly never have set it up at all.

Moreover, it has to be borne in mind that the adoption of the Constitution did not involve the surrender of any local franchises, by which the people of the various States set great store. The States preserved fully four-fifths of their autonomy, or in fact nearly all of it which closely concerned the daily lives of individuals. Set aside the post-office, and a citizen of this State, not engaged in foreign

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trade, might, down to the outbreak of the Civil War, have passed a long and busy life without once coming in contact with a United States official, and without being made aware in any of his doings, by any restriction or regulation, that he was living under any government but that of his own State. If he went abroad he had to apply for a United States passport. If he quarrelled with a foreigner, or with the citizen of another State, he might be sued in the Federal Court. If he imported foreign goods he had to pay duties to the collector of a Federal Custom-house. If he invented something, or wrote a book, he had to apply to the Department of the Interior for a patent or a copyright. But how few there were in the first seventy years of American history who had any of these experiences! No one supposes, or has ever supposed, that had the Federalists demanded any very large sacrifice of local franchises, or attempted to set up even a close approach to a centralised Government, the adoption of the Constitution would have been possible. If, for instance, such a transfer of both administration and legislation to the central authority as took place in Ireland after the Union had been proposed, it would have been rejected with derision. You will get no American to argue with you on this point. If you ask him whether he thinks it likely that a highly centralised government could have been created in 1879—such a one, for example, as Ireland has been under since 1800—or whether if created it would by this time have won the affection of the people, or filled them with centripetal tendencies, he will answer you with a smile.

The truth is that nowhere, any more than in Ireland, do people love their government from a sense of duty or because they crave an object of political affection, or even because it exalts them in the eyes of foreigners. They love it because they are happy or prosperous under it; because it supplies security in the form best suited to their tastes and habits, or in some manner ministers to their self-love. Loyalty to the king as the Lord's anointed, without any sense either of favours received or expected, has played a great part in European politics, I admit; but, for reasons which I will not here take up space in stating, a political arrangement, whether it be an elected monarch or a constitution, cannot be made, in our day, to reign in men's hearts except as the result of benefits so palpable that common people, as well as political philosophers, can see them and count them.

Many of the opponents of Home Rule too, point to the vigour with which the United States Government put down the attempt made by the South to break up the Union as an example of the American love of 'imperial unity,' and of the spirit in which England should now meet the Irish demands for local autonomy. This again is rather surprising, because you will find no one in America who will maintain for one moment that troops could have been raised in 1860 to undertake the conquest of the South for the purpose of setting up

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a centralised administration, or in other words, for the purpose of wiping out State lines, or diminishing State authority. No man or party proposed anything of this kind at the outbreak of the war, or would have dared to propose it. The object for which the North rose in arms, and which Lincoln had in view when he called for troops, was the restoration of the Union just as it was when South Carolina seceded, barring the extension of slavery into the territories. During the first year of the war, certainly, the revolted States might at any time have had peace on the *status quo* basis, that is, without the smallest diminution of their rights and immunities under the Constitution. It was only when it became evident that the war would have to be fought out to a finish, as the pugilists say—that is, that it would have to end in a complete conquest of the Southern territory—that the question, what would become of the States as a political organisation after the struggle was over, began to be debated at all. What did become of them? How did Americans deal with Home Rule, after it had been used to set on foot against the central authority what the newspapers used to delight in calling 'the greatest rebellion the world ever saw'? The answer to these questions is, it seems to me, a contribution of some value to the discussion of the Irish problem in its present stage, if American precedence can throw any light whatever on it.

There was a Joint Committee of both houses of Congress appointed in 1866 to consider the condition of the South with reference to the safety or expediency of admitting the States lately in rebellion to their old relations to the Union, including representation in Congress. It contained, besides such fanatical enemies of the South as Thaddeus Stevens, such very conservative men as Mr. Fessenden, Mr. Grimes, Mr. Morrill, and Mr. Conkling. Here is the account they gave of the condition of Southern feeling one year after Lee's surrender:—

> Examining the evidence taken by your committee still further, in connection with facts too notorious to be disputed, it appears that the southern press, with few exceptions, and those mostly of newspapers recently established by northern men, abounds with weekly and daily abuse of the institutions and people of the loyal states; defends the men who led, and the principles which incited, the rebellion; denounces and reviles Southern men who adhered to the Union; and strives constantly and unscrupulously, by every means in its power, to keep alive the fire of hate and discord between the sections; calling upon the President to violate his oath of office, overturn the government by force of arms, and drive the representatives of the people from their seats in Congress. The national banner is openly insulted, and the national airs scoffed at, not only by an ignorant populace, but at public meetings, and once, among other notable instances, at a dinner given in honour of a notorious rebel who had violated his oath and abandoned his flag. The same individual is elected to an important office in the leading city of his State, although an unpardoned rebel, and so offensive that the President refuses to allow him to enter upon his official duties. In another State the leading general of the rebel armies is openly nominated for Governor by the Speaker of the House of Delegates, and the nomination is hailed by the people with shouts of satisfaction, and openly endorsed by the press. . . .

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The evidence of an intense hostility to the Federal Union, and an equally intense love of the late Confederacy, nurtured by the war is decisive. While it appears that nearly all are willing to submit, at least for the time being, to the Federal authority, it is equally clear that the ruling motive is a desire to obtain the advantages which will be derived from a representation in Congress. Officers of the Union army on duty, and Northern men who go south to engage in business, are generally detested and proscribed. Southern men who adhered to the Union are bitterly hated and relentlessly persecuted. In some localities prosecutions have been instituted in state courts against Union officers for acts done in the line of official duty, and similar prosecutions are threatened elsewhere as soon as the United States troops are removed. All such demonstrations show a state of feeling against which it is unmistakably necessary to guard.

The testimony is conclusive that after the collapse of the Confederacy the feeling of the people of the rebellious States was that of abject submission. Having appealed to the tribunal of arms, they had no hope except that by the magnanimity of their conquerors, their lives, and possibly their property, might be preserved. Unfortunately the general issue of pardons to persons who had been prominent in the rebellion, and the feeling of kindliness and conciliation manifested by the Executive, and very generally indicated through the northern press, had the effect to render whole communities forgetful of the crime they had committed, defiant towards the Federal Government, and regardless of their duties as citizens. The conciliatory measures of the Government do not seem to have been met even half-way. The bitterness and defiance exhibited towards the United States under such circumstances is without a parallel in the history of the world. In return for our leniency we receive only an insulting denial of our authority. In return for our kind desire for the resumption of fraternal relations we receive only an insolent assumption of rights and privileges long since forfeited. The crime we have punished is paraded as a virtue, and the principles of republican government which we have vindicated at so terrible a cost are denounced as unjust and oppressive.

If we add to this evidence the fact that, although peace has been declared by the President, he has not, to this day, deemed it safe to restore the writ of *habeas corpus*, to relieve the insurrectionary States of martial law, nor to withdraw the troops from many localities, and that the commanding general deems an increase of the army indispensable to the preservation of order and the protection of loyal and well-disposed people in the South, the proof of a condition of feeling hostile to the Union and dangerous to the Government throughout the insurrectionary States would seem to be overwhelming.

This Committee recommended a series of coercive measures, the first of which was the adoption of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, which disqualified for all office either under the United States, or under any State, any person who having in any capacity taken an oath of allegiance to the United States afterwards engaged in rebellion or gave aid and comfort to the rebels. This denied the *jus honoris* to all the leading men at the South who had survived the war. In addition to it, an Act was passed in March 1867 which put all the rebel States under military rule until a constitution should have been framed by a Convention elected by all males over twenty-one, except such as would be excluded from office by the above-named constitutional amendment if it were adopted, which at that time it had not been. Another Act was passed three weeks later prescribing, for voters in the States lately in rebellion, what was known as the 'ironclad oath,' which excluded from the franchise not only

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all who had borne arms against the United States, but all who, having ever held any office for which the taking an oath of allegiance to the United States was a qualification, had afterwards ever given 'aid or comfort to the enemies thereof.' This practically disfranchised all the white men of the South over 25 years old.

On this legislation there grew up, as all the world now knows, what was called the 'carpet bag' *régime*. Swarms of Northern adventurers went down to the Southern States, organised the ignorant negro voters, constructed state constitutions to suit themselves, got themselves elected to all the chief offices, plundered the State treasuries, contracted huge State debts, and stole the proceeds in connivance with legislatures composed mainly of negroes of whom the most intelligent and instructed had been barbers and hotel-waiters. In some of the States, such as South Carolina and Mississippi, in which the negro population were in majority, the government became a mere caricature. I was in Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, in 1872, during the session of the legislature, when you could obtain the passage of almost any measure you pleased by a small payment—at that time 700 dollars—to an old negro preacher who controlled the coloured majority. Under the pretence of fitting up committee-rooms, the private lodging-rooms at the boarding-houses of the negro members, in many instances, were extravagantly furnished with Wilton and Brussels carpets, mirrors, and sofas. 1,000 dollars were expended for two hundred elegant imported china spittoons. There were only one hundred and twenty-three members in the House of Representatives, but the residue were, perhaps, transferred to the private chambers of the legislators.

Now how did the Southern whites deal with this state of things? Well, I am sorry to say they manifested their discontent very much in the way in which the Irish have for the last hundred years been manifesting theirs. If, as the *Spectator* seems to think, readiness to commit outrages, and refusal to sympathise with the victims of outrages, indicates political incapacity, the whites of the South showed, in the period between 1866 and 1876, that they were utterly unfit to be entrusted with the work of self-government. They could not rise openly in revolt because the United States troops were everywhere at the service of the carpet-baggers, for the suppression of armed resistance. They did not send petitions to Congress, or write letters to the Northern newspapers, or hold indignation meetings. They simply formed a huge secret society on the model of the 'Molly Maguires' or 'Moonlighters,' whose special function was to intimidate, flog, mutilate, or murder political opponents in the night time. This society was called the 'Ku-Klux Klan.' Let me give some account of its operation, and I shall make it as brief as possible. It had become so powerful in 1871 that President Grant in that year, in his message to Congress, declared that 'a condition of things existed in some of

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the States of the Union rendering life and property insecure, and the carrying of the mails and the collecting of the revenue dangerous.' A Joint Select Committee of Congress was accordingly appointed early in 1872 to 'inquire into the condition of affairs in the late insurrectionary States so far as regards the execution of the laws and the safety of the lives and property of the citizens of the United States.' Its report now lies before me, and it reads uncommonly like the speech of an Irish Secretary in the House of Commons bringing in a 'Suppression of Crime Bill.' The Committee say :—

There is a remarkable concurrence of testimony to the effect that, in those of the late rebellious States into whose condition we have examined, the courts and juries administer justice between man and man in all ordinary cases, civil and criminal; and while there is this concurrence on this point, the evidence is equally decisive that redress cannot be obtained against those who commit crimes in disguise and at night. The reasons assigned are that identification is difficult, almost impossible; that, when this is attempted, the combinations and oaths of the order come in and release the culprit by perjury, either upon the witness-stand or in the jury-box; and that the terror inspired by their acts, as well as the public sentiment in their favour in many localities, paralyses the arm of civil power.

. . . . . .

The murders and outrages which have been perpetrated in many counties of Middle and West Tennessee, during the past few months, have been so numerous, and of such an aggravated character, as almost baffles investigation. In these counties a reign of terror exists which is so absolute in its nature that the best of citizens are unable or unwilling to give free expression to their opinions. The terror inspired by the secret organisation known as the Ku-Klux Klan is so great, that the officers of the law are powerless to execute its provisions, to discharge their duties, or to bring the guilty perpetrators of these outrages to the punishment they deserve. Their stealthy movements are generally made under cover of night, and under masks and disguises, which render their identification difficult, if not impossible. To add to the secrecy which envelopes their operations, is the fact that no information of their murderous acts can be obtained without the greatest difficulty and danger in the localities where they are committed. No one dares to inform upon them, or take any measures to bring them to punishment, because no one can tell but that he may be the next victim of their hostility or animosity. The members of this organisation, with their friends, aiders, and abettors, take especial pains to conceal all their operations.

. . . . . .

Your committee believe that during the past six months, the murders—to say nothing of other outrages—would average one a day, or one for every twenty-four hours; that in the great majority of these cases they have been perpetrated by the Ku-Klux above referred to, and few, if any, have been brought to punishment. A number of the counties of this State (Tennessee) are entirely at the mercy of this organisation, and roving bands of nightly marauders bid defiance to the civil authorities, and threaten to drive out every man, white or black, who does not submit to their arbitrary dictation. To add to the general lawlessness of these communities, bad men of every description take advantage of the circumstances surrounding them, and perpetrate acts of violence, from personal or pecuniary motives, under the plea of political necessity.

Here is some of the evidence on which the report was based.

A complaint of outrages committed in Georgia was referred by the general of the army, in June, 1869, to the general of the Department

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of the South for thorough investigation and report. General Terry, in his report, made August 14, 1869, says:[1]—

In many parts of the State there is practically no government. The worst of crimes are committed, and no attempt is made to punish those who commit them. Murders have been and are frequent; the abuse, in various ways, of the blacks is too common to excite notice. There can be no doubt of the existence of numerous insurrectionary organisations know as 'Ku-Klux Klans,' who, shielded by their disguise, by the secrecy of their movements and by the terror which they inspire, perpetrate crime with impunity. There is great reason to believe that in some cases local magistrates are in sympathy with the members of these organisations. In many places they are overawed by them and dare not attempt to punish them. To punish such offenders by civil proceedings would be a difficult task, even were magistrates in all cases disposed and had they the courage to do their duty, for the same influences which govern them equally affect juries and witnesses.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Merrill, who assumed command (in Louisiana) on the 26th of March, and commenced investigation into the state of affairs, says (p. 1465):—

From the best information I can get, I estimate the number of cases of whipping, beating, and personal violence of various grades, in this county, since the first of last November, at between three and four hundred, excluding numerous minor cases of threats, intimidation, abuse, and small personal violence, as knocking down with a pistol or gun, &c. The more serious outrages, exclusive of murders and whippings, noted hereafter, have been the following:—

He then proceeds with the details of sixty-eight cases, giving the names of the parties injured, white and black, and including the tearing up of the railway, on the night before a raid was made by the Ku-Klux on the county treasury building. The rails were taken up, to prevent the arrival of the United States troops, who, it was known, were to come on Sunday morning. The raid was made on that Sunday night while the troops were lying at Chester, twenty-two miles distant, unable to reach Yorkville, because of the rails having been torn up.

Another witness said:—

To give the details of the whipping of men to compel them to change their mode of voting, the tearing of them away from their families at night, accompanied with insults and outrage, and followed by their murder, would be but repeating what has been described in other States, showing that it is the same organisation in all working by the same means for the same end. Five murders are shown to have been committed in Monroe County, fifteen in Noxubee, one in Lowndes, by the testimony taken in the city of Washington; but the extent to which school-houses were burned, teachers whipped, and outrages committed in this State, cannot be fully given until the testimony taken by the sub-committee shall have been printed and made ready to report.

There are about eighty, closely printed, large octavo pages of this kind of testimony given by sufferers from the outrages.

Something was done to suppress the Klu-Klux by a Federal Act passed in 1871, which made offences of this kind punishable in the

[1] Report of Secretary of War, 1869-70, vol. i. p. 89.

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Federal courts. Considerable numbers of them were arrested, tried, and convicted, and sent to undergo their punishment in the Northern jails. But there was no complete pacification of the South until the carpet-bag governments were refused the support of the Federal troops by President Hayes, on his accession to power in 1876. Then the carpet-bag *régime* disappeared like a house of cards. The chief carpet-baggers fled, and the government passed at once into the hands of the native whites. I do not propose to defend or explain the way in which they have since then kept it in their hands, by suppressing or controlling the negro vote. This is not necessary to my purpose.

What I seek to show is that the Irish are not peculiar in their manner of expressing their discontent with a government directed or controlled by the public opinion of another indifferent or semi-hostile community which it is impossible to resist in open warfare; that Anglo-Saxons resort to somewhat the same methods under similar circumstances, and that lawlessness and cruelty, considered as expressions of political animosity, do not necessarily argue any incapacity for the conduct of an orderly and efficient government, although I admit freely that they do argue a low state of civilisation.

I will add one more illustration which, although more remote than those which I have taken from the Southern States during the reconstruction period, is not too remote for my purpose, and is in some respects stronger than any of them. I do not know a more orderly community in the world, or one which, down to the outbreak of the Civil War, when manufactures began to multiply, and the Irish immigration began to pour in, had a higher average of intelligence than the State of Connecticut. Down to 1818 all voters in that State had to be members of the Congregational Church. It had no large cities, and this, with the aid of its seat of learning, Yale College, preserved in it, I think, in greater purity than even Massachusetts, the old Puritan simplicity of manners, the Puritan spirit of order and thrift, and the business-like view of government which grew out of the practice of town government. A less sentimental community, I do not think, exists anywhere, or one in which the expression of strong feeling on any subject but religion is less cultivated or viewed with less favour. In the matter of managing their own political affairs in peace or war, I do not expect the Irish to equal the Connecticut people for a hundred years to come, no matter how much practice they may have in the interval, and I think that fifty years ago it was only picked bodies of Englishmen who could do so. Yet, in 1833, in the town of Canterbury, one of the most orderly and intelligent in the State, an estimable and much-esteemed lady, Miss Prudence Crandall, was carrying on a girls' school, when something happened to touch her conscience about the condition of the free negroes of the North. She resolved,

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in a moment of enthusiasm, to undertake the education of negro girls only. What follows forms one of the most famous episodes in the anti-slavery struggle in this country, and is possibly familiar to many of the older readers of this Review. I shall extract the account of it as given briefly in the lately published life of William Lloyd Garrison, by his sons. Some of the details are much worse than is here described.

> The story of this remarkable case cannot be pursued here except in brief. . . . It will be enough to say that the struggle between the modest and heroic young Quaker woman and the town lasted for nearly two years; that the school was opened in April; that attempts were immediately made under the law to frighten the pupils away and to fine Miss Crandall for harboring them; that in May an Act prohibiting private schools for non-resident coloured persons, and providing for the expulsion of the latter, was procured from the Legislature, amid the greatest rejoicing in Canterbury (even to the ringing of church bells); that, under this Act, Miss Crandall was in June arrested and temporarily imprisoned in the county jail, twice tried (August and October), and convicted; that her case was carried up to the Supreme Court of Errors, and her persecutors defeated on a technicality (July, 1834), and that pending this litigation the most vindictive and inhuman measures were taken to isolate the school from the countenance and even the physical support of the townspeople. The shops and the meeting house were closed against teacher and pupils, carriage in the public conveyances was denied them, physicians would not wait upon them, Miss Crandall's own family and friends were forbidden, under penalty of heavy fines, to visit her, the well was filled with manure and water from other sources refused, the house itself was smeared with filth, assailed with rotten eggs and stones, and finally set on fire. (Vol. i. p. 321.)

Miss Crandall is still living in the West, in extreme old age, and the Connecticut legislature voted her a small pension last winter, as a slight expiation of the ignominy and injustice from which she had suffered at the hands of a past generation.

The *Spectator* frequently refers to the ferocious hatred displayed towards the widow of Curtin, the man who was cruelly murdered by moonlighters somewhere in Kerry, as an evidence of barbarism which almost, if not quite, justifies the denial of self-government to a people capable of producing such monsters in one spot and on one occasion. Let me match this from Mississippi with a case which I produce, not because it was singular, but because it was notorious at the North, where it occurred, in 1877. One, Chisholm, a native of the State, and a man of good standing and character, became a Republican after the war, and was somewhat active in organising the negro voters in his district. He was repeatedly warned by some of his neighbours to desist and abandon politics, but continued resolutely on his course. A mob, composed of many of the leading men in the town, then attacked him in his house. He made his escape, with his wife and young daughter and son, a lad of fourteen, to the jail. His assailants broke the jail open, and killed him and his son, and desperately wounded the daughter. The poor lad received such a volley of bullets, that his blood went in one rush to the floor, and traced the outlines of his trunk on the ceiling of the room below, where it re-

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mained months afterwards, an eye-witness told me, as an illustration of the callousness of the jailer. The leading murderers were tried. They had no defence. The facts were not disputed. The judge and the bar did their duty, but the jury acquitted the prisoners without leaving their seats. Mrs. Chisholm, the widow, found neither sympathy nor friends at the scene of the tragedy. She had to leave the State, and found refuge in Washington, where she now holds a clerkship in the Treasury department.

Let me cite as another illustration the violent ways in which popular discontent may fin expression in communities whose political capacity and general respect for the law and its officers, as well as for the sanctity of contracts, have never been questioned. Large tracts of land were formerly held along the Hudson river in this State, by a few families, of which the Van Rennselaers and the Livingstons were the chief, either under grants from the Dutch at the first settlement of the colony, or from the English Crown after the conquest. That known as the 'Manor of Rensselaerwick,' held by the Van Rensselaers, comprised a tract of country extending twenty-four miles north and south, and forty-eight miles east and west, lying on each side of the Hudson river. It was held by the tenants for perpetual leases. The rents were, on the Van Rensselaer estate, fourteen bushels of wheat for each hundred acres, and four fat hens, and one day's service with a carriage and horses, to each farm of one hundred and sixty acres. Besides this, there was a fine on alienation amounting to about half a year's rent. The Livingston eststes were let in much the same way.

In 1839, Stephen Van Rensselaer, the proprietor, or 'Patroon' as he was called, died, with $400,000 due to him as arrears from the tenants, for which, being a man of easy temper, he had foreborne to press them. But he left the amount in trust by his will for the payment of his debts, and his heirs proceeded to collect it, and persisted in the attempt during the ensuing seven years. What then happened I shall describe in the words of Mr. John Bigelow. Mr. Tilden was a member of the State Legislature in 1846, and was appointed Chairman of a Committee to investigate the rent troubles, and make the report which furnished the basis for the legislation by which they were subsequently settled. Mr. Bigelow, who has edited Mr. Tilden's *Public Writings and Speeches*, prefaces the report with the following explanatory note:—

> Attempts were made to enforce the collection of these rents. The tenants resisted. They estabblised armed patrols, and, by the adoption of various disguises, were enabled successfully to defy the civil authorities. Eventually it became necessary to call out the military, but the result was only partially satisfactory. These demonstrations of authority provoked the formation of 'anti-rent clubs' throughout the manorial district, with a view of acquiring a controlling influence in the Legislature. Small bands, armed and disguised as Indians, were also formed to hold themselves in readiness at all times to resist the officers of the law whenever

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and wherever they attempted to serve legal process upon the tenants. The principal roads throughout the infected district were guarded by the bands so carefully, and the animosity between the tenants and the civil authorities was so intense, that at last it became dangerous for anyone not an anti-renter to be found in these neighbourhoods. It was equally dangerous for the landlords to make any appeal to the law or for the collection of rents or for protection of their persons. When Governor Wright entered upon his duties in Albany in 1845, he found that the anti-rent party had a formidable representation in the Legislature, and that the questions involved were assuming an almost national importance.

The sheriff made gallant attempts to enforce the law, but his deputies were killed and a legal investigation in which two hundred persons were examined, failed to reveal the perpetrators of the crime. The militia were called out, but they were no more successful than the sheriff. In the case of one murder committed in Delaware County in 1845, however, two persons were convicted, but their sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. Various others concerned in the disturbances were convicted of minor offences, but when Governor Young succeeded Governor Seward after an election in which the anti-renters showed considerable voting strength, he pardoned them all on the ground that their crimes were political. The dispute was finally settled by a compromise—that is, the Van Rensselaers and the Livingstons both sold their estates, giving quit-claim deeds to the tenants for what they chose to pay, and the granting of agricultural leases for a longer term than twelve years was forbidden by the State Constitution of 1846.

This anti-rent agitation is described by Professor Johnston of Princeton in the *Cyclopædia of Political Science* as 'a reign of terror which for ten years practically suspended the operations of law and the payment of rent throughout the district.' Suppose all the land of the State had been held under similar tenures; that the controversy had lasted one hundred years; that the rents had been high; and that the Van Rensselaers and the Livingstons had had the aid of the Federal army in enforcing distraints and evictions, and in enabling them to set local opinion at defiance, what do you suppose the state of morals and manners would have been in New York by this time? What would have been the feelings of the people towards the Federal authority had the matter been finally adjusted with the strong hand, in accordance, not with the views of the people of this State, but of the landholders of South Carolina or of the district of Columbia? I am afraid they would have been terribly Irish.

I know very well the risk I run, in citing all these precedents and parallels, of seeming to justify, or at all events to palliate, Irish lawlessness. But I am not doing anything of the kind. I am trying to illustrate a somewhat trite remark which I recently made in these pages: 'that government is a very practical business, and that those succeed best in it who bring least sentiment or enthusiasm to the

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conduct of their affairs.' The government of Ireland, like the government of all other countries, is a piece of business—a very difficult piece of business, I admit—and therefore horror over Irish doings, and the natural and human desire to 'get even with' murderers and moonlighters, by denying the community which produces them something it would like much to possess, should have no influence with those who are charged with Irish government. It is only in nurseries and kindergartens that we can give offenders their exact due and withhold their toffee until they have furnished satisfactory proofs of repentance. Rulers of men have to occupy themselves mainly with the question of drying up the sources of crime, and often, in order to accomplish this, to let much crime and disorder go unwhipped of justice.

With the state of mind which cannot bear to see any concessions made to the Irish Nationalists because they are such wicked men, in which so many excellent Englishmen, whom we used to think genuine political philosophers, are now living, we are very familiar in this country. It is a state of mind which prevailed in the Republican party with regard to the South, down to the election of 1884, and found constant expression on the stump and in the newspapers in what is described, in political slang, as 'waving the bloody shirt.' It showed itself after the war in unwillingness to release the South from military rule; then in unwillingness to remove the disfranchisement of the whites or to withdraw from the carpet-bag state governments the military support without which they could not have existed for a day; and, last of all, in dread of the advent of a Democratic Federal Administration in which Southerners or 'ex-rebels' would be likely to hold office. At first the whole Republican party was more or less permeated by these ideas, but the number of those who held them gradually diminished, until in 1884 it was at last possible to elect a Democratic President. Nevertheless a great multitude witnessed the entrance into the White House of a President who is indebted for his election mainly to the States formerly in rebellion, with genuine alarm. They feared from it something dreadful, in the shape either of a violation of the rights of the freedmen, or of an assault on the credit and stability of the Federal Government. Nothing but actual experiment would have disabused them.

I am very familiar with the controversy with them, for I have taken some part in it ever since the passage of the reconstruction Acts, and I know very well how they felt, and am sometimes greatly impressed by the similarity between their arguments and those of the opponents of Irish Home Rule. One of their fixed beliefs for many years, though it is now extinct, was that Southerners were so bent on rebelling again, and were generally so prone to rebellion, that the awful consequences of their last attempt in the loss of life and property, had made absolutely no impression on them. The South-

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erner was, in fact, in their eyes, what Mr. Gladstone says the Irishman is in the eyes of some Englishmen: 'A *lusus naturæ*; that justice, common sense, moderation, national prosperity had no meaning for him; that all he could appreciate was strife and perpetual dissension.' It was for many years useless to point out to them the severity of the lesson taught by the Civil War as to the physical superiority of the North, or the necessity of peace and quiet to enable the new generation of Southerners to restore their fortunes, or even gain a livelihood. Nor was it easy to impress them with the inconsistency of arguing that it was slavery which made Southerners what they were before they went to war, and maintaining at the same time that the disappearance of slavery would produce no change in their manners, ideas, or opinions. All this they answered by pointing to speeches delivered by some fiery adorer of 'the lost cause,' to the Ku-klux outrages, to political murders, like that of Chisholm, to the building of monuments to the Confederate dead, or to some newspaper expression of reverence for Confederate nationality. In fact, for fully ten years after the close of the war the collection of Southern 'outrages' and their display before Northern audiences, was the chief work of Republican politicians. In 1876, during the Hayes-Tilden canvass, the opening speech which furnished what is called 'the key-note of the campaign' was made by Mr. Wheeler, the Republican candidate for the Vice-presidency, and his advice to the Vermonters, to whom it was delivered, was 'to vote as they shot,' that is, to go to the polls with the same feelings and aims as those with which they enlisted in the war.

I need hardly tell the English readers how all this has ended. The withdrawal of the Federal troops from the South by President Hayes, and the consequent complete restoration of the State Governments to the discontented whites, have fully justified the expectations of those who maintained that it is no less true in politics than in physics, that if you remove what you see to be the cause, the effect will surely disappear. It is true, at least in the Western world, that if you give communities in a reasonable degree the management of their own affairs, the love of material comfort and prosperity which is now so strong among all civilised, and even partially civilised men, is sure in the long run to do the work of creating and maintaining order; or, as Mr. Gladstone has expressed it, in setting up a government, 'the best and surest foundation we can find to build on is the foundation afforded by the affections, the convictions, and the will of men.'

E. L. GODKIN.

New York: May, 1886.

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THE LION'S SHARE OF THE WORLD'S TRADE.

A Reply to Lord Penzance.

Under the heading 'The Free Trade Idolatry,' in the March and April numbers of this Review Lord Penzance makes an attack on 'Free Imports,' that feature of our fiscal system which distinguishes it from those of all the other great trading nations.

Lord Penzance starts with the complaint that many who call themselves Liberals, who question every principle of political or social economy hitherto accepted as sound by the Liberal party. should so stoutly refuse to examine 'Free Trade.' Who can these Liberals be? During the late general election there was hardly a platform in Great Britain from which the question was not discussed with more or less intelligence, while the press has for the last few years teemed with controversial letters and articles on the subject. Lord Penzance may possibly have in his mind the appointment of the present Trade Commission, and the refusal of several eminent Liberals to sit thereon, as well as the attitude of the Liberal party generally towards it. The Liberal party, however, rightly or wrongly, looked upon the appointment of that Commission as an electioneering device, and for all other purposes little better than useless. As to the eventual outcome of any inquiry with regard to the principle they are said to idolise, Free Traders have never had the slightest apprehension.

Lord Penzance then plunges *in medias res* and makes a quotation from Mr. Mulhall's *Balance Sheet of the World*, in which it is stated that between 1870 and 1880 the industries of all nations show an advance of 22¼ per cent.; regarding which Mr. Mulhall writes:—

> At present Great Britain holds the foremost place, but the United States will probably pass us in the next decade. Europe, in the meantime, is losing weight in the balance of labour. This is due not only to the rise of the United States, but also to that of the British colonies, which are already assuming the importance of kingdoms.

Lord Penzance remarks concerning this:—

> Surely here is food for reflection. Who is it that overtakes and threatens to pass us in the race? Why, the very community that has carried the principle of Protection twice as far as any other nation—I mean the United States—while our own colonies are fast following in her footsteps.

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A moment's reflection serves to dissipate the vague apprehension which such a remark is apt at first sight to create. Mr. Mulhall, in the passage quoted (pp. 2 and 3), is speaking of sums total, without reference to the numbers of the respective populations.

Is it reasonable to suppose that in 1890 the industries of our thirty-eight millions will rival in amount those of sixty-three millions of our energetic cousins, helped as these are by the enterprise and capital of the old country? As to any argument in favour of Protection to be drawn from 'reflection' on such facts, that is simply absurd. Lord Penzance considers it to be food for reflection also that we stand alone in the wide world after forty years' display of the benefits of 'Free Trade,' as we call it; the other great nations, who have heard our arguments, watched our celebrated system of 'Free Imports' for nearly half a century, deliberately declining to adopt it; and he asks, 'Are we, then, so much wiser than the rest of the world?'

Anyone unacquainted with the facts, and studying the subject for the first time, would gather the impression that 'our celebrated system of Free Imports' had proved a failure, and that Protection had in some way triumphed. But what are the facts? It is true that we stand alone in the wide world of commerce, but where? Why, at the very head of the nations! In the international race there is not even a good second to us. There is not a nation that approaches us in the money value of our foreign commerce within hundreds of millions sterling; there is not one that does half as much as we do; while, if we reckon per head of population, the difference between us and them becomes still more striking.

The following table shows the figures relating to Great Britain and our three great rivals for 1884:—

	Imports and exports £	Per head of population £ s. d.
Great Britain . . .	685,985,000	19 0 0
France	303,040,000	7 18 0
Germany	323,285,000	6 17 6
United States . . .	290,138,000	5 3 3

The table, so far as it goes, speaks for itself, but there are other things which must also be taken into account before we can form anything like an adequate notion of the position in which the one Free-Trading nation stands relatively towards her Protectionist rivals and the rest of the world. Our position is simply unique. We possess more than half of the effective ocean tonnage of the world, and we have managed to make the rest of mankind indebted to us to some 1,500 or 2,000 millions sterling, from which we draw an annual tribute of from 60 to 80 millions. It must be remembered, moreover, that most, if not all, of this marvellous achievement has been effected under that system of 'Free Imports' which Lord Penzance assumes to be so disastrous. Surely, with such results

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before us, we may answer his question, 'Are we really, then, wiser than the rest of the world?' by an emphatic 'Yes!'

It is true that in some respects our commerce is threatened, and, in view of the competition which is daily becoming more severe, it behoves us, as Lord Penzance says, to do what the sailor does when it comes on to blow, that is, to look after his tackle. It is this consideration, he says, which has led him to ask himself whether we can safely rely upon the abstract principle of 'Free Imports' in our international dealings, as stated, for example, in Mr. Mongredien's *Pleas for Protection Examined*: '"Free Trade" does not allow of any import duties being imposed on such articles as are likewise produced at home.'

Lord Penzance says rightly that, 'if the principle be sound, it settles the question for all species of goods, and if it be not sound, then, and not till then, will arise the question whether any, and if any which, of our imports should be taxed.'

This system of 'Free Imports,' he says, 'may be a good thing, or it may not, but it is not *the* thing that the national judgment approved when the Corn Laws were repealed.' He bewails the fact that

> the beneficent project of 1845 reveals itself in 1885 as little better than a baseless dream. It could not be tried without the co-operation of other nations, and they have refused to co-operate. It is natural that those who laboured to erect this system, which, both in its direct and indirect effects, would have been a priceless blessing to mankind, should be loth to retrace their steps—loth to resign hope under the pitiless pressure of experience. It is fatuity to shut our eyes to the fact that what we accepted in 1845 was Free Trade—that is, a free interchange of commodities unfettered by fiscal laws—and that what we are living under in 1885 is 'Free Imports' in our own country and a commerce loaded with fetters abroad.

Assumptions similar to those on which I have already remarked run through this passage. It is assumed that our fiscal policy has been a disastrous failure, and that the priceless blessing of universal Free Trade is nothing but a baseless dream; and the conclusion is drawn that we ought, under the pitiless pressure of experience, to retrace our steps towards Protection. But the notion that our policy has been a failure is an assumption which is not only wide of the mark, but one which is the exact opposite of truth. It is assumed that in manufactures and commerce other nations by remaining protectionist, while we have been free-trading, have stolen a march on us, and have benefited at our expense. Statistics, however, those measures of facts, all tell the other way. So far as they go, they bear out to the hilt the Free Trader's contention. He maintains that, other things being equal, so long as our rivals are protectionist and we are free-trading, we have a distinct advantage in the general competition as regards cheapness of production. This proposition he holds to be in theory mathematically demonstrable, and in practice strictly conformable to fact. He appeals to such figures as those which I have already given, showing the total foreign trade of our-

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selves and of our three great rivals, and he also points to the following figures which show the shares which each of us has in the trade among the four.

Take first the market of the *United States*:—

1884.	£
Great Britain sold there goods to the value of	32,510,000
France " " "	14,169,000
Germany " " "	13,004,000

Next take that of *Germany*:—

Great Britain sold there goods to the value of	25,365,000
France " " "	12,194,000
United States " " "	6,261,000

Next take that of *France*:—

Great Britain sold there goods to the value of	24,652,000
Germany " " "	16,676,000
United States " " "	11,180,000

The lion's share of the trade in these homes of Protection falls to free-trading Great Britain, therefore, and for reasons which ought to be obvious, must continue to do so, so long as protective tariffs endure.

And now a word or two on the unfulfilled prophecies of Peel and Cobden as to other nations following in our footsteps. Their predictions were uttered during that long interval of peace which succeeded the exhausting wars which closed in 1815. When they were uttered, neither Peel nor Cobden, nor anyone else, foresaw the wars and revolutions on which the world was about to enter, the gigantic expenditure to which they would give rise, the military spirit which would be evoked, and all the other consequences which would follow, among the worst of which was the calling into existence of those protected interests whose strength forms the principal barrier to the adoption of universal Free Trade.

In 1848 the national debts of the world amounted to 1,731 millions sterling. At this moment they cannot be less than 5,000 millions, and they are increasing year by year. The raising of revenue to meet the interest on them becomes more and more difficult every day, and the statesmen who have the task on their hands are at their wits' end how to raise the required sums. Protectionist nations with vast armaments find themselves in dire straits for money to meet the constantly increasing expenses, and their rulers see no way of raising the requisite funds but by the creation of monopolies, or the imposition of customs duties. In face of such facts it is absurd to assert that Protection is the outcome of wise thought, the product of economic knowledge. In the building up of their protectionist tariffs the rulers are urged on by the interests which have grown up under the baneful system, while the ignorant people, who groan under this organised system of robbery, are com-

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forted in their afflictions by being assured that these exactions are necessary in order to protect them from the competition of the dreaded foreigner.

Neither Peel nor Cobden imagined what was going to happen, or their forecasts would have taken another shape. As to the prediction that other nations would follow us, the argument, though used, did not cover the real ground on which 'Free Imports' were recommended by them, as also by Ricardo, Villiers, and others. For a quarter of a century before we began to remit duties, we had been struggling by means of them to obtain reciprocal reductions from other nations, and we had utterly failed, and our reformers were advocates for the abolition of protective duties whether foreign nations followed us or not. They held that, whether they maintained their duties or not, it was our interest to abolish ours, and that our trade would prosper whatever they did.

That our trade did prosper is incontestable.

		£
Our exports averaged in the five years	1836–40 about	50,000,000
" " "	1841–45 "	54,000,000
" " "	1846–50 "	61,000,000
" " "	1851–55 "	89,000,000
" " "	1856–60 "	124,000,000
" " "	1881–85 "	*232,000,000*

showing a large and continuous increase as the successive instalments of Free Trade came into operation, while all subsequent statistics combine to demonstrate that a high state of prosperity has been perfectly compatible with that system of 'Free Imports' which Lord Penzance considers to have been so disastrous.

He complains that 'the very essence of the system promulgated by Cobden under the name of "Free Trade" is wanting in the practice of "Free Imports."' And he says that 'if "Free Imports" be a good thing, it must be so on very different grounds, and must be upheld by very different reasoning from that upon which the doctrine of "Free Trade" was preached and accepted.'

What does Lord Penzance mean by calling 'Free Imports' a new system? Neither in fact nor in theory is it new. It has been practised by us for over forty years, and it was advocated by Peel, Ricardo, and Gladstone before it came into operation. In one of the finest speeches he ever made, Sir Robert Peel stated his reasons for adopting a Free Trade policy, and from that time down to the present moment those reasons have held their ground.

If he studies the reasonings of these men, he will see that there is no antagonism, as he supposes there is, between 'Free Trade' and 'Free Imports.' The principle is the same in both, and is upheld by the same arguments. The Free Trader says: Get as much interchange as possible; the more you get the more you benefit yourself as well as the nation which trades with you. If trade be univer-

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sally free, that would be the state of things which would be most beneficial to the world at large. If trade be not universally free, the principal benefit will accrue to the nation whose ports are open. In the one case the greatest possible production and interchange take place, to the benefit of all parties. In the other there will be less production and interchange, but of this lessened trade the nation which keeps its ports open, while others keep theirs closed, will have a larger proportionate share than she would have if all ports were open. Thus the Free Trade doctrine arises that hostile tariffs must be met by 'Free Imports,' and in illustration of its truth one has only to look at the trade figures of the world to see how it is borne out. Lord Penzance, however, is of a totally different opinion. He thinks that the competition of the foreigner in the importation of manufactures is an injury to home production and to the employment of our dense population, because the Free Trade argument, which maintains that every import necessitates an export, is unsound in theory and false in fact; the truth being, according to him, that these importations are paid for in actual money, as may be seen by an inspection of our Board of Trade returns, in which the actual results of a system of 'Free Imports' are recorded for us.

The above is the substance of Lord Penzance's argument, which is spread over several pages. It is brimful of fallacies. In the first place he asserts that we pay for these importations in 'actual money.' But what does he mean by the term? He cannot mean bullion, for in the very next line (p. 391) to that in which he says that we pay in money he writes: 'It is plain that we do not pay by sending bullion abroad.' He thus draws a distinction between 'money' and 'bullion.' But in international dealings there is none. A nation cannot pay another nation in money except by the transmission of bullion. If bullion be not sent, no money is sent. Something else may be sent; it may be money's worth, but that is not money. The moment this is admitted, however, the 'bottom of the argument (to use Lord Penzance's own words) tumbles out.' Money's worth can consist of only two sorts of things, merchandise or securities; and if either of these be transferred to the foreigner, it constitutes the 'export' which balances the 'import.' If merchandise be taken, there can be no injury to home production and home industry in the aggregate. One sort of goods has been taken in exchange for another sort, to mutual advantage, and our shipping and foreign mercantile interests derive profits thereby. If, on the other hand, securities be taken, they must be either home or foreign ones which are on the market waiting a purchaser. If a home security be bought, the foreigner, instead of taking away the principal of what is owing to him, leaves it here, and draws an annual interest for it. Such transactions as this, however, are, comparatively speaking, very rare, and may be regarded as negligible quantities. There remains now only

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the case where some foreign security is taken off our market. But that foreign security could only have been obtained by us by means of some previous 'export' on our part, and so we come round, as we must always do, to the fact that sooner or later, directly or indirectly, an 'import' is either the cause or the effect of an 'export.' Lord Penzance, however, does not believe this.

> It is all very well (he says) to argue and show by argument that it must be so—that it is a mathematical certainty that it should be so. But calculations, even if they be mathematical, must give way to facts. . . . However the fact may be accounted for, or its existence explained, it remains a fact that every import is *not* balanced and paid for by an export of equal value. Is it true that the foreigner must be paid, and is in fact paid, by receiving British goods? I fear not. Indeed, in thinking the subject out, I am only surprised that anyone could ever have thought that it was. . . . The actual results of a system of Free Imports are recorded for us by the Board of Trade. . . . For forty years . . . the exports in no single year have equalled, or anything like equalled, the value of the imports. . . . In the year 1880 the imports were in round numbers 411 millions, and the exports were 286 millions, the difference between them amounting to the vast sum of 124 millions.

These are the facts on which he relies to upset the Free Trade doctrine that every import is either the cause or the effect of an export. Let us see how they support him. In the first place the Board of Trade returns do not contain all the actual results of our trade, but only some of them. They contain the records of the imports and exports of certain goods, which are noted at our custom houses. But we have 'exports' of which no record whatever is officially made. It is in the use of the term 'exports' that Lord Penzance and other Protectionist writers involve themselves in fallacies. They seem to think that an 'export' must necessarily consist of some material thing, and that it must also appear in the trade returns. This is an error. There are exports which are material things, but which do not appear in the returns, such, for instance, as the ships we sell to the foreigner, and the ships we sail on our own account. With regard to these latter, as ships are perishable things, a large percentage of their value becomes every year an 'export' which must be recouped in what they earn in freight, in addition to the interest on capital and other profits which the owners receive. Then there are 'exports' which are made up of labour only, and which, as they are not combined with any material, cannot possibly appear in the returns. These consist of what is earned by the labour of our merchants and bankers, and the clerks and other workers in their employ, in doing business for the foreigner. Let us consider for a moment what this may be. Take, for instance, what comes to us in this way in connection with the payment to us of interest on our foreign investments, and the payment of the Indian home charges. Together these cannot be less than from fifty to seventy millions sterling per annum, the greater portion of which has to be found in gold, in London, at the expense of the foreigner. Do the people who so

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fluently write about imports and exports know what such a fact as this implies? These seventy millions or so come to us, not in the shape of money, but in that of commodities, and a sufficient quantity of them must be sent here not only to realise this net sum, and to pay in full everyone who is entitled to a share of it, but also to cover the expenses of freight, dock dues, warehousing, marketing, and a host of other charges. All these items consist of labour and material, and are 'exports' which, although they do not appear in the Board of Trade returns, are as much 'exports,' and have to be reckoned for in our international settlements, as much as steel rails or cotton goods. Many millions per annum must come to us in this way.

But, it may be asked here, how about the interest on our foreign investments and the Indian home charges; how are the goods which come to us on this account balanced by corresponding exports? As to the Indian charges, they are the direct and immediate result of our exports in the shape of labour and material. We export to India the labour of soldiers, sailors, and civilians, and a vast amount of warlike material; while we do a large amount of work here at the India Office, for all which India has to pay—something like fifteen to twenty millions a year. All these items are 'exports,' yet they do not appear in the returns. And now, lastly, as to the interest on our foreign investments. They are no exception whatever to the rest of our 'imports,' as the Protectionist fondly imagines. They are simply the results of 'exports' made by us in previous years, in the shape of labour and material, by way of loans bearing interest, which interest must be paid to us annually until the principal is redeemed; and the absence of any simultaneous export to balance them in no way invalidates the Free Trade doctrine that every import necessitates an export.

And now a few words as to another fallacy connected with 'exports.' Lord Penzance seems to think that an 'export' is a good thing in itself, an end and not a means. This is an error. We, as a nation, go to the expense of making and exporting certain things for the sake of obtaining certain other things which we can get in no other way. If we could get these other things without the labour and expense of making and exporting goods, we should be richer to the extent to which we could do so. This is exactly our position with respect to those imports which come to us as interest on our foreign investments. We have no occasion to export now in order to pay for them, because we did all that in former years, and got no return for them at the time, they being loans to foreign countries, and to our colonies. It is absurd to suppose, as Lord Penzance does, that this is a national loss, and that the bottom of the Free Trade argument is thereby knocked out. So far from that being the case, it is Lord Penzance's argument from which the bottom, if it ever had one, is knocked out. The fact that the imports which come to us as interest on our foreign investments are not balanced now by

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corresponding exports is proof positive of the Free Trade contention that sooner or later, directly or indirectly, every import necessitates an export. With regard to these particular imports, we, as a nation, are in a similar position to a man who has lent another 1,000*l.*, say at five per cent. Does the lender, when the half-year comes round, and he claims his 25*l.* of interest, take in his hand 25*l.* worth of something or other, and transfer it to his debtor in exchange for the interest due to him? He would certainly be a lunatic if he did, and yet that is precisely what Lord Penzance would have us do, when he complains that every import is not balanced and paid for by an export of equal value.

These imports are net gain to us because, first, we have no need to go to any expense in paying for them, either in money or in goods; and, secondly, because they stimulate and reward British labour from the day they leave the foreign shore to the time when they are finally distributed among our people and consumed. They contribute freight to our shipping, dues to our docks, warehouses, and railways, and to everybody who has the handling of them. They go to pay rents, rates, taxes, and wages, and, as before said, they stimulate and reward British labour. To look upon them as detrimental to our interests is to believe the height of absurdity, and to betray an ignorance of the very rudiments of political economy.

Lord Penzance talks of taxing foreign imported manufactures in some discriminating manner which it is not necessary now to discuss. It is difficult to gather from what he says whether he would tax to the extent of excluding them. If they be taxed but not excluded, what will be done will be to raise some revenue in an objectionable and unjust manner, to cause some decrease in our importations with a corresponding decrease in our exportations, but to leave what he considers a grave evil unredressed. If he were consistent, he should advocate their exclusion; but that is what he does not do. All that he proposes is to tax them. But, as experience shows, taxing imports does not keep them out. The United States tariff is the highest in the world, one almost prohibitory, yet in 1884 Great Britain sold in her markets thirty-two million pounds' worth of goods, three-fourths of which at least were manufactures which it was the object of the tariff to exclude.

Lord Penzance and others may say that in taxing these imports the object is twofold: first, to discourage the import of manufactures and to encourage that of raw material; and, secondly, to endeavour to break down the hostile tariffs of Protectionist nations. A distinction is thus drawn between manufactures and raw materials. Economically speaking, none can be drawn. The finished product of one manufacture is the raw material of another. It is hardly possible to name any article we import which is not the product of some previous labour, and also the material or the means of some further labour, and therefore, any discrimination in regard to them would be absurd and futile. As to breaking down hostile tariffs by the imposition

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of retaliatory duties, that was tried half a century ago under more favourable conditions than now exist, and it proved an utter failure.

But to what end are we to break down hostile tariffs? Lord Penzance is a disbeliever in the Free Trade dictum that every import necessitates a corresponding export. An inspection of our Board of Trade returns has convinced him that it is unsound in theory and false in fact. In one passage he asks: 'Is it true that the foreigner must be paid, and is in fact paid, by receiving British goods? I fear not. Indeed, I am only surprised that anyone could ever have thought that it was.' And in another passage he goes so far as to say: 'An import of French goods into this country cannot of itself, therefore [for reasons he gives], as it seems to me, bring about an export from this country of the like value, or of any value at all.' Any attempt at reasoning on this involves us in the grossest absurdities. If it be untrue that every import necessitates an export, in what does the 'priceless blessing' of Free Trade consist? Or does Lord Penzance hold that it is untrue only under 'Free Imports,' but not under 'Free Trade'? And, if so, what makes the difference? To ordinary understandings it would seem that if under 'Free Imports' French or other goods come here and no return 'of any value at all' has to be made for them, while under Free Trade value would have to be given, 'Free Imports' must be the 'priceless blessing,' and not 'Free Trade,' and that we had better adhere to our present system.

Passing from this region of absurdity, let us now consider whether taxing imported manufactures would help our producers. The gravamen of the complaint against these imports is that they injure home production and deprive our population of employment, and the cure for the evil is supposed to be the levying of protective duties on them. As I have endeavoured to show, the complaint is not true. But, if it were, how would the imposition of duties help us? It is impossible to do more than partially exclude them. To do that, however, would be to create greater evils than those we destroy. If the foreigner be hindered from selling in our market, he cannot possibly buy in it, for it is his goods which constitute his purchasing power. The trade between us and the rest of the world would suffer, production all round would be less, and, as we are the great carrying nation, we should be the greatest sufferers. But this is not all. The foreigner, *ex hypothesi*, is in certain things underselling us in our own market. If he be driven from it, is it likely that he would sit down quietly? Would he not turn to neutral markets and undersell us there? If we cannot meet him in our home market to which there is no cost of carriage, how can we do so in foreign markets to which cost of carriage has to be reckoned? How, I ask, can the imposition of duties on imports help us in the general competition?

Do we require any help? We have not far to go for an

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answer to this question. On the one hand we have Great Britain with her open ports, and on the other great Protectionist nations like France, Germany, and the United States, with their more or less prohibitory tariffs. Let us see how the rival systems work. In 1880 our manufactures were imported into these protected markets respectively as follows—12, 14, and 24½ millions' worth; while, on the other hand, they exported to us, respectively, 23, 4½, and 2½ millions' worth. These figures are highly instructive. Under our system of 'Free Imports' we injured the foreigner, according to Lord Penzance, to the extent of fifty millions, while, under their Protectionist *régime*, they injured us in return to the extent of only thirty millions; and we find that it is the nation with the highest tariff which succeeds least against us. It is clear, therefore, that if the exclusion of foreign manufactures be the end at which we should aim, the best way of attaining it is by means of that very system of 'Free Imports' which we adopt, but which Lord Penzance decries.

I now pass on to the contents of Lord Penzance's second article. He commences with a discussion as to whether the 'vast progress and prosperity' which the nation experienced after the abolition of the Corn Laws, and the removal of the duties on foreign goods which followed, was owing to those measures.

> Worshippers of 'Free Imports' (he says) quietly lay claim to its having been the cause as a matter of course. 'Free Imports' were established in 1846 and the following years, and trade revived and prosperity set in just about the same time—the one must surely have been the cause of the other.

Popular orators and great statesmen, he says also, have fallen into the fallacies of this *cum hoc propter hoc* argument.

Now it is quite true that in oratorical flights, and even in sober argument, too much has at times been attributed to Free Trade by men who, seeing the prosperity which was its accompaniment, hastily supposed that it was the sole efficient cause. But, though it was not the sole cause, it was one of the causes. Railways, ocean steam, telegraphs, gold discoveries, and other things were also at work. All that Free Trade did, or could do, was to give free play to our energies in making use of them. That we have utilised them to good purpose is written in history.

All the agencies I have mentioned were at the command of other nations. Why was it, I ask, that they did not make use of them as much or as quickly as we did? There is only one answer in my opinion to this question, and that is, because their energies were cramped by Protection, while ours were liberated by Free Trade.

Enthusiastic Free Traders may easily be pardoned, therefore, for attributing too much to their 'idol,' as Lord Penzance calls it, but nobody can deny that the greatest commercial pre-eminence which has ever been enjoyed by any nation has been attained by us during the reign of Free Imports.

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Lord Penzance, however, is an utter disbeliever in 'Free Imports' being in any way an efficient cause in the building up of our commercial prosperity.

If the system of 'Free Imports' (says he) is really the cause of our prosperity, we alone ought to have experienced that prosperity, and other nations, who repudiate that system, ought not to have experienced the like. But here is the remarkable fact. The *progress of other nations in wealth and prosperity during the last fifty years has not only equalled, but has exceeded, our own.*

The italics are his lordship's. He then proceeds:—

In making this assertion of a fact to which public attention is rarely drawn in this country when 'Free Trade' is discussed, and which is all-important in that discussion, I wish at once to give my authority. In the volume entitled *The Progress of the World*, by Mr. Mulhall, I find (at page 45) this passage. Speaking of the whole world, he says: 'In the last fifty years commerce has grown twelve times faster than population, having multiplied eightfold, as follows;' and he then gives the figures and the rate of increase for each country separately:—

The commerce of the United Kingdom has increased	7-fold
The British Colonies	14½ „
France	9 „
Germany	8 „
The Low Countries	9 „
The United States	6½ „
Austria	13 „
Russia	5½ „
South America	7 „
Italy	9 „
Scandinavia	8 „
Spain and Portugal	3½ „
Turkey and the East	6 „

And then, adding the figures together, he brings out the progress of the whole world at eightfold. So that the advance of this country, which was only sevenfold, is rather below than above that of the rest of the world.

Lord Penzance appeals to the figures given to show that the progress of other nations in wealth and prosperity during the last fifty years has not only equalled, but has exceeded, our own. If he supposes that the figures of Mr. Mulhall which he gives bear out this assertion, he must be one of the most simple-minded of men. Without other columns of figures showing the amounts of the trade done at the two dates chosen, 1830 and 1878, the figures he gives, which only tell us certain proportions, are absolutely worthless for comparison. In all such cases we must have actual amounts as well as proportions, or percentages. In the figures given the commerce of Great Britain is said to have increased sevenfold, and that of Austria thirteenfold. Are we to understand that both countries started from the same figure? If not, the seven and the thirteen signify two very different quantities; they have no common denominator; and therefore they convey a false impression.

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On turning to Mr. Mulhall's table, I find that Lord Penzance has omitted two columns of figures showing the trade done by the several countries in 1830 and 1878. I append the table as given in the book:

	1830	1878	Increase
	£	£	
United Kingdom . .	88,000,000	601,000,000	7-fold
British Colonies . .	21,000,000	322,000,000	14½
France	42,000,000	368,000,000	9
Germany	39,000,000	319,000,000	8
Low Countries . .	30,000,000	275,000,000	9
United States . . .	35,000,000	225,000,000	6½
Austria	12,000,000	160,000,000	13
Russia	24,000,000	128,000,000	5½
South America . .	14,000,000	101,000,000	7
Italy	11,000,000	98,000,000	9
Scandinavia . . .	8,000,000	66,000,000	8
Spain and Portugal . .	11,000,000	39,000,000	3½
Turkey and the East .	15,000,000	85,000,000	6
	350,000,000	2,787,000,000	8-fold

An inspection of the table demonstrates the absurdity of the supposition that the figures show that our progress in wealth and commerce has been surpassed by other nations. Mr. Mulhall himself would be one of those most surprised to learn that any such deduction could be drawn. Great Britain, for instance, starts with a commerce of 88 millions which she increases to 601 millions, having added 513 millions to it. Austria starts with 12 millions and ends with 160 millions, having increased only 148 millions; and yet we are to believe that she has progressed nearly twice as fast as we have!

But, assuming for a moment that these figures show that Protectionist nations have progressed in wealth and commerce faster than free-importing England, does Lord Penzance suppose that such a fact settles the question between the two opposing fiscal systems? It does nothing of the kind. The question is not whether the commerce of other nations increases faster, or slower, than ours, for countries vary infinitely in their material resources, and in the physical and moral qualities of their inhabitants, but whether by the adoption of a policy of Protection we should have done better in the past, or should do better in the future. It is on this point that argument and proof are wanting, and until we get them the nation will, I think, be content with the system under which they live, and under which, in fact, such marvellous results have been achieved.

Lord Penzance thinks that his statements and arguments up to this point have established two propositions—first, that it is a delusion to imagine that by increasing our imports we are necessarily and inevitably securing an increase of a similar character to the exports; secondly, that as other countries which have adopted Protection have equalled or surpassed us in prosperity, our prosperity is not to be

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attributed to the 'Free Import' system. 'I conceive,' he says, 'that in the establishment of these two propositions the two main supports of a system of 'Free Imports' are withdrawn.' Whether he has done so or not I am content to leave to the judgment of the reader.

Lord Penzance, having as he imagines overthrown the 'Free Import' system, proceeds to inquire what are the benefits which it confers upon the community. All that he can see is that these are 'cheapness, and nothing but cheapness.' He then enters into a long argument as to the comparative value to the working population of cheapness on the one side, and employment and improved wages on the other, into which, consideration of the space at my command forbids my closely following him. His leading idea seems to be that 'cheapness,' whatever he may mean by the term, is incompatible with full employment for our people, whereas 'dearness' is the best means of providing markets for our productions.

'Cheapness' and 'dearness,' however, in this connection, mean that in the one case the State does not interfere between producer and consumer in order to raise the price of any commodity by means of duties, while in the other it does so. Lord Penzance thinks that by means of Free Imports foreign competition invades our markets and deprives our workers of their employment, and he gives an illustration of his argument. He takes the case of a pianoforte which cannot be made here for less than 30*l.*, while it can be made in France and imported and sold here for 27*l.* The gain to the consumer would thus be 3*l.*, but the loss in wages to those who make a similar article here would probably be one half the price, say 13*l.* or 14*l.* 'But,' he continues, 'it may be said that he has got his labour unsold and may sell it to some one else. Just so; but this is precisely what he *cannot* do. . . . His labour then remains unsold, and if so his loss and the loss to the community is measured by the value of it.'

This is not true. The community does not suffer, the pianoforte-maker may, but some other worker profits. What will the Frenchman do with the 27*l.*, the price of his piano? Lord Penzance leaves that entirely out of account. He does so, doubtless, on the strength of that wonderful conclusion of his in his first article, that an import of goods into this country 'need not bring about an export therefrom of the like value, or of any value at all.' The truth is that something or other to the value of 27*l.* must eventually be exported, or the Frenchman will have given the community that sum. He will take something which must come under one of these three heads—merchandise, bullion, or securities—and in any case he will stimulate British labour. It is true that the pianoforte-maker suffers, temporarily at least, but his individual interest cannot be allowed to prevail against that of the community. He enjoys the benefits every day of his life of free competition, and he, like every other worker, carries on his trade subject to that condition. The food he eats, the clothes

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he wears, the house he lives in, are all cheapened thereby. Others have suffered, and he has enjoyed the blessings which have come from their sufferings. As to inability to turn to other work when his own fails, that is a difficulty which must be met and overcome. We have an instance of what can be done in this way in the men of Coventry. The trade of Coventry in ribbons failed, the fashion changed, and the town was apparently ruined. Protectionists, Fair Traders, and others of Lord Penzance's way of thinking, advocated the imposition of duties. No, said the hard-hearted economists and Free Trade idolaters, if the ribbon trade of Coventry cannot be carried on except by such means, let it perish, and let the workers turn to something else. Of course no duties were imposed, and what took place? Coventry, instead of making ribbons, makes bicycles and tricycles, and does a roaring trade in supplying the world with them.

By acting on this principle we establish a number of vigorous self-sustaining industries instead of a lot of weak and coddled ones. Compare the state of Coventry with that of Lyons, and St. Etienne in France, where the system Lord Penzance advocates is allowed full play. There has just been presented to Parliament 'Extracts from two Reports of a Commission of Inquiry into the Depression of Trade in France, 1884–5.' Is Lord Penzance aware that there is a depression of trade in France and other countries besides our own? There is not one word, I believe, in his whole attack which gives the faintest intimation of any such knowledge on his part! What does that Report say? It tells us that the principal industry of St. Etienne is silk ribbons—the same as in Coventry—that it used to employ 40,000 artisans, but now only 30,000, about 7,000 out of this diminution belonging to the silk manufactures. It tells us also that the export of silk goods, which used to be sixty millions of francs, is now but fifteen millions, while as to wages it says that the diminution has been something extraordinary. Men who were in the habit of earning four francs a day can now command no more than 1 fr. 25 c. How is this? The Report says the manufacturers of St. Etienne have to pay a duty on the cotton yarns which enter into their wares, and they are thus unable to compete with other countries! What greater proof of the virtues of 'Free Imports' and the vices of Protection could be given than the cases of Coventry in England, and St. Etienne in France?

I now come to that portion of Lord Penzance's article which touches on the project entertained by Fair Traders of imposing discriminating duties in favour of our colonies, and dependencies, and against foreign nations. He does not feel himself competent to uphold or condemn what he calls 'this great project,' but he cannot help being fascinated, nor his imagination being dazzled, at the possibility of thus 'binding in the ties of a common interest those who are already bound together in the lasting ties of race, and

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enlarging the narrow limits of the British Isles by the wide lands of every clime that lies under the British Crown.'

Coming down, however, from the realms of the imagination to the prosaic region of fact, the proposed new colonial policy involves the following considerations among others:—We should seriously and disastrously restrict our trade. Three-fourths of our commerce is done with foreign nations, one-fourth with our colonies. We should reduce production everywhere, for we should divert capital and labour from where it is most efficient to where it is less so.[1] Our best customer is the United States. She supplies us with 42 per cent. of our wheat and 66 per cent. of our flour imports, and sends us 28 per cent. of our total food-supply. If we crippled her agriculture by discriminating duties, the effects might be very serious in many respects. She might retaliate by discriminating duties against our products, or, giving up growing food for us, her people might take to manufactures and shipping, and invade us in our vital interests. Years ago we taxed Saxon wheat; Saxony turned to manufactures, and is now one of our formidable competitors. Do we wish the lesson repeated? If, notwithstanding our former experience, we put on these discriminating duties, we must tax food, and so raise its price, which would throw the burden on those of our population least able to bear it. Lord Penzance talks of the Fair Traders proposing 'a tariff which would strongly tend to unite the mother country to her colonies without increasing the cost of living to the wage-earning classes. . . . But their labour is vain so long as the idol of "Free Imports" is worshipped in the land.' The thing, however, is a sheer impossibility. Two factors would combine to raise the price, the tax levied, and the change from the present cheaper fields of production to others which are dearer. But this is not all. Let us suppose that after a while other nations, seeing the error of their ways, abolish their protective tariffs, and offer to trade with us on the basis of Free Trade—let us say the United States. In what a position we should find ourselves; in what a position would a colony like Canada find itself! How should we act in such case? Should we throw the colonies over under the temptation of a vastly increased trade with the States, break our plighted faith, and send the deluded colonists back into the cold? These are questions which we Free Trade idolaters are not capable of answering, we can only leave them to our opponents. The truth is that no more wildly absurd project ever entered the mind of man than this one of fostering British and colonial trade by means of discriminating duties.

Lord Penzance says he is one of those who approach this subject of 'Free Imports' with an earnest desire to arrive at the truth. He asks 'Free Importers' this question:—'How and in what direction this

[1] For these and other figures I am indebted to Sir Thomas Farrer's *Free Trade versus Fair Trade*, 1885.

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country is compensated under their system of taxation for the losses inflicted on our working classes by the import of foreign manufactures.' I ask in turn, what losses? The community suffers no loss, as I have already shown, by these foreign imports; if some workers suffer, others gain, and the community is benefited. No compensation, therefore, is required, for there is no loss to be compensated. When foreigners invade our market by offering us something cheaper than we can make it ourselves, they involuntarily do us a service; they call our attention to some defect on our part, in our machinery, our methods, or what not. They give us a valuable warning. To prevent the entry of their goods by taxing them will drive them from our home market, but it will not prevent their competing with us in neutral markets; it will stimulate them to do so. *Ex hypothesi* they work cheaper than we do, and unless we also cheapen our products they will undersell us. Whether we like the process or not, we shall have to cheapen sooner or later, and if so why not do it at once? To suppose that by taxing foreign imports foreign competition will be killed, and home labour stimulated, is an idea compared with which that of taking a pill to ward off the danger of a threatened earthquake is sanity itself.

The principle which underlies 'Free Imports' is that which prevails throughout Nature in providing for the survival of the fittest. It favours no man, or trade, at the expense of another. It does not interfere between producer and consumer, or between buyer and seller, for it looks on such interference as an act of injustice to one or the other, and as doing a damage to the community. If, for instance, by means of a duty on imported boots, a bootmaker is enabled to obtain from home buyers a higher price for his boots than he would otherwise get, the community is mulcted for the benefit of the bootmaker; the increase in the price is transferred from their pockets to his. What justice is there in that? The buyer of the boots must also produce something before he can pay for them. Why should he be taxed for the benefit of the bootmaker? He also is a producer, and unless his particular manufacture is also protected he is defrauded by the arrangement. In order to do justice to him, his trade must also be protected, and every other trade must be protected. But when this is done, of what benefit is all this to the community? Everybody will be protected against everybody else; there will be constant jealousies and contests respecting the amount of protection to which each interest will think itself entitled; and there will be a host of officials created to carry out the *régime*, who will simply live at the expense of the community; and a number of other evils will come into being—all which is avoided by the simple and effective means of leaving people at liberty to buy and sell just where their own individual interest leads them to do so. 'Free Imports,' in fine, means the maximum of production at the minimum of cost, and, as a consequence, the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

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Concluding his article, Lord Penzance offers five propositions as worthy of discussion:—

1. That the question of duty or no duty on any import is a separate question for each import, and cannot be rightly answered by the application of any general rule.

2. That no duty should be imposed save for the purpose of revenue.

3. That in selecting the articles upon which duties should be imposed it is advantageous to the community, *cæteris paribus*, that the duty should fall on any article in which the foreigner competes in our markets with the labour and skill of our own people.

4. That it may be desirable, if practicable, so to regulate our tariff as to favour the productions of our own colonies and dependencies in comparison with those of foreign countries.

5. That the rule prohibiting the imposition of a duty on any foreign article the like of which is produced at home, which now goes by the name of 'Free Trade,' has no good reason for its support, and was only adopted by this country as our part of that system of free and unfettered interchange of commodities which it offered to the rest of the world, an offer which, after the lapse of forty years, has never been accepted, and a system, in consequence, which has never existed.

These propositions are very remarkable. In No. 1 Lord Penzance says that as regards duty or no duty on any import there can be no general rule, yet in No. 2 he sets up the general rule that no duty is to be imposed save for the purpose of revenue. If so—that is, if protection is not to be the object as well—the duty must be levied on articles which we do not make, and in which, therefore, the foreigner does not compete with us. But this is precisely the *régime* under which we are living—that system of 'Free Imports' which Lord Penzance condemns. He is, apparently, unaware of what constitutes the difference between a tariff for revenue only, and one which is protective. Duties for revenue only are levied on such articles as we do not make ourselves, always excepting those on which at the same time an excise is levied—which carries out the non-protective principle. Protective duties, on the other hand, are those which might be levied on articles similar to those we make at home, and which therefore compete with our own productions. If Lord Penzance had borne this distinction in mind, he would not have penned the contradictory and mutually destructive propositions contained in Nos. 2 and 3. It is impossible to carry out No. 2 without setting aside the directions in No. 3, while it is impossible to act on No. 3 without violating the principle contained in No. 2.

With regard to No. 4, which inculcates a new fiscal colonial policy, I have sufficiently dealt with the subject, and we may dismiss it as an impracticable dream.

I now come to No. 5, which is the last paragraph in the article. Lord Penzance says therein that our so-called 'Free Trade' system has no good reason for its support. This, under any circumstances, would be a bold assertion, but it is an especially bold one when we apply the slightest consideration to the facts which abound on every

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side, and which directly contradict it. I have written to but little purpose if the reader has not been able to gather many good reasons for cherishing that system under which we have enjoyed a prosperity unexampled in the world's history. The fact that among the nations we are first, and by far the foremost, in trade, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, is one which in itself is most striking, and one which in reasonable minds leads to inquiry respecting the means by which such a supremacy as ours has been attained, and begets a predisposition to look with favour on any methods we may have adopted. When we do inquire, we find that between us and other nations there is in our fiscal system one feature which distinguishes it from that of any other great nation—that is, Free Imports. On the one hand Great Britain stands alone with her Free Imports, queen of the realms of commerce; on the other, grouped together we see other great nations with Protection as their system, not one of them approaching her in the magnitude of her international commerce, most of them, together with her numerous colonies, being indebted to her enterprise and her capital for the development of their resources, and owing her fabulous sums of money, from which she derives an annual tribute which, half a century ago, would have been deemed a potentiality beyond the wildest dream of avarice. To Lord Penzance and other Protectionists, however, all this goes for nothing. Free Traders are termed idolaters, and are accused of bringing their country to ruin.

Lord Penzance says that we were deluded into 'Free Imports.' Well, be it so. We have been deluded at any rate into a very good position, a position which is the admiration and envy of the world. The only possible reason for quarrelling with it is the supposition that by the adoption of a contrary policy we could have done better. But the onus of proving that lies on our opponents. Until they do that, we may rest content where we are—far ahead of any other nation.

And now, in conclusion, let me say a few words as to the general depression. It is not to be attributed to 'Free Imports' or to Protection. It is universal, and it differs from every other depression within living memory. Apart from any natural reaction from a previous inflation, there is one feature which distinguishes it from them all. That feature is the general fall in prices which has been going on for the last dozen years, and has been a disturbing element, an object of perplexity, and a source of loss to almost everyone engaged in commerce. Three concurrent causes have helped to produce it: (1) the opening up of new fields of production in agriculture and in mining; (2) the improvement and cheapening of processes in manufactures, and the facilitation of intercommunication by railways, and telegraphs; (3) the scarcity of gold. Up to a certain point producers and capitalists were the only sufferers from all this, while the wage-earning classes

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largely benefited; for money wages were maintained while the prices of commodities were falling. At last, however, the fall has extended to money wages. Like every other commodity, labour is subject to the laws of supply and demand, among which are those which govern the relation between the precious metals in the shape of money, and other commodities; and until an adjustment is arrived at all round, we cannot hope to enjoy any general prosperity. The labour troubles which are taking place all over the world show what a painful process is going on, and should convince us that any attempts to bolster up wages by artificial means can end only in disaster.

Finally, as one who, in the language of Lord Penzance, is a Free Trade idolater, let me say a parting word. It is not by taxing foreign importations that we can keep our place in the world of commerce, and overcome foreign competition. We must do so by the extension of education among both masters and men, by endeavours to improve the suitability, the quality, and the tastefulness of our goods, and to reduce the cost of production by the study and adoption of scientific processes of which the world is daily giving some novel example. Our workpeople, moreover, must learn to exercise more than they do now the virtues of temperance and providence, in which they are sadly deficient. It is by such means alone that we as a nation shall be able to hold our own in the competition which gets keener day by day. A resort to Protection would only aggravate the evils which it was intended to cure.

GEORGE W. MEDLEY.

[NOTE.—The foregoing article was written as an answer to Lord Penzance, on behalf of the Cobden Club, and 'at the special request of its Committee.'—ED.]

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GENIUS AND PRECOCITY.

THE idea that genius reveals itself early in life does not at once recommend itself to common sense. Observation of nature as a whole suggests first of all perhaps that her choicer and more costly gifts are the result of a long process of preparation. And, however this be, there is certainly more of moral suggestiveness in the thought that intellectual distinction is the reward of a strenuous adolescence and manhood than in the supposition that it can be reached by the stripling at a bound through sheer force of native talent. And it may not improbably have been a lively perception of this ethical significance which fostered in the classic mind so widespread a disbelief in early promises of great intellectual power. We find a typical expression of this sentiment in the saying of Quintilian: 'Illud ingeniorum velut præcox genus non temere umquam pervenit ad frugem.' That is to say, the early blossom of talent is rarely followed by the fruit of great achievement.

It is evident that this saying embodies something like a general theory of the relation between rank of talent and rate of development. Where superior intellectual ability shows itself at an early date, it is of the sort that reaches its full stature early, and so never attains to the greatest height. On the other hand, genius of the finer order declares itself more slowly.

In order to estimate the soundness of this view two lines of inquiry would be necessary. We should need to ask, first of all, what proportion of those who have shown marked precocity have afterwards redeemed the promise of their youth; and, secondly, what number of those who have unquestionably obtained a place among the great, were previously distinguished by precocity.

These two lines of investigation are, however, in a measure distinct. It may turn out that a large proportion of clever children never attain to anything but mediocrity in later life, and yet that the majority of great men have been remarkable as children. Hence we may confine ourselves in the present essay to the second branch of the above inquiry, the retrogressive search for signs of precocity in the early life of those who have attained distinction.

It is to be remarked that even the limited inquiry to which we propose to confine ourselves here is a complex one. It includes, at least,

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two distinct questions, namely, first, whether men of genius have, in the majority of cases, displayed marked ability at an early age, and secondly, whether they have reached their full maturity of power and highest achievement early or late. It is specially important to distinguish these two points, because they are apt to be confused under the shifting significance of the word 'precocious.'

I shall confine myself, then, at the outset to the question how far, or in what proportion of cases, recognised intellectual eminence has been preceded by youthful distinction and superiority to others. And in order to narrow the inquiry still further, I propose to deal exclusively with those who have reached eminence in some branch of art or of literature. This will exclude those who have displayed genius in the region of practical affairs, such as the statesman, the soldier, and the ecclesiastic.

Within the boundaries thus drawn, there appear to be seven groups sufficiently distinct and important to require separate examination. These are: 1, musicians; 2, painters; 3, poets; 4, novelists; 5, scholars, including historians and critics; 6, men of science; and 7, philosophers. These classes are marked off from one another partly by differences in the materials and the form of the production, and partly by differences in the intellectual implements employed, such as observation and sensuous imagination.

As indications of precocity we shall select, first of all, any manifestations in childhood or youth of an exceptional aptitude and bent corresponding to the special direction of the later development of the genius. Thus in the case of the poet we must note such boyish characteristics as an exceptional love of poetry, a disposition to dreamy abstraction, &c. With respect to evidences of general intellectual ability, such as a high place at school or college, these will have a very different value in different domains. In the case of the musician, for example, they would have little relevance—except, indeed, so far as want of application to the prescribed course of studies might serve as negative evidence of an absorbing interest in the self-chosen study. On the other hand, in judging of the precocity of the scholar the school-reputation becomes an important ingredient of the case.

In looking out for evidence of special talent we may, in certain cases, find a number of data ready to hand. Thus, in dealing with a musician, we may consider the age at which executive skill was shown, the date of the first original composition, and, as a valuable supplement to these, the time at which music was seriously taken up as a profession. In the case of other sorts of talent such a variety of data may not be accessible.

Finally, after chronicling all indications of childish and youthful precocity, we have to record the age at which the first great work was achieved, a work that either at the time or later on came to be regarded as a title to fame.

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In conclusion, I may say that I have confined the inquiry to modern celebrities. Our knowledge of the lives of ancient writers and artists is, as a rule, too scanty to yield the required data. And even in the case of some modern men of mark, the want of a record of early years has compelled me to omit the name from my list. I have abstained, too, for obvious reasons, from including the names of living celebrities.

Taking the groups in the order indicated above, we shall, in the case of each class, look first of all for instances of remarkable precocity. We may then go on to inquire into the proportion of precocious to non-precocious members of the class.

1. *Musicians.*—The stories of the more remarkable instances of boyish musical talent, alike in execution and in composition, are probably well known to most readers, so that I may pass them over with a brief reference.

Mozart is, I believe, the true *Wunderkind* in the magical realm of music. He began to play at so infantile a period that no date is assigned. At 4 he could play minuets, in good style probably, for a year after he was exhibited in public. Early in his 5th year he composed concertos; at 11 he wrote an opera buffa, and so forth. Next to him, perhaps, comes Mendelssohn, who first played in public at the age of 9, and whose first dated work, a cantata, was written when he was 11. Beethoven tells us that he began music in his 4th year, and that at 9 he had outgrown his father's teaching. He is said to have written a cantata when 10, and it is certain that a composition for the piano (variations on 'Dressler's March') dates from this year. Schubert is another conspicuous instance of early musical development. He, too, soon outstripped his teacher, who said he had got harmony at his fingers' ends. At 11 he was sufficiently skilful with the violin to play that instrument in church, and at the same date he began to compose little songs.

The examples just cited illustrate what may be called all-round musical precocity. Others show early talent in a more restricted form of activity. A number of musicians distinguished themselves as lads by masterly execution. Meyerbeer, who as a young child could play any air he had heard, performed at a public concert at 9. Hillier did the same thing one year later. At the age of 12 Spohr played the violin in public. Mehul was installed as organist at 10.[1]

Among instances of early attempts at musical composition may be named the following. Schumann tells us that he composed before 7. Cherubini is said to have written at 9, Auber at 11, Weber at 12 (his first opera dates two years later) David at 13, Lotti and Rossini at 16, and our own Purcell at 17.

We have now to note the very early age at which a number of

[1] Two living musicians are remarkable instances of precocious executive talent: Rubinstein played the piano in public at 10, and Liszt at 12.

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eminent musicians entered on a regular curriculum of study with a view to professional life. Some of the greatest precocities, as Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, &c., having had parents either themselves musical and able to be teachers themselves, or at least sympathetic and anxious to get musical instruction for their gifted children, may almost be said to have begun their professional career from their infancy; others began to study at a very early age. Thus Weber was sent by his father (himself a musician) to be instructed, at the age of 9. Puck began to study at 12. In many cases we see the young musician's quenchless earnestness aided by the favour of influential friends, leading to an early devotion to the art, even in the teeth of parental indifference or active opposition. Handel and Haydn are striking cases in point.

I have here selected some of the more striking instances of musical precocity. But the question still remains, what proportion of eminent musicians showed marked taste and ability as children? In order to answer this question I have gone through forty names. Of these I find that thirty-eight displayed a decided bent to the art before 20. This is expressly stated in most cases, and in the rest is clearly inferred from the date of study, or of the first musical composition. The two excepted names are those of Palestrina and Tartini. Of the early life of the former little is known; but it is fairly inferrible that he took up music in his youth. Tartini is the only instance I have met with of a first impulse to music showing itself after 20. He is said to have first taken up the violin to relieve the monotony of cloister life. But the story has a suspicious touch of romance about it.

Of the thirty-eight who were precocious to the extent just defined I have ascertained that twenty-nine are said to have shown a musical gift as children. There is some reason to suppose that others betrayed musical skill towards the end of childhood (about 12). So far as I can discover, only in the case of two of the nine exceptions is there reason to conclude that there was no marked manifestation of ability in childhood. These are (an odd juxtaposition) Rossini and Wagner. The former, says Brendel, though early subjected to musical discipline by his parents, themselves musicians, showed himself at first indocile and disinclined (*abhold*) to the art. Only in his 17th year does this distaste appear to have given way to genuine devotion. R. Wagner tells us that as a child he was not specially attracted to music, and that it was only when, at the age of 15, he made the acquaintance of Beethoven's symphonies, that he became inspired by a strong and overpowering passion for the art.

The date of a first musical composition is less easily obtainable than that of a first literary publication. I have managed to ascertain it in twenty-seven instances. Out of these, ten began to compose before the age of 15, fourteen more between 15 and 20, and only three after 20.

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If, now, we go on to examine into the age at which musical composers gave a distinct pledge of their greatness by a work of undoubted excellence, or at least of such merit as to win public recognition, we find much greater diversity. In some cases of early production the quality of the work was striking in itself and apart from the age in which it was produced. This applies to some of the most marvellous instances of precocity. Thus, Mozart, after gaining renown as a wonder-child by his symphonies, sonatas, &c., proceeded rapidly to lay the foundations of a lasting fame by operatic compositions. At the age of 14 he acquired great popularity in Italy as an opera-writer, and by his 19th year had struck out his own original line in the opera *La bella finta giardiniera.* Mendelssohn was no less agile in climbing the difficult height of fame. His early creative activity has the same exuberance, the same prodigality as that of Mozart, and the quality of this early production may be seen in the fact that he was only 17½ years old when he composed the well-known overture to the *Midsummer Night's Dream.* The development of Schubert's genius exhibits a similar velocity of movement at the outset. After trying his hand at smaller compositions he essayed a symphony in his 17th year, and a few months after produced his first mass, a work, says Sir G. Grove, which is as striking an instance of early ripeness of talent as Mendelssohn's overture.

If we compare with this rapid upward movement the early course of Beethoven's genius we see a marked difference. If, says the authority just quoted, we compare what this composer had done by 22 with the abundant productivity of the three others by the same age, we have to pronounce the works to be few and unimportant. He has to show against Mozart's thirty-six symphonies only one, and against the same writer's twenty-eight operas, cantatas, and masses, nothing at all. It was not till the age of 25 that Beethoven published works of high importance (including the first three sonatas for the piano, and the song *Adelaide.* And he first attacked large compositions, quintets for strings, symphonies etc., in his 30th year.

Backwardness in original musical production is exemplified by two writers of opera, Gluck and Wagner, both of whom began as imitators of others, and only struck out a new path in middle life. Another example is Sebastian Bach, who did not compose till after 40. But perhaps the most noteworthy instance of late musical development is Haydn who, though he gained a certain limited reputation in his youth, did not divulge the secret of his great powers till towards the age of 60.

Nevertheless, in spite of these inequalities, it may be safely said that, as a rule, the great musical composers have redeemed the promise of a precocious youth with a creditable alacrity. This may be seen by a glance at the following figures. Out of thirty names selected for examination, I find that eighteen unquestionably reached emi-

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nence under 25, or twenty-two in all under 30; leaving eight who attained fame after 30. Thus about three-fifths of the illustrious names in the history of music came into possession of their full intellectual heritage on, or soon after, attaining their majority.

2. *Painters and Sculptors.*—The history of art is so rich in illustrations of precocity that it is difficult to select the best examples. Mantegna showed such marked ability as a child that he was taken up by a patron and entered by his master in the guild of painters before the completion of his 11th year. Again, Andrea del Sarto is said to have shown fondness for drawing as a child, and at the early age of 7 to have been introduced to the world of art in the shop of a goldsmith. Raffael seems to have been a painter from the cradle. He was sent to learn of Perugino when 12 years old, and at 17 was painting on his own account. Tiziano showed as a child a decided preference for art over classics, and painted at the age of 12 a Madonna and Child in the tabernacle of a house, and about two years later studied under Gentile Bellini. Tintoretto used as a child to draw on the walls of his father's house, and received the name by which he is most widely known at this early date. Hardly less striking in his precocity is Michael Angelo, who as a lad kept running off to the studios, and at 14 was received by Ghirlandajo as a regular pupil.

Turning from Italy we meet with no less interesting illustrations of artistic precocity. Murillo displayed talent as a child, covering the walls of his house with his drawings. It is said that he painted pictures as a boy and sold them at the fair. Holbein, who was taught at an early age by his father, painted finished pictures by the age of 13. Ruysdael is said to have painted notable pictures at 12. At the same age Cornelius painted original compositions in the cathedral at Neuss, which show great talent. Vernet helped when a boy to paint his father's pictures. Ary Scheffer, the son of a painter, painted from early childhood and exhibited in the Amsterdam Salon at 12.

Among sculptors, Canova is said to have carved a lion at 12. Thorwaldsen entered on a regular course of study at 11.

Coming to our own country we find instances of precocity which equal, if indeed they do not surpass, those furnished by other countries.

Perhaps the most remarkable instance is George Morland. He is said to have taken to pencil and crayon almost as soon as he left the cradle. Sketches of his made at the age of 4, 5, and 6, were exhibited to the Society of Artists, and won praise for the child-artist. Sir Thomas Lawrence was another childish marvel. As a small boy he could draw portraits, and at 9 not only copied historical paintings in a masterly style, but succeeded in compositions of his own. At 10 his childish fame was such that he was sent by his father to Oxford to paint bishops, earls, and other notabilities—an experiment which brought great gain to his impecunious parent. At 17 the period of his riper and more lasting fame commenced. With

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these instances must be reckoned Landseer, who, taught by his father, could draw well at 5, and excellently at 8. When only 13 he drew a majestic St. Bernard dog which was etched by his brother, and in the same year pictures of his appeared in the Royal Academy under the name of Master E. Landseer. Gainsborough was a confirmed painter at 12. Turner, though hampered by poverty, made such progress that he exhibited at 15. Wilkie says he could draw before he could read, and he exhibited at 14. Flaxman amused himself when a sickly child by drawing in crayons, and exhibited busts at 15.

Reference has already been made to the early age at which artists have seriously taken up art as the work of their life. In many cases this date alone sufficiently attests the presence of childish gifts. Two great Italian painters, Perugino and Tiziano, are said to have studied painting at 9. Correggio is known to have begun his studies before 13. Van Dyck was taken in hand by his father at 11. Rubens, to the distress of his mother, who was ambitious for what she deemed a higher career for her son, was sent to learn painting at 13.

Following the same method as that pursued in the case of musicians, we may now seek to give numerical precision to our investigation. I have taken fifty-eight artists consisting of painters, sculptors, and architects of whose early years I have been able to obtain any information. Of these I find that forty-two, that is to say about three out of every four, are credited with having shown a decided skill before the age of 15. Or, if we take the age of 20 as our limit, we have forty-seven, or about four out of five, instances of precocity. To this it must be added that in eight cases not included here, we are told that the artist showed talent, or attained distinction early in life. And we may perhaps safely include one half of these under the head of manifestations of talent before 20. By so doing we should raise our proportion to $\frac{5}{5}\frac{1}{8}$, or about eight out of nine.

With respect to the date of the first completed work, I have been able to collect a fair number of facts. Thus, out of forty-two cases inspected, nine produced work before 15; sixteen between 15 and 20; fifteen between 20 and 25; one between 25 and 30; and one after 30.

If now we inquire into the age at which real distinction was attained, and the firstfruits of a permanent reputation reaped, we find, in general, that this date accords with the very early indication of taste and skill. In the case of more recent artists, we have among the data which point to early eminence, the winning of academical prizes, and admissions to the walls of exhibitions. Instances of early prize-winners are Thorwaldsen, Ingres, and Wilkie. Reference has already been made to the early age at which Ary Scheffer, Morland, Turner, and Landseer succeeded in getting their works exhibited.

In many instances we know that the artist made his mark in

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youth, or very early manhood. Mantegna painted pictures of exceptional excellence at 17. Fra Angelico was a skilled artist at 20. Another early Italian artist, Orcagna, had fully established his reputation about the age of 22. Ghiberti attained notoriety by his successful design for the bronze doors about 21 or 22. Coming to later workers, we find it recorded that Leonardo painted finished pictures at 20. Michael Angelo produced great works by 19. Raffael painted fine pictures at 21. Titian became a distinguished painter at about 20. Correggio struck out his original manner about 18, and reached fame soon after 20. Holbein is known to have painted good works at the age of 15, and at 19 produced fine examples of finished portraiture. Van Dyck, too, painted exquisite portraits at 21. Rubens had made his mark by excellent work at 23. Rembrandt was famous at 24, and about the same age Velasquez won royal recognition. Vernet painted considerable works at 22. In our own country Landseer is again one of the most striking examples. By the age of 18 he had won recognition as a great artist, and had more work than he could do. Lawrence was about the same age when he established his reputation as a finished painter. Turner painted pictures at 18 which display real power. Reynolds had won a European reputation by 23, and Romney's finer work dates from about the same age.

Here again figures may be useful. Out of a list of forty-two about the date of whose attainment of fame-bringing excellence I have been able to inform myself, twenty-eight reached this point before 25; nine more before 30; and the rest soon after that date. I cannot find an instance of artistic fame having been reached after the age of 40.

A word or two may suffice respecting the few exceptions to the rule of the early manifestation and rapid growth of artistic genius. In one case, that of Ghirlandajo, we are explicitly told that distinction was not reached till after 30. In another, that of Francia, I have gone by the fact that the earliest dated work belongs to the age of 40. Perhaps the most striking example of an undoubtedly late bloom of artistic genius is that of Sir Christopher Wren. He first distingiushed himself in the realm of science (particularly mathematics and medicine), and suddenly showed himself a great architect about the age of 30.

3. *Poets.*—A goodly collection might be made of stories of famous poets who have 'lisped in numbers.' I mention a few of the more interesting cases.

Among the great Italians Tasso is perhaps the most conspicuous example. Wonderful anecdotes are related of his childish powers. In his 17th or at the latest in his 18th year he wrote *Rinaldo*, a work which instantly brought him renown. Gordoni, the comedian, showed his bent as an infant by choosing puppets for his playthings, and he astonished his friends by knocking off a sketch of a comedy at the age of 8. Metastasio as a child improvised in the streets,

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holding a crowd in admiring attention, and translated the *Iliad* at 12. The great Spanish dramatist, Calderon, is another clear instance of precocity. His development was so rapid that at the age of 13 he went to the High School at Salamanca, and at 14 wrote his first play. Among German poets, Goethe, the greatest, is also the most precocious. He is said to have composed dialogues between 6 and 8. His first poems date from the 16th year, and by 22 he sounded in his *Götz von Berlichingen* the new national note in German drama. Among French poets Alfred de Musset, who had excited the envy of his comrades at school by his quickness, composed poems at 14. Perhaps, however, the most valuable example among French poets is Victor Hugo, who was called an 'enfant sublime,' began as a schoolboy to write poems, both translations and original compositions, by 16 produced finished works of lasting value, and by 25 was the acknowledged leader of the Romantic movement.

Among our own poets one can find instances of precocity which in nowise fall behind those just quoted. Beginning with the sixteenth century we have Beaumont, who was called by Wordsworth the eager child, and who seems to have composed tragedies at the age of 12. Next comes the name of Cowley. In his 10th year he wrote an epical romance which, according to an eminent living critic, though marked by faults of immaturity, is enriched by considerable merits, and is 'the most astonishing feat of imaginative precocity on record.' He followed up this first effort so well that he was famous before 15. Coming to the last century the name of Pope at once arrests our attention. When a child he was a skilled satirist. At 12 he took upon him the responsibilities of self-tuition, and at the same age produced what have been described as the 'beautiful and touching' stanzas on *Solitude*. Of the present century poets Byron and Coleridge are the most famous examples. Byron, who was deeply in love before 10, wrote before 15 poems which bear the stamp of genius, and by 21 made himself famous by his brilliant satire, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. Coleridge was 'filled with poetry and (odd assortment) metaphysics' at 15; and at 16 he had produced poems bearing the unmistakable marks of genius.

Our poetesses do not lag far behind their brothers. At least we have two names to set against the list of male precocities. One of these, indeed—Elizabeth Barrett Browning—ranks among the phenomenal instances of early intellectual prowess. At 8 she read Homer in Greek, and at the same age began to write poetry. At 11 or 12 she wrote an epic, which her father printed. And before 15 she produced works which attest true genius.[2] Mrs. Hemans, the other poetess referred to, was a clever, self-taught child, and published a volume of poems at the age of 14.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. Leslie Stephen for some of the facts relating to Mrs. Browning.

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In order to ascertain what proportion of the world's singers gave early promise of their vocal powers, I have gone through fifty-two records of modern poets. Of these thirty-nine, that is to say three out of four, were distinctly precocious. Many of them began to versify in early youth. A large proportion betrayed as children a strong bias to dreamy contemplation and solitude. In respect of methodic learning, a good number, if not the majority, appear to have been sadly wanting.

Poets rank high, too, in the matter of early production. After going through a series of sixty names, I find that thirty-eight, or very nearly two-thirds, wrote before 20. Of the others, seventeen began to write before 30. Thus only five, that is to say, one out of every twelve, took to poetic composition after 30.

The plant of poetic genius is not only early in disclosing its young shoot, but grows rapidly to the stature that commands admiration and renown. In some cases, as that of Tasso, Goethe, Coleridge, Campbell, and Moore, recognition follows almost instantaneously. In a much larger number, including Milton, Pope, Byron, Keats, and Voltaire, fame is reached after a very few years.

After examining forty-nine cases, I find that twenty-eight, or four out of seven, won renown by the age of 25. The proportion of those who were famous by 30 is thirty-six, or more than five out of seven. Finally forty-five, or nearly thirteen out of fourteen, had attained fame before 40, leaving only four who attained this point later in life.

Turning now to our list of exceptions, it is to be observed that in some cases—*e.g.* Chaucer, Marlowe, and Corneille—the record of early life is too meagre to allow of our being sure that there were no manifestations of precocity.[3] One of our exceptions, indeed—Dante—appears to have shared with Byron a precocious development of the sexual emotion. But, allowing for uncertainties, there is a clear residue of cases in which the gift of poetic utterance revealed itself late. Camoens, Racine, Goldsmith, Cowper, Wordsworth may be cited as examples. The last two poets, together with Dryden and Dante, make up the four who missed renown till after 40. Of these, Cowper appears not to have begun to write till after that age. Dante, like Milton, passed his early manhood in the service of the State. Dryden and Wordsworth began to write when young, and so are signal examples of a long unrewarded fidelity to the muse.[4]

Novelists.—Among writers of fiction we find a number who displayed imaginative power in early life. Scott, who was at the

[3] Much the same remark applies to Shakespeare, whose first poetic effort I have set down as dating from his twenty-eighth year.

[4] The Greek and Latin poets supply several alleged instances of precocity. Living poets seem, as far as I can judge from the date of their first publication, to be somewhat below the average in this respect.

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University of Edinburgh at 12, neglecting the regular academic studies for romances, began about this date to practise the invention of stories with a college friend. Dickens is a more impressive instance still. Forced, when a child of 9, to go out into the world and earn his livelihood, he indulged his irresistible bent to fiction not only by a vivid realisation and reproduction of the creations of others, but also by original inventions, the recital of which brought the lad a high renown among his companions, and, spite of poverty, he succeeded in publishing his first novel by the age of 22. Another striking instance is Lytton, who published poems at 15 and produced his first novel by 22. Among foreign novelists we have Balzac, who, when a schoolboy, excogitated a theory of the will, and began to publish novels soon after 20, and Hoffmann, who was a marvel of boyish cleverness, and who began to write novels soon after leaving school.

Among lady novelists instances of precocity are Charlotte Brontë and her sister, who, as soon as they could read and write, began to invent and act little plays of their own. By the age of 14 Charlotte had put together a number of stories as well as poems and plays. But it was not till the age of 30 that she prepared her first considerable novel, *The Professor*. Emily, who was 2 years younger than her sister, completed her *Wuthering Heights* about the same time. Another instance is Miss Burney. As a child she was remarkable; she taught herself to read and write, and became an incessant scribbler of verse and prose. She was not much more than 15 when she planned the story of *Evelina*, though it was not actually written till some years later, and only published when she was 26.

Taking twenty-eight novelists, I find that in twenty-one cases, that is in three cases out of four, there is evidence of imaginative power showing itself before 20. Sometimes this evidence is of a curious character, as in the case of Richardson, who at the age of 13 displayed his skill in letter-writing by acting as confidential secretary to three of his girl acquaintances, inditing or correcting their answers to the epistolary effusions of their lovers.

Novelists exhibit much diversity of habit with respect to the date of their first appearance before the public. In a list of thirty-two names two published their first work before 20; seven between 20 and 25; nine between 25 and 30; seven between 30 and 40; and seven after 40. It may be observed that names of world-wide reputation appear in each group except the first. Thus Dickens and Hawthorne fall under the first of the four divisions; George Sand, Thackeray, and Victor Hugo under the second; Fielding, Goldsmith, and George Eliot under the third; and Defoe, Richardson, Sterne, Scott, and Cervantes under the last.

The date at which the first notable work appears varies in very much the same way. In a series of thirty-one names, three produce

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a work of note before 25; nine more before 30; twelve more before 40; and seven after 40.

The most remarkable examples of late development are Defoe, who after devoting the best part of his life to political polemics suddenly struck into the path of fiction at the age of 44, and only gave his *Robinson Crusoe* to the world eleven years later; Richardson, who published his first fiction when 51; Sterne, who, after passing many contented years in the seclusion of a country rectory, tried his luck as a novelist by publishing *Tristam Shandy* at the age of 46; and Cervantes, who after years of active service followed out an early impulse to letters in his 36th year, and produced his masterpiece at the mature age of 57.

5. *Scholars, Historians, Critics.*—In this rather miscellaneous group we have a number of first-rate instances of precocity. Grotius has been pronounced one of the greatest of prodigies in this respect. At 9 he wrote good Latin verses; at 12 he was ripe for the university; at 15 he was editing the encyclopædic treatise of Capella; and at 17 did excellent scholarly work. Our own Porson, the son of a parish clerk, at a very early date attracted notice by his exceptional powers of acquisition. At 9 he could extract the cube root of a number by a process of mental arithmetic. Before 15 he was able to repeat the whole of Horace, Virgil, and many parts of Livy, Cicero, &c. His productive work begun later (24). Niebuhr resembles Porson in being the son of poor parents, and having a predilection at first for mathematics. At 7 he was regarded as a marvel of boyish erudition. Among our own historians, Macaulay and Thirlwall are distinguished by precocity. Macaulay, whose extraordinary power of retention is well known, showed a decided bent towards literature as a child. Before 8 he had given a presage of his historical work by putting together a compendium of universal history. By the same date he had written a romance, and soon after composed long poems. Thirlwall is a still more wonderful example. The son of a clergyman, he was taught Latin at 3, and by 4 could read Greek with a fluency which astonished his family. He began to write at 7, and at 12 appeared before the world in a volume entitled *Primitiæ*, which contained essays, and poems on various subjects, grave and gay. Soon after 12, when at Charterhouse, he wrote elaborate letters in Latin, showing extraordinary reading and critical judgment.

If now we inquire what proportion of the class were distinguished for intellectual precocity, we reach the following results. Out of thirty-six cases, thirty, or five-sixths, are said to have been distinguished by preternatural ability, either in childhood or in early youth. So far as I can ascertain, about one-half of these betrayed at an early age the precise direction of their future mental activity. This applies, for example, to Gibbon, De Quincey, Hazlitt, and Lessing. The others either proved themselves quick all-round learners, or

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evinced exceptional intellectual strength in some other direction, *e.g.* mathematics or poetry.

It becomes a very different question if we inquire into the age at which original production commenced. Out of a list of thirty-five it would seem as if only seven—that is just one-fifth—published before 20. Eighteen more commenced their literary career between 20 and 30; four more between 30 and 40; leaving six who began to write after 40.

With respect to the age at which a position of eminence is reached, our present group shows still wider variations than the previous ones. An inspection of a series of thirty-five writers gives the following results: only seven, or one-fifth, won distinction before 25, nine more before 30: sixteen more before 40, leaving three unrewarded till after this date.

I may add that where—as often happens in the case of scholars and historians—a wide reputation is at once secured by a masterpiece, the appearance of this commonly falls in the thirties at the earliest. Niebuhr's first volume was published when he was 39: Thirlwall's when he was 38: Grote's, though conceived about 30, not till 52. On the other hand, literary critics—as Addison, Diderot, Lessing—have frequently obtained recognition by some excellent piece of work before 30.

6. *Men of Science.*—Instances of astounding precocity do not fail us when we leave the more romantic walks of art and letters for the austere region of science. Mathematical genius and original power in physical research have alike been frequently heralded by exceptional boyish endowment.

Among the greatest discoverers we have instances of juvenile distinction. Galileo showed remarkable aptitude from earliest childhood. His favourite pastime was the construction of toy machines. A passion for music did not seduce him from his supreme devotion to mathematics, and by 19 he was making important discoveries. Tycho Brahe illustrates the same early bent in a slightly different way. His devotion to astronomy had to contend, not with his own, but with other's inclinations. Sent to read law at 16, he managed after the day's studies to pursue his astronomical observations, passing whole nights in this favourite occupation. Newton, like Galileo, occupied his playhours at school with constructing model machines (water-clock, windmill, &c.) By the age of 23 or 24 he had conceived roughly his chief epoch-making discoveries. Another English investigator, Thomas Young, was a striking example of precocity. He read with fluency at 2. He showed extraordinary avidity of mind in very different directions, now busy mastering the difficulties of Oriental languages, now set on constructing a microscope for himself. His mind, unburdened with its weight of learning, was nimbly tracking out new truths in optics by the age of 29.

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Recent English biography supplies us with two of the most signal illustrations of the precocity of the mathematical mind, viz., Clerk-Maxwell and Sir William Rowan Hamilton.

Among naturalists, too, examples of well-marked, if less astonishing precocity are to be met with. Linnæus as a boy showed so decided a bent to botany that, through the advocacy of a physician who had remarked the early trait, he was saved from the shoemaker's shop, for which his father had destined him, and secured for science. At the age of 23 we find him lecturing on botany, and superintending a botanical garden, and at 28 he begins to publish his new ideas of classification. Cuvier's history is similar. A poor lad, he displayed an irresistible impulse to scientific observation, and by 29 published a work in which the central ideas of his system are set forth. Humboldt, again, showed his special scientific bent as a child. From his love of collecting and labelling plants, shells, and insects, he was known as 'the little apothecary.' At 20 he published a work giving the results of a scientific journey up the Rhine. In medicine, Haller is a notable instance of precocity.

Since science has academical and other appointments to bestow on her distinguished votaries, we may estimate the precocity of scientific men by noting the early age at which such posts have been won. Laplace was mathematical teacher at a school when a mere lad; Lagrange was professor at 18; St. Hilaire at 21; Kepler, Euler, Linnæus and Davy at 23; Cuvier at 26; Copernicus at 27; and Tycho Brahe at 28. Others have obtained academic honours at an early age; among these, Lavoisier, Lyell, and Clifford.

Following our general plan, we have to ask what proportion of eminent savants have shown signs of precocity. I find, after going through a list of thirty-six, that twenty-seven, or three-fourths, have given distinct evidence of a bent to science before 20. Of the remaining nine, five appear to have first taken to science after this age, while in the case of four the question is left doubtful.

Looking now at the age of productivity, we obtain the following results: out of a list of thirty-one, seven certainly wrote memoirs or other works under 20; fifteen gave out their first known production between 20 and 25; three began to write between 25 and 30; leaving six who, so far as I can judge, entered on the productive stage after 30.

If, again, we ask at what age fame, or the achievement which entitles to fame, is reached, we obtain the following figures. Out of a group of thirty-seven, fourteen reached this point before 25, twelve between 25 and 30; eight between 30 and 40; while three did not rise to the height of renown till after 40.

In science, as in the more serious department of letters, fame is sometimes reached suddenly by the production of a great work, the fruit of many years of study. Harvey's publication of his great dis-

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covery at the age of 50 is a case in point. It is to be remembered, however, that Harvey had expounded his theory in lectures some twelve years before this date. And the same kind of remark applies to Darwin and others who first gave to the world epoch-making truths at a somewhat advanced age; we commonly find that the actual discovery dates from a much earlier period, the promulgation of it being deferred till it was ready to be presented in a definite and verified form. The case of Franklin making his first, and this a capital scientific discovery towards the age of 50 is, so far as I can gather, exceedingly rare, if not, strictly speaking, unique.

7. *Philosophers.*—If philosophy precedes science in the historical development of the race, we need not wonder at meeting with instances of youthful speculative genius. Coleridge is not the only case of a lad of 15 having his head seething with metaphysical puzzles. But Coleridge, it may be said, never developed into an original thinker; and what we require is proof of the early manifestation of genuine philosophic originality.

Passing by the romantic story of Abelard dazzling Paris and Europe with his dialectics at the age of 20, and coming to the modern period, we note that the most conspicuous instances of philosophical precocity are supplied by the history of British philosophy. Berkeley, as his commonplace book shows, hit on his new principle of idealism at college when only 18, an instance of metaphysical audacity to which there is no parallel. His *New Theory of Vision*, perhaps the most epoch-making work in the history of psychology, appeared when the author was 24. His immediate successor, Hume, displayed speculative ability when very young, and was regarded by his mother as an 'uncommon wake-minded' lad. His *Treatise of Human Nature*, probably the work of modern times which has proved most stimulating to further inquiry, was thought out between the ages of 23 and 26. And, oddly enough, Hume's most distinguished follower, J. S. Mill, has supplied the best recent example of philosophic precocity.

Among foreign metaphysicians, the two who come nearest to the above are Leibnitz and Schelling. Leibnitz was, like Mill, a prodigy of youthful learning, and began from the age of 17 to write on a variety of subjects. His bent to philosophical reflection betrayed itself at the age of 15, when, at the University of Leipzig, he was entertaining the idea of rejecting the scholastic doctrine of 'substantial forms.' His first philosophical publication was the *Bachelor's Dissertation*, which falls in the 18th year. But after this Leibnitz abandoned philosophy in favour of politics; so that he did not attain the rank of a great philosophical teacher till the age of 44. Schelling, if a less remarkable example of omnivorous learning than Leibnitz, is a more signal instance of precocious metaphysical constructiveness. He graduated at the early age of 16, taking 'Myths' as the theme of

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his dissertation. He had written three philosophical works before the completion of his 20th year.

Following the same plan as before, I have tried to determine the proportion of the precocious to the non-precocious among thinkers. Taking thirty-seven eminent representatives, I find that twenty-five, or about two-thirds, appear to have shown a marked philosophical inquisitiveness before the age of 20.

If now we go on to ask at what age philosophic production begins, we arrive at the following results. Among thirty-six, two wrote on philosophical subjects before the age of 20; eighteen between 20 and 30; eight between 30 and 40; and eight after 40.

Finally, with respect to the age at which greatness reveals itself in a remarkable achievement, we gather the following data. Out of thirty-five, three distinguished themselves before 25; four between this date and 30; fourteen between 30 and 40; six between 40 and 50; and eight after 50.

Of those who achieved philosophic distinction after 50 we have no less illustrious names than Descartes, Hobbes, Locke, and Leibnitz. It may be added that Kant very nearly falls into this category, his first independent treatise appearing at the age of 46. The lateness of achievement in many cases is connected with the circumstance that other subjects, as mathematics, have been taken up before philosophy.

In presenting these statistics of genius I am not unmindful of the defects of the evidence. Thus, for example, there are the gaps in the record of the childhood of great men which all the industry of recent biographical research has not been able to fill up.[5] Even where we do know something of the early life, we cannot be sure that we have a full and accurate account of the intellectual and moral idiosyncrasy. For, on the one side, there is the inability of parents, &c., to recognise the marks of natural distinction. But few gifted children have been privileged to have their sayings and doings observed and treasured like Clerk-Maxwell or Rowan Hamilton. On the other side something in the way of overstatement must probably be set down to the exaggerative influence of family affection, and also perhaps to the action of the mythopœic impulse in endowing those who have attained greatness with a worthy origin in the shape of a distinguished childhood.

Since these two sources of error tend in opposite directions—to an underestimate and to an overestimate of the indications of precocity, we may perhaps assume that they roughly counterbalance one another. And so far as there is any appreciable residual error, it would seem to be in the direction of understatement of the case.

[5] I have found the determination of dates in the case of the Italian painters particularly difficult for this reason Old Vasari, in his *Lives*, is very chary of figures, and when he does venture on a date he is very far from trustworthy.

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We may now inquire into the meaning of our figures, and the conclusions to be drawn from them.

A glance at our different lists will show that throughout precocity preponderates. This will be made more apparent by the following figures. Taking the seven lists together, I find that of the cases examined 231 out of 287, or about four-fifths, displayed talent before the age of 20. The instances of those who gave no sign of their high destiny in their youth must accordingly be regarded as exceptions to the general rule.

I may add that these exceptions, or, to be more accurate, these apparent exceptions, include only one or two names of the first magnitude. I doubt, indeed, whether one could find in the lists of musicians, artists, and poets, a single clear instance of a man of supreme genius having failed to give these early indications.

In the second place, our inquiries teach us that in the large majority of cases the productive period of genius begins early. Thus, in a total of 263 cases, 105—*i.e.* just two-fifths—are known to have produced works before 20; or 211—or more than four-fifths—before 30. At the same time these figures plainly show that there is less uniformity in this particular than in the other.

In the third place, we gather from our investigations that a large majority of great men gain their first considerable success in early manhood. Thus out of 258 cases, 101, or nearly two-fifths, reach this point before 25; and 155—in all about three-fifths—before 30. But the proportion of exceptions becomes decidedly larger here. Thus we have 31 instances, or nearly one-eighth of the whole, only attaining distinction after 40. And among these are names of very high, if not the highest, eminence.

It follows that there is only a general and not a perfect consilience with respect to the different marks of precocity here selected. The men who disclose the germ of a great intellect in boyhood, are as a rule early in production, and in the attainment of an assured place among the great. At the same time there are noteworthy deviations from this rule. Thus, Bach, Haydn, and Wagner in music, Perugino and Gainsborough in painting, Dante and Dryden in poetry, Cervantes and Scott in fiction, Gibbon and Niebuhr in scholarship, Copernicus and Darwin in science, and, finally, Descartes and Leibnitz in philosophy, are all instances of early promise followed by comparatively late performance.

The explanation of these facts seems to me to be the following: Genius, as the etymology of the word suggests, is essentially a native quality. A truly great man is born such. This means that he is created with a strong and overmastering impulse to a definite form of origination. And hence he commonly gives a clear indication of this bent in the first years of life. On the other hand, actual production presupposes other conditions as well. It implies, for example, a

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certain amount of physical vigour, a possession which many a son of genius has had to do without in the early years of life. Not only so: production on any considerable scale requires opportunity and leisure. And here the external circumstances become a matter of importance, as serving to further or to delay the process of achievement. For though it may be true that in the end real genius proves itself irresistible in its instinctive striving towards creation, every reader of great men's biography knows that parental disapprobation, aided by the necessity of living, from which even the most gifted of mortals is not exempt, has in a large number of instances greatly retarded the process of production and the attainment of distinction.

I do not, however, consider that these causes account for all the exceptions. After allowing for the effect of delicate health and external obstructions there remains a certain number of instances of late achievement which are only explicable as illustrations of a slow process of development. In a number of cases, the postponement of the fruitful effort has been due to the individual's own volition and not to external compulsion. Thus Dante, Milton, Cervantes, and others voluntarily passed their early manhood in active life, rather than in the life of imaginative creation, showing that the impulse to poetic creation was not at this period supreme and overpowering. In other cases, again, there is reason to suppose that the creative faculty unfolded itself slowly. What Macaulay says of Bacon is apparently true of more than one imaginative writer: the judgment developed in advance of the fancy. Defoe seems to be an example of such a late development of imaginative power, and George Eliot is a clear and very remarkable instance of this faculty first revealing itself at a comparatively late period. If to these considerations we add that men of genius vary considerably in their rate of production, that to many the process of creation is a slow, tentative progress, rather than a sudden achievement, we have, I imagine, a fairly complete explanation of the facts.

If now we compare the results in the different groups we reach other interesting conclusions. Speaking roughly, one may say that the numbers showing distinct promise before 20 in the several classes are represented by the following fractions:

	Musicians	$\frac{19}{20}$
	Artists	$\frac{18}{20}$
	Scholars	$\frac{15}{20}$
equal	Poets	$\frac{14}{20}$
equal	Novelists	$\frac{14}{20}$
equal	Men of Science	$\frac{14}{20}$
	Philosophers	$\frac{13}{20}$

In order, however, to get a just idea of the relative proportions of the several classes, we must further compare them in respect of the date of the commencement of the productive period and also of the

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age at which distinction is attained. If we take work before 30 as representing early production we find the proportions in the different groups to be approximately as follows:

Musicians	$\frac{1}{1}$
Artists	$\frac{41}{42}$
Poets	$\frac{11}{12}$
Scientists	$\frac{4}{5}$
Scholars	$\frac{6}{7}$
Philosophers	$\frac{5}{9}$
Novelists	$\frac{9}{10}$

Finally, with respect to the age of distinction, we learn that the following proportions attain this point before 40.

[*] equal	Musicians	$\frac{1}{1}$
	Artists	$\frac{1}{1}$
equal	Poets	$\frac{11}{12}$
	Scientists	$\frac{11}{12}$
	Scholars	$\frac{9}{10}$
	Novelists	$\frac{4}{5}$
	Philosophers	$\frac{3}{5}$

It will be seen at once, on comparing these tables, that on the whole the order of the classes in point of precocity corresponds pretty closely with the order in which we have examined them. Musicians and artists stand at the head of the list throughout, and philosophers come last in two out of three of the scales. On the other hand, the relative position of the intermediate groups—poets, scholars, novelists, and scientists—varies considerably in the different scales.

Without attempting an exhaustive explanation of these figures, a remark or two may be hazarded as to the more potent influences at work.

First of all, then, we note that the order in respect of precocity answers roughly to the degree of abstractness of the faculty employed. At the one extreme musicians and artists represent sensuous faculty, or the least abstract mode of mental activity, while philosophers at the other extreme illustrate the highest degree of abstraction. Between these come the men of imagination, the poets and novelists. And this is the very order we should antecedently expect from a consideration of the general laws of intellectual development; for sense, imagination, and abstract thought are the three well-marked stages of intellectual progress. Or, to express the same fact in physiological terms, one may say that the nerve-centres specially engaged in the production of sense impressions, mental images, and abstract ideas, develop and are perfected in this order.

Taking up the classes *seriatim*, one may say that the clear primacy of musical genius is probably connected with the fact that the faculty for music has, as its main ingredient, a very special and restricted sense-endowment, viz.—a fine sensibility to tones and their

[*] If we make 25 the limit, we find that artists just surpass musicians.

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musical relations, which, again, seems to be correlated with a special functional endowment of the organ of hearing. One may add to this that musical inventiveness presupposes no experience or knowledge of things, but merely an accumulation of tone-material.

Painting, like music, seems to depend on a special sense-endowment, viz. an eye for form and colour, and also a finely organised hand, which endowments might be expected to be well-marked from the first. On the other hand, it involves much more in the way of external observation and a knowledge of objects. Hence, perhaps, its inferiority to music in the matter of precocity.

Passing to men of letters, we find that, on the whole, Poets are the most precocious class. Here, too, we note the presence of a clearly marked sensuous ingredient, viz. a fine ear for rhythm and the musical qualities of verbal sounds. The poetic endowment includes, moreover, as a principal act or, a lively, sensuous imagination, a faculty that is in a manner based on a certain degree of perfection of the senses, and so may be expected to become prominent at an early period of life. If to this we add that lyrical poetry is to a very large extent the expression of erotic and kindred feelings which are known to be developed in great strength during the transition from childhood to youth, we are able, I imagine, to understand much of the daring precocity of poets. It is to be remarked that, though there are several instances of boys writing comedies, dramatic composition begins as a rule considerably later than lyrical, and this accords with the fact that dramatic conception presupposes much more objective knowledge of men and things.

The next class to claim attention is the Scholars. At first one may well be surprised to find these so high up in our first table, for the critical faculty, judgment, is known to be late in its development. But the anomaly is only an apparent one. The scholar, the historian, and the critic are alike dependent on an exceptional power of acquisition and of memory, and this is well known to be a precocious endowment. Moreover, it is an endowment which is fairly certain to be duly noted, seeing that it is precisely the aptitude which is at the basis of school-renown. This is borne out by the fact that the class of scholars, &c., though high up in respect of early manifestation of ability, are not so distinguished in the matter of early production or of early attainment of excellence.

The next group in our combined scale of precocity is Scientists. Their high place is, I believe, largely owing to the mathematicians. The mathematical faculty is well known to be a precocious one. The fact that it is often found in the company of musical capacity suggests that there is a common mental ingredient. In each we note the play of inventive imagination on a circumscribed mass of material easily acquired, viz. tone-images in the one case, and symbol-images in the other. On the other hand, the representatives

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of the natural sciences which involve prolonged processes of observation, &c., are much less forward.

The shifting position of novelists in our three scales is, perhaps, the most curious outcome of our investigation. Like the poet, the novelist employs as his chief mental implement the faculty of sensuous imagination. Hence the relatively high position in our first table. At the same time the novel presupposes much more in the way of knowledge of the world and reflection on its ways than the poem. Its most distinctive aptitude, perhaps, is a minute knowledge of character, a circumstance which brings it into close relation to one of the most abstract of the sciences, viz. psychology.

Respecting Philosophers little need be said. That a considerable fraction should begin to write after thirty and almost as large a proportion attain fame after forty, is just what one might antecedently expect. Indeed, nowhere perhaps is early achievement so truly marvellous as in the severe domain of abstract speculation. It is not a mere coincidence, I take it, that the two most brilliant examples of this precocity, Berkeley and Schelling, are metaphysicians whose writings are so deeply tinged with the glow of a poetic imagination.

In this attempt to explain our results we have confined our attention to the intellectual ingredient in genius. But we might also take into account the emotional and volitional factor, that is to say, the specific impulse which prompts and sustains the creative activity. And by so doing we might still further illustrate the general agreement between our facts and the laws of mental development. Thus, for example, the artistic impulse, which according to our tables shows itself to be most precocious, appears also to be the one first manifesting itself in a decided form in the history of the average individual, and of the race. The child and the race alike develop a crude art before they take seriously to inquiry. How far this consilience extends with reference to the relative position of the several classes in our scheme I will not now venture to say.

Genius is precocious, then, in the sense of manifesting itself early. But what of its subsequent history? Does it soon attain the summit of its development, or go on improving as long as, or even longer than, ordinary intelligence? This, as was pointed out at the beginning of this essay, is in a measure a different inquiry and one too long to follow out here. There are special difficulties, too, in pursuing this line of research. Although it is, in a general way, an easy matter to say when a man of genius produces his first distinctly original work, it is exceedingly difficult to determine how long he goes on improving. Critics are far from agreed, for example, as to the relative value of the earlier and later work of Goethe, Beethoven, Turner, &c. It may, however, be safely asserted that early manifestation of genius is not incompatible with a prolonged and even late development. Haydn, Beethoven, Michael Angelo, Titian, Milton, Goethe, Voltaire,

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Gibbon, Lessing, Newton, Leibnitz, Berkeley, Mill, and other great names, are examples of such a lengthy process of development. Indeed, there is much to support Mr. Galton's view that eminent men surpass ordinary men not only in superiority from the first, but also in a more prolonged development.[7]

Such a conclusion, it may be observed, would seem to accord with what we know of the general laws of mental evolution. For if we compare the different races of man, or the different species of animals, we find that, in general, the higher the cerebral organisation attained, the longer the process of development. Men of great original power, having the most highly organised type of brain, may be expected to illustrate the most prolonged movement of mental growth.

From this point of view we are able, I think, to see the difference between the course of development of a truly great intellect and that of a precocious but stunted intelligence. That there are many clever children that never 'come to anything,' or at least do not fulfil their early promise, is a fact which nobody, probably, will deny. Some of these would perhaps have distinguished themselves if they had had better opportunities, or at least more ambition and energy of character. But allowing for this, one finds a good remainder of youths who appear to have had a rapid but early arrested mental development. Such an early display of quickness followed by a lengthy period of ordinary mediocrity, or even dulness, looks like a too great forwardness of ordinary human ability. In other words, the clever child is in this case not an exceptional being, but a quite average one, whose cerebral development has somehow outrun the common attainment of his years. He is like a tree that bears fruit too soon. On the other hand, the man of superb ability is precocious just because, having a finer brain to start with, he is raised above the average mental stature of his years. He rather resembles a tree which shoots at once above the surrounding trees, though it may mature and bring forth fruit later than they.

JAMES SULLY.

[7] See *Hereditary Genius*, p. 44. Mr. Galton has kindly sent me a fuller statement of his view on this point.

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LIGHT AND WATER-COLOURS.

'ESTO perpetua!' is the motto prefixed to one of Bewick's charming little cuts, representing village boys building up a snow man; and Michel Angelo himself once modelled a colossus of snow by command of his patron Piero de' Medici. Doubtless the statue was a masterpiece; but to have been enduring it should have been executed in some frozen 'Malebolge' or the Arctic regions, not in Florence. Scarcely less inimical to some creations of human genius, as admirable in their way as the sculptures of Michel Angelo, are the mere rays of the sun, wasting and waning masterworks of man the more they gladden and vivify the world in which he moves. Scarcely less instant and fatal indeed is the bleaching action of the sun's light on artists' pigments—to many of them at all events, and those usually the most brilliant and beautiful—than is its genial heat on ice and snow.

There has been an animated correspondence in the *Times* on the action of light on water-colours, incidentally raised by a communication of mine, not intended to provoke controversy. I imagined, indeed, that the fading of water-colour pictures and drawings was so obvious and notorious as to be beyond dispute, and my intention was to suggest the best means of counteracting the evil.

I was, however, greatly mistaken. I found indeed, to my infinite surprise, that darkness reigned where the fullest enlightenment might have been looked for, and where, literally speaking, darkness was a palliative, light was indirectly recommended.

The unqualified assertion, utterly erroneous as it is, that water-colour drawings not only do not fade, but that they actually deepen in tone by age, was advanced by the highest authorities and masters of the art in question.

This dictum is indeed astonishing; it is the very reverse of the truth and wofully mischievous in its tendency. Its dogmatic promulgation at this time has alone led me to return to the subject. The question ought indeed to be settled once for all, for on its right understanding literally depends nothing less than the preservation, for indefinite periods, of the admirable masterpieces of a truly national art, or their ultimate extinction and loss to the world.

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Artists' pigments, whether they are embodied as 'water' or 'oil' colours or in any other vehicles (generally speaking the substances employed are the same), are of the most varied and diverse nature and origin—mineral, vegetable, and animal. Natural metallic oxides and earths, complex chemical compounds, gums, extracts and the inspissated sap of trees and plants, juices and secretions from insects and the higher animals, are alike pressed into the service of the painter. Modern science and commercial enterprise have in our own time vastly augmented the number and variety of these colouring substances. Unquestionably thereby the artist's palette has been greatly enriched and the physical means of art extended; but whether at the same time those means have been strengthened and improved in the sense of durability is another question.

Painters in the old times, when their pigments were comparatively few and simple in their nature, were usually in the habit of preparing, purifying, and refining their own colours. They were alive and attentive to the physical properties of the substances they employed, discarding, as far as they were able, such as were notoriously fugacious in their nature or uncertain in their action upon other colours. Now, on the other hand, artists, as a rule, simply ignore all this, accepting with blind faith whatever the colour merchant offers them; ever craving for some newer and more vivid tint, be it as fixed and eternal as the sapphire's blue or the ruby's red or as shortlived and fleeting as a dream.

The colour merchant, however, if he be unscrupulous or even only ignorant and careless, may work infinite mischief to art and artists; as it is, the artist is absolutely at his mercy. The old and salutary motto 'Caveat emptor' scarcely applies in this case, for there are seldom any instant available means of testing or verifying the representations of the eager tradesman. Certain it is that every day some fresh pigment, guaranteed as absolutely stable and permanent, but of the properties of which the vendor himself may have had no adequate experience, is foisted on the helpless, unsuspecting painter. But this is nothing less than the most cruel and insufferable fraud, the consequences of which it seems scarcely necessary to dwell upon.

To this subject, however, the attention of eminent scientific authorities is now being directed; the field as yet has been but little tilled, and there is both honour and profit to be gleaned by the qualified and earnest labourer in it.

This matter lies, indeed, at the root of the question before us; it is for chemists and other scientists to deal with it effectually. The general subject of the preservation of the admirable works of past times in water-colours, however, is a manysided one, and there is so great a wealth of illustration to be brought to bear upon it that I shall probably find it impossible to entirely avoid trenching on the

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province of the scientist, or to steer quite clear of topics not strictly relevant to the speciality under consideration.

Thus, for instance, the two processes of oil and water-colour painting, whilst they have in their nature much in common, are also in many respects radically different, and the incidental elucidation of some of the main points of difference will be essential to my argument and necessary in disabusing the public mind of more than one fallacy. There are two especial agencies inimical to the permanence of painters' 'pigments'—chemical action and reaction in colours when included within some common medium or vehicle ('locked up,' as it is technically called, by gums, size, oils, or varnishes) and the bleaching or fading action of the sun's light. Of these agencies the former is of little moment in water-colour painting, but the latter, on the contrary, is the active and especial enemy of that art.

I am not a scientist, so I shall try to confine myself to the practical illustration of facts, avoiding as far as possible any endeavour to explain the theory of the action of light on colouring substances.

Of course if it can be shown that some pigments, heretofore habitually made use of by water-colour painters, are more or less fugacious, while others are stable and permanent, and if the two classes of colours have been made use of in the same picture, it stands to reason that any work so executed must, if freely exposed to the light of day, suffer gradual alteration and deterioration in an unequal manner. That is to say, portions of the work will retain their original force and purity of tint, while others will change in varying measure, or even vanish altogether. Obviously for any picture or drawing to be perennial—that is, unfading—if exposed to daylight, it would need to be entirely executed throughout with unalterable colours. Such a selection of tints is doubtless quite possible, but as water-colour chromatography stands at present this would entail the abandonment of a great number of the most beautiful and serviceable pigments in current use.

There is, however, hope for the future; if modern science were once seriously brought to bear on the question of the replacement of fugacious or uncertain pigments by permanent and unchanging ones, it cannot be but that adequate and abundant substitutes should be soon forthcoming. The resources of nature are infinite; in this case doubtless it rests with man only to force the secrets from her reluctant breast.

Of the pigments in present use, as might have been expected, the most stable are those of the mineral kingdom; many such colours are in fact perhaps absolutely unalterable in so far as the influence of light is concerned. On the other hand, the great majority of colours of vegetable and animal origin are more or less unstable and fleeting. I cannot indeed call to mind a single pigment in these categories which can be deemed absolutely permanent, while many

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of them have an existence scarcely less brief than that of the gaily coloured flowers whose tints they rival or surpass. The essentially non-permanent pigments of course are of every degree of mutability, some reasonably resistant and comparatively long-lived, others, so to speak, whose existence is to be measured by days and months rather than years or generations.

For this mutability, in whatever measure nevertheless, there is a sovereign remedy: as the active enemy is light so is the saviour darkness. It is probable even that the most evanescent pigments would be unchanged if kept entirely secluded from the light. It is needless to say, however, that drawings are not meant to be hidden under a bushel.

The bushel, however, will serve our turn for the moment. Some people are very hard to convince, and it will be well to thoroughly clinch the nail we are driving.

Water-colour drawings, as the President of the Royal Water Colour Institute says, do not fade. He is speaking, be it noted, of antecedent works of English painters. Now let anyone take one of these drawings, something of little value (for it is question of an experiment *in corpore vili*), framed and glazed as usual. Let one half of the drawing be covered with several sheets of stout paper pasted outside the glass, so as to form a perfectly opaque dark envelope, the other half remaining visible, as before. Let the drawing be then hung up and exposed to the light, say for a year. To suspend it face outwards in a window casement is the best method. At the end of the period let the paper covering of the darkened half be removed; the result will, I apprehend, be convincing to the most incredulous person. The drawing will have become a dual work, one half (the darkened one) remaining just as it was at first, whilst the other will have faded and become a pale, disjointed muddle, the two halves being as distinctly and sharply bounded as if a wet sponge had been passed over a moiety of the surface.

More striking still is another demonstration. Both experiments, by the way, have been frequently carried out, and the most careful notes taken of the results by more than one enquirer. It is this: Let a series of even flat tints of water-colours be laid in parallel strips or bands side by side on a sheet of paper, the colours chosen being such as are currently furnished by the colour merchant, and to which varying repute as to durability attaches. Take, on the one hand, the carbon blacks, Indian ink and lampblack, simple oxides and ochres, such as Indian red, light red, burnt sienna, and yellow ochre, mineral and chemically prepared colours, such as ultramarine, cobalt, and aureolin; and on the other hand carmine, crimson lake, madder brown, sepia, bistre, indigo, sap green, gamboge, gallstone, and brown pink. Cut the sheet of paper in two across the series of parallel bands, so as to have two equal sets of tints. Keep one of

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them in the dark in a portfolio or betwixt the leaves of a book, and frame the other half and hang it up to the light in a window casement as before. At the expiration of the same period—though much less than a year would really suffice—let the two halves be brought together again and compared as in the former illustration. Whilst in some instances the tints in the respective halves will be found to be unchanged and exactly alike, others in the exposed portion will have absolutely vanished off the paper, or at best left but a faint and dirty stain, generally due to some extraneous impurity in the pigment, more permanent in its nature than the substance which it adulterated.

Nearly all the *perennialists*, if I may so term them, admit that exposure to direct sunlight is detrimental in some unexplained way to water-colour drawings; but direct sunlight is only the most intense and searching measure of daylight. It must be obvious, inasmuch as the sun's light is the same, whether direct or infinitely lowered or mitigated, that it must in the exact measure of its intensity possess precisely the same properties.

I have some misgivings as to whether any pigment, if exposed for very long periods to the fullest blaze of the sun's rays, would be found to be entirely unaffected; the experiment at any rate could scarcely be tried in this comparatively sunless country. For all practical purposes, however, the ascertained constancy of certain colouring substances is great enough to entitle them to be considered quite permanent.

As regards the relative durability of fugacious pigments, the action of direct sunlight is very rapid and notable. The exposure of any water-colour drawing of Turner, for instance, for a few days even to direct sunlight would be sufficient to effect visible deterioration. Probably, indeed, more actual mischief may be caused by accidental exposure to the direct rays of the sun during so short a time even than would be the case in a series of years in the low half-light of an ordinary apartment.

From the infinitely varied, mutable, and uncertain conditions under which drawings have been preserved, and of which in the nature of things, in scarcely any instance, accurate record can have been kept, it is clear that appeals to the evidence of particular specimens in support of this or that theory must always be of a dubious or fallacious nature.

Considering, then, the striking differences in regard to conservation which drawings display, it is no wonder that unobservant and unreflecting persons should still be found to deny the fact that water-colour drawings are liable to fade, as well as obstinate partisans who when virtually convinced of it, but against their will, remain of the same opinion still. When these considerations are borne in mind, it will, I think, be admitted to be unnecessary for me

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to notice many objections, supported by inconclusive or irrelevant instances, which the recent controversy has elicited.

If absolute immunity from the bleaching effects of light could be secured for the pigments made use of, so many and weighty are the recommendations and advantages of the water-colour process that I incline to think it would on the whole be even preferable as a means of art to oil painting.

The stumblingblocks and disadvantages which beset the latter method, indeed, meet both the artist and the picture collector at every turn.

Oil painting is a vastly more complex, cumbersome, and tedious process, yet not necessarily a more durable one, and it may be questioned whether it has any inherent charms or physical capabilities which the water-colour process, as carried out in these days, does not possess in equal measure. One thing, however, is certain, and it is desirable to place it in a clear light: whatever may be the especial drawbacks of the art, oil pictures are much less liable to deterioration from the influence of light than water-colour drawings as they have been heretofore executed. There are, as a matter of fact, in oil painting counteracting agencies at work, tending to neutralise more or less, according to circumstances, the fading influence of light on the colours employed. One of these causes of greater stability in the pigments is probably the fact that they are employed in much greater volume than in water-colour painting. In the latter process the tints are for the most part mere washes or stains of impalpable tenuity; in oil paintings, on the contrary, the colours are often 'piled up,' or loaded, in quite measurable thickness; there is therefore a much greater substance of colouring matter for the light to act upon. More efficacious still, in the sense of preservation, is the fact that the colouring substances in oil painting are effectually enveloped or 'locked up' with the oils and varnishes with which they are mixed, the separate particles being each surrounded with a protecting medium in the oil or varnish employed, vastly more solid and efficacious than the gum or size which binds together the colouring atoms in water-colour painting. It is true that the oleo-resinous vehicles of oil painting are in other ways themselves the causes and media of decay and alteration often as fatal to the artist's work as light is to water-colour pictures, but to go into this matter would involve a separate treatise.

To the fading of pigments, however, these oleo-resinous enveloping vehicles oppose a direct resistance in another way. Whilst it is untrue—physically impossible, in fact—that simple water-colour pictures can deepen in tone by age, it is, on the other hand, just as certain that oil pictures do become darker in aspect as time goes on; but this increasing depth of tone is caused in most instances mainly, and in every instance to a great extent, by the alteration in colour of the

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oleo-resinous vehicles, not by any mutation of the pigments locked up in them, which latter, if they undergo any alteration at all, change in the sense of diminution, not increase of intensity of tint. Oils and varnishes, though often quite colourless at first, undergo inevitable chemical changes, accelerated or retarded, superinduced, and even remedied again by modifying external influences. They absorb oxygen from the air, and a process analogous to the slow combustion of their particles takes place, the result being that the originally colourless vehicles gradually acquire a yellow or brown tint of varying degrees of intensity, and tend to become more or less turgid and opaque. This darkening process goes on most rapidly in the dark, and it is retarded or remedied again by re-exposure to light. A bleaching action, in fact, is then established. As I have intimated I am no authority on the actinic properties of light. The processes of photography have, however, made certain phenomena familiar to us. Everybody knows that it is the rays at the blue end of the spectrum which bleach and disintegrate, whilst the yellow and red rays are inert or protective.

The particles of colouring matter, then, in oil painting are 'locked up' and protected by a semitransparent medium of the precise tint, which tends to neutralise the fading effects of the sun's light on the pigments, and a virtual equilibrium of forces seems thereby to be established. From this it results that whilst it is good for water-colour drawings that they should be kept in the dark as much as possible, in portfolios rather than in glazed frames exposed to the light, it is, on the contrary, bad for oil pictures to hang them in dark corners or for periods of time in shut-up rooms, the privation of light in those cases bringing about increasing darkness, dulness, and opacity.

The action of the electric light on water-colour pigments is a question of much interest, and it is greatly to be desired that some competent scientific authority should practically investigate it. The feasibility of the exhibition of water-colour drawings in our public collections literally depends upon a favourable solution of this question, for nothing is more certain than that the continuous exhibition of water-colour drawings of past epochs by daylight inevitably entails their rapid, irremediable, and more or less complete and final deterioration. It is not unlikely that the white or bluish 'arc' light would, though in a far less degree, be as destructive as the sun's light to mutable pigments; but the yellow 'incandescent' light, on the contrary, would probably be found to exercise no perceptible bleaching influence.

By way of fencing with obvious and glaring facts which cannot be ignored it is not unusual to find people, especially professional artists, assert in respect to faded drawings that they have 'gone' as far as they ever will, and that they will fade no further. The

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absurdity of such a doctrine, as it is enunciated and understood by such persons, is self-evident; nevertheless it may be literally true in certain circumstances. When, for instance, a drawing executed partly with permanent and partly with fugacious pigments is exposed to the light for very long periods, it may well happen that the time will come when it can fade no further, for the simple reason that the inherently fugacious tints will have all finally vanished and fled away, leaving nevertheless the others unaltered as at first. Drawings in this predicament have indeed not unfrequently come under my notice; they are, of course, reduced to the condition of mere disjointed wrecks.

It must be remembered that in the case of water-colour drawings such works are still in their first youth, so to speak, for the art itself is new; but we have remaining to us innumerable drawings and studies, of much simpler technique it is true—works of the 'old masters'—over some of which four or five centuries even have passed. Some of these are still fresh and brilliant, while the others are but 'pale ghosts of their former selves.' How is this remarkable diversity of condition to be accounted for? For, be it observed, the same simple pigments employed in those former times are those still in use for similar purposes. A few remarks about 'ancient drawings' will incidentally answer this question, whilst at the same time relevant to our subject in general and instructive in various ways. By common consent of directors and curators of public collections throughout Europe of late years, certain classes of such drawings have been withheld from exhibition, for it has been universally recognised that the continuous exposure to daylight is fatal to them. 'Ancient drawings' are executed mainly in two distinct technical methods, both extremely simple; for the most part either they are drawings in black or red chalk or pen drawings in bistre or sepia, sometimes washed or shaded with the same or with other colours. Now black and red chalks are quite permanent substances, and the pale, vaporous aspect of some ancient chalk drawings has been brought about by simple wear and tear: friction and abrasion in portfolios, &c. They have, in short, been partially rubbed out. Pen and washed drawings, on the other hand, have suffered comparatively little from abrasion; but, inasmuch as both bistre and sepia are fugacious pigments, fading from exposure to light in the irregular and intermittent intervals when they have been exposed during the course of centuries has been the real cause of the weakening of the tints.

The comparatively fresh and uninjured pen drawings of sixteenth and even fifteenth century origin, which undoubtedly still remain to us, owe their preservation unquestionably to the fact that it was formerly almost the universal practice to preserve such works in the dark, either mounted in books or in portfolios, framing and glazing and the consequent continuous exposure to light being comparatively unknown in

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ancient times, from the simple reason that glass of flat, even surface and sufficient size, was difficult to obtain and very expensive; whilst to hang up valuable drawings without any such protection was obviously to expose them to certain destruction within very short periods. Generally speaking, therefore, the deterioration of ancient drawings from fading has mainly happened during the course of the last hundred years or so, during which time the practice of framing and glazing drawings and prints has grown up.

I observe that a recent writer on artists' pigments states that bistre and sepia are stable and reliable colours; but in this I differ from him entirely, and I apprehend that his observations and experiments have not extended over a sufficient range and length of time to have enabled him to ascertain the real truth of the matter. A very pertinent, and indeed amusing, instance in illustration of the fugacious nature of bistre and sepia (it is not easy, by the way, to decide in all cases which of these colours has been employed) occurs to me on the spur of the moment. In the Oxford University collection of drawings by the ancient masters is a large bistre pen drawing, an elaborate copy of Michel Angelo's 'Last Judgment' by a contemporary sixteenth-century artist. This drawing has been exposed to the light for a long period under glass, both at Oxford and before it came there; consequently it has waned and dwindled to a very pale and shadowy status. One figure in the composition, and one only, nevertheless retains its pristine force of tint, standing out like a dark rock against a vaporous sky. This is the figure of Charon, on the lower part of the composition, ferrying over condemned souls in his boat and striking them with his oar. The fact is, the simple-minded artist, anxious to invest the evil one with superabundant terror, drew the grisly fiend with black pigment, doubtless Indian ink or lamp-black, and this colour, being in its nature quite unchangeable, has stood its ground perfectly whilst all the rest of the work executed in bistre has almost faded off the paper. Thus the devil in this instance at all events remains just as black as he was painted!

Sir James Linton and others have alluded to the behaviour of two pigments very frequently used in combination by the English watercolourists of the earlier part of the present century. These are Indian red and indigo, chiefly employed to form compound tints, in skies, distances, &c., of varying degrees of cool grey and purple. The strangest possible changes have taken place in many of the drawings in which these colours have been made use of. Cold grey skies with dark rolling clouds and distant purple mountains, for instance, have been utterly transformed and metamorphosed; they have often become bright 'foxy' red: in short, the effect of brilliant, glowing sunsets has sometimes replaced that of the lowering skies originally depicted. It was impossible for the President of the Water-Colour Institute and his supporters to ignore these striking and significant phenomena, and

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they have explained them in their own way, but their conclusions can be shown by the infallible light of science to be entirely illusory and contrary to the facts of the case.

They have had to account for the changes on the supposition that the pigment, Indian red, exercised some malign action on the indigo with which it was mixed, and they assert that the latter pigment, if employed in connection with other reds, such as Venetian or light red, would have undergone no change; but as a matter of fact all these three pigments, as Professor Church has shown, are only slightly varied tints of almost the same substance—simple iron ochre, a certainly innocuous and inert substance, which can exercise no decomposing influence whatever on any other colour.

The real explanation is that whilst these reds are permanent and unfading colours, the indigo, at all events as it was prepared in those days, was a highly fugacious colour, and under the influence of light is has often entirely disappeared, leaving indeed not a trace of its existence behind. At the same time, as further evidence that light, not chemical action, has been the cause of this disappearance, it may be mentioned that there are many drawings to be found in which exactly the same pigments have been employed, but which, having always been kept in portfolios away from the light, still remain in their pristine condition, exhibiting no appearance whatever of change.

I had intended to go especially into the question of the state of conservation of the drawings of the greatest of all water-colourists—Turner—but space warns me to be brief. Now I yield to no man in my admiration of that immortal artist, and the undeniable deterioration of his admirable drawings has long been a source of pain and regret to me. It was, then, with no little surprise that I found myself taken to task in the *Times* by no less an authority than Mr. Ruskin for having alluded to the faded condition of the beautiful Turner drawings exhibited at the last Royal Academy winter exhibition. So far as I could understand the gist of Mr. Ruskin's letter it was to minimise or call in question the reality of the changes in the Turner drawings, which nevertheless were only too obvious, and had notoriously been the subject of universal discussion by hundreds and thousands of sympathetic and disinterested observers.

In regard to this matter, however, I cannot do better than call in the assistance of a high authority who had repeatedly brought this subject to public notice years before, and that in so lucid and emphatic a manner as to dispense me entirely from adding anything further of my own. I shall, then, in bringing this paper to a conclusion, simply quote and fully endorse the statements and opinions so well expressed by my fellow labourer and predecessor in the field.

In the *Literary Gazette* of November 13, 1858, this writer,

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after describing the particular method of preserving the water-colour drawings of Turner from the influence of light, says—

You will find that the officers of the Louvre and the British Museum refuse to expose their best drawings or missal pages to light, in consequence of ascertained damage received by such drawings as have been already exposed; and among the works of Turner I am prepared to name an example in which the frame having protected a portion whilst the rest was exposed, the covered portion is still rich and lovely in colours, whilst the exposed spaces are reduced in some parts nearly to white paper and the colour in general to a dull brown. . . .

Again, Turner's drawings, now national property,

were all kept by him in tight bundles or in clasped books; and all the drawings so kept are in magnificent preservation, appearing as if they had just been executed, whilst every one of those which have been in the possession of purchasers and exposed in frames are now faded in proportion to the time and degree of their exposure; the lighter hues disappearing, especially from the skies, so as sometimes to leave hardly a trace of the cloud forms.[1] For instance, the great Yorkshire series is, generally speaking, merely the wreck of what it once was. That water-colour drawings are not injured by darkness is also sufficiently proved by the exquisite preservation of missal paintings, when the books containing them have been little used.

Eighteen years after the above remarks appeared the same writer reaffirmed his convictions on the subject in a letter which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* (July 5, 1876). He there tells us again of the proper way to preserve the drawings of Turner. They are to be framed and glazed, and kept, when they are not actually being looked at, in portable cabinets, where they are

never exposed to the light. . . . Thus taken care of, and thus shown, the drawings may be a quite priceless possession to the people of England for the next five centuries; whereas those exhibited in the Manchester Exhibition were virtually destroyed in that single summer. There is not one of them but is the mere wreck of what it was. I do not choose to name destroyed drawings in the possession of others; but I will name the vignette of the Plains of Troy in my own, which had half the sky baked out of it in that fatal year, and the three drawings of Richmond (Yorkshire), Egglestone Abbey, and Langharne Castle, which have had, by former exposure to light, their rose colours entirely destroyed, and half of their blues, leaving nothing safe but the brown. . . . The public may, therefore, at their pleasure treat their Turner drawings as a large exhibition of fireworks, see them explode, clap their hands, and have done with them; or they may treat them as an exhaustless library of noble learning.

Lastly, in a brief note which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of July 19, 1876, still the same writer repeats 'that no water-colour work of value should ever be constantly exposed to light.'

Now what is the name of this outspoken and, as I hold, most discerning writer? None other than *John Ruskin*![2]

[1] The cloud forms, which have disappeared from the drawings, may be seen in the engravings.

[2] For further and equally explicit utterances in the same sense, see *Arrows of the Chase*, 1880, section 4.

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Surely, then, some counterfeit Ruskin must have penned these lines in the *Times* of April 14 this year :—

> Out of direct sunlight it (a water-colour drawing) will show no failing on your room wall till you need it no more. . . . We may wisely spend our money for true pleasures that will last our time or last even a very little part of it; and the highest price of a drawing which contains in it the continuous delight of years cannot be thought extravagant as compared to that we are willing to give for a melody that expires in an hour.

Truly, the worth of a Turner drawing set against that of a single tune on the fiddle!

J. C. Robinson.

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JOHN WEBSTER.

THERE were many poets in the age of Shakespeare who make us think, as we read them, that the characters in their plays could not have spoken more beautifully, more powerfully, more effectively, under the circumstances imagined for the occasion of their utterance: there are only two who make us feel that the words assigned to the creatures of their genius are the very words they must have said, the only words they could have said, the actual words they assuredly did say. Mere literary power, mere poetic beauty, mere charm of passionate or pathetic fancy, we find in varying degrees dispersed among them all alike; but the crowning gift of imagination, the power to make us realize that thus and not otherwise it was, that thus and not otherwise it must have been, was given—except by exceptional fits and starts—to none of the poets of their time but only to Shakespeare and to Webster.

Webster, it may be said, was but as it were a limb of Shakespeare: but that limb, it might be replied, was the right arm. 'The kingly-crownèd head, the vigilant eye,' whose empire of thought and whose reach of vision no other man's faculty has ever been found competent to match, are Shakespeare's alone for ever: but the force of hand, the fire of heart, the fervour of pity, the sympathy of passion, not poetic or theatric merely, but actual and immediate, are qualities in which the lesser poet is not less certainly or less unmistakably pre-eminent than the greater. And there is no third to be set beside them: not even if we turn from their contemporaries to Shelley himself. All that Beatrice says in *The Cenci* is beautiful and conceivable and admirable: but unless we except her exquisite last words—and even they are more beautiful than inevitable—we shall hardly find what we find in *King Lear* and *The White Devil*, *Othello* and *The Duchess of Malfy*; the tone of convincing reality; the note, as a critic of our own day might call it, of certitude.

There are poets—in our own age, as in all past ages—from whose best work it might be difficult to choose at a glance some verse sufficient to establish their claim—great as their claim may be—to be remembered for ever; and who yet may be worthy of remembrance among all but the highest. Webster is not one of these: though his fame assuredly does not depend upon the merit of a casual passage

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here or there, it would be easy to select from any one of his representative plays such examples of the highest, the purest, the most perfect power, as can be found only in the works of the greatest among poets. There is not, as far as my studies have ever extended, a third English poet to whom these words might rationally be attributed by the conjecture of a competent reader.

> We cease to grieve, cease to be fortune's slaves,
> Nay, cease to die, by dying.

There is a depth of severe sense in them, a height of heroic scorn, or a dignity of quiet cynicism, which can scarcely be paralleled in the bitterest or the fiercest effusions of John Marston or Cyril Tourneur or Jonathan Swift. Nay, were they not put into the mouth of a criminal cynic, they would not seem unworthy of Epictetus. There is nothing so grand in the part of Edmund; the one figure in Shakespeare whose aim in life, whose centre of character, is one with the view or the instinct of Webster's two typical villains. Some touches in the part of Flamineo suggest, if not a conscious imitation, an unconscious reminiscence of that prototype: but the essential and radical originality of Webster's genius is shown in the difference of accent with which the same savage and sarcastic philosophy of self-interest finds expression through the snarl and sneer of his ambitious cynic. Monsters as they may seem of unnatural egotism and unallayed ferocity, the one who dies penitent, though his repentance be as sudden if not as suspicious as any ever wrought by miraculous conversion, dies as thoroughly in character as the one who takes leave of life in a passion of scorn and defiant irony which hardly passes off at last into a mood of mocking and triumphant resignation. There is a cross of heroism in almost all Webster's characters which preserves the worst of them rom such hatefulness as disgusts us in certain of Fletcher's or of Ford's: they have in them some salt of manhood, some savour of venturesome and humorous resolution, which reminds us of the heroic age in which the genius that begot them was born and reared—the age of Richard Grenvile and Francis Drake, Philip Sidney and William Shakespeare.

The earliest play of Webster's now surviving—if a work so piteously mutilated and defaced can properly be said to survive—is a curious example of the combined freedom and realism with which recent or even contemporary history was habitually treated on the stage during the last years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The noblest poem known to me of this peculiar kind is the play of *Sir Thomas More*, first printed by Mr. Dyce in 1844 for the Shakespeare Society: the worst must almost certainly be that *Chronicle History of Thomas Lord Cromwell* which the infallible verdict of German intuition has discovered to be 'not only unquestionably Shakespeare's, but worthy to be classed among his best and maturest works.' About

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midway between these two I should be inclined to rank *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, a mangled and deformed abridgment of a tragedy by Dekker and Webster on the story of Lady Jane Grey. In this tragedy, as in the two comedies due to the collaboration of the same poets, it appears to me more than probable that Dekker took decidedly the greater part. The shambling and slipshod metre, which seems now and then to hit by mere chance on some pure and tender note of simple and exquisite melody—the lazy vivacity and impulsive inconsequence of style—the fitful sort of slovenly inspiration, with interludes of absolute and headlong collapse—are qualities by which a very novice in the study of dramatic form may recognize the reckless and unmistakable presence of Dekker. The curt and grim precision of Webster's tone, his terse and pungent force of compressed rhetoric, will be found equally difficult to trace in any of these three plays. *Northward Ho*, a clever, coarse, and vigorous study of the realistic sort, has not a note of poetry in it, but is more coherent, more sensibly conceived and more ably constructed, than the rambling history of Wyatt or the hybrid amalgam of prosaic and romantic elements in the compound comedy of *Westward Ho*. All that is of any great value in this amorphous and incongruous product of inventive impatience and impetuous idleness can be as distinctly traced to the hand of Dekker as the crowning glories of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* can be traced to the hand of Shakespeare. Any poet, even of his time, might have been proud of these verses, but the accent of them is unmistakable as that of Dekker.

> Go, let music
> Charm with her excellent voice an awful silence
> Through all this building, that her sphery soul
> May, on the wings of air, in thousand forms
> Invisibly fly, yet be enjoyed.

This delicate fluency and distilled refinement of expression ought properly, one would say, to have belonged to a poet of such careful and self-respectful genius as Lord Tennyson's: whereas in the very next speech of the same speaker we stumble over such a phrase as that which closes the following sentence.

> We feed, wear rich attires, and strive to cleave
> The stars with marble towers, fight battles, spend
> Our blood to buy us names, *and, in iron hold,*
> *Will we eat roots, to imprison fugitive gold.*

Which he who can parse, let him scan, and he who can scan, let him construe. It is alike incredible and certain that the writer of such exquisite and blameless verse as that in which the finer scenes of *Old Fortunatus* and *The Honest Whore* are so smoothly and simply and naturally written should have been capable of writing whole plays in this headlong and halting fashion, as helpless and graceless

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as the action of a spavined horse, or a cripple who should attempt to run.

It is difficult to say what part of these plays should be assigned to Webster. Their rough realistic humour, with its tone of somewhat coarse-grained goodnature, strikes the habitual note of Dekker's comic style: there is nothing of the fierce and scornful intensity, the ardour of passionate and compressed contempt, which distinguishes the savagely humorous satire of Webster and of Marston, and makes it hopeless to determine by intrinsic evidence how little or how much was added by Webster in the second edition to the original text of Marston's *Malcontent*: unless—which appears to me not unreasonable—we assume that the printer of that edition lied or blundered after the manner of his contemporary kind in attributing on the title-page—as apparently he meant to attribute—any share in the additional scenes or speeches to the original author of the play. In any case, the passages thus added to that grimmest and most sombre of tragicomedies are in such exact keeping with the previous text that the keenest scent of the veriest bloodhound among critics could not detect a shade of difference in the savour.

The text of either comedy is generally very fair—as free from corruption as could reasonably be expected. The text of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is corrupt as well as mutilated. Even in Mr. Dyce's second edition I have noted, not without astonishment, the following flagrant errors left still to glare on us from the distorted and disfigured page. In the sixth scene a single speech of Arundel's contains two of the most palpably preposterous.

> The obligation wherein we all stood bound
> . . . . .
> Cannot be concealed without great reproach
> To us and to our issue.

We should of course read 'cancelled' for 'concealed:' the sense of the context and the exigence of the verse cry alike aloud for the correction. In the sixteenth line from this we come upon an equally obvious error.

> Advice in this I hold it better far,
> To keep the course we run, than, seeking change,
> Hazard our lives, our honours, and the realm.

It seems hardly credible to those who are aware how much they owe to the excellent scholarship and editorial faculty of Mr. Dyce, that he should have allowed such a misprint as 'heirs' for 'honours' to stand in this last unlucky line. Again, in the next scene, when the popular leader Captain Brett attempts to reassure the country folk who are startled at the sight of his insurgent array, he is made to utter (in reply to the exclamation—'What's here? soldiers!') the perfectly fatuous phrase—'Fear not good speech.' Of course—once

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more—we should read, 'Fear not, good people;' a correction which rectifies the metre as well as the sense.

The play attributed to Webster and Rowley by a publisher of the next generation has been carefully and delicately analyzed by a critic of our own time, who naturally finds it easy to distinguish the finer from the homelier part of the compound weft, and to assign what is rough and crude to the inferior, what is interesting and graceful to the superior poet. The authority of the rogue Kirkman may be likened to the outline or profile of Mr. Mantalini's early loves: it is either no authority at all, or at best it is a 'demd' authority. The same swindler who assigned to Webster and Rowley the authorship of *A Cure for a Cuckold* assigned to Shakespeare and Rowley the authorship of an infinitely inferior play—a play of which German sagacity has discovered that 'none of Rowley's other works are equal to this.' Assuredly, as far as I know them, they are not—in utter stolidity of platitude and absolute impotence of drivel. Rowley was a vigorous artist in comedy and a powerful amateur in tragedy: he may have written the lighter or broader parts of the play which rather unluckily took its name from these, and Webster may have written the more serious or sentimental parts: but there is not the slightest shadow of a reason to suppose it. An obviously apocryphal abortion of the same date, attributed to the same poets by the same knave, has long since been struck off the roll of Webster's works.

The few occasional poems of this great poet are worth study by those who are capable of feeling interest in the comparison of slighter with sublimer things, and the detection in minor works of the same style, here revealed by fitful hints in casual phrases, as that which animates and distinguishes even a work so insufficient and incompetent as Webster's 'tragecomœdy' of *The Devil's Law-case*. The noble and impressive extracts from this most incoherent and chaotic of all plays which must be familiar to all students of Charles Lamb are but patches of imperial purple sewn on with the roughest of needles to a garment of the raggedest and coarsest kind of literary serge. Hardly any praise can be too high for their dignity and beauty, their lofty loyalty and simplicity of chivalrous manhood or their deep sincerity of cynic meditation and self-contemptuous mournfulness: and the reader who turns from these magnificent samples to the complete play must expect to find yet another and a yet unknown masterpiece of English tragedy. He will find a crowning example of the famous theorem, 'that the plot is of no use except to bring in the fine things.' The plot is in this instance absurd to a degree so far beyond the most preposterous conception of confused and distracting extravagance that the reader's attention may at times be withdrawn from the all but unqualified ugliness of its ethical tone or tendency. Two of Webster's favourite types, the meditative murderer or philo-

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sophic ruffian, and the impulsive impostor who is liable to collapse into the likeness of a passionate penitent, will remind the reader how much better they appear in tragedies which are carried through to their natural tragic end. But here, where the story is admirably opened and the characters as skilfully introduced, the strong interest thus excited at starting is scattered or broken or trifled away before the action is halfway through: and at its close the awkward violence or irregularity of moral and scenical effect comes to a crowning crisis in the general and mutual condonation of unnatural perjury and attempted murder with which the victims and the criminals agree to hush up all grudges, shake hands all round, and live happy ever after. There is at least one point of somewhat repulsive resemblance between the story of this play and that of Fletcher's *Fair Maid of the Inn*: but Fletcher's play, with none of the tragic touches or interludes of superb and sombre poetry which relieve the incoherence of Webster's, is better laid out and constructed, more amusing if not more interesting and more intelligent if not more imaginative.

A far more creditable and workmanlike piece of work, though glorified by no flashes of such sudden and singular beauty, is the tragedy of *Appius and Virginia*. The almost infinite superiority of Webster to Fletcher as a poet of pure tragedy and a painter of masculine character is in this play as obvious as the inferiority in construction and conduct of romantic story displayed in his attempt at a tragicomedy. From the evidence of style I should judge this play to have been written at an earlier date than *The Devil's Law-case*: it is, I repeat, far better composed; better, perhaps, than any other play of the author's: but it has none of his more distinctive qualities; intensity of idea, concentration of utterance, pungency of expression and ardour of pathos. It is written with noble and equable power of hand, with force and purity and fluency of apt and simple eloquence: there is nothing in it unworthy of the writer: but it is the only one of his unassisted works in which we do not find that especial note of tragic style, concise and pointed and tipped as it were with fire, which usually makes it impossible for the dullest reader to mistake the peculiar presence, the original tone or accent, of John Webster. If the epithet unique had not such a tang of German affectation in it, it would be perhaps the aptest of all adjectives to denote the genius or define the manner of this great poet. But in this tragedy, though whatever is said is well said and whatever is done well done, we miss that sense of positive and inevitable conviction, that instant and profound perception or impression as of immediate and indisputable truth, which is burnt in upon us as we read the more Websterian scenes of Webster's writing. We feel, in short, that thus it may have been: not, as I observed at the opening of these notes, that thus it must have been. The poem does him no discredit; nay, it does him

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additional honour, as an evidence of powers more various and many-sided than we should otherwise have known or supposed in him. Indeed, the figure of Virginius is one of the finest types of soldierly and fatherly heroism ever presented on the stage: there is equal force of dramatic effect, equal fervour of eloquent passion, in the scene of his pleading before the senate on behalf of the claims of his suffering and struggling fellow-soldiers, and in the scene of his return to the camp after the immolation of his daughter. The mere theatric effect of this latter scene is at once so triumphant and so dignified, so noble in its presentation and so passionate in its restraint, that we feel the high justice and sound reason of the instinct which inspired the poet to prolong the action of his play so far beyond the sacrifice of his heroine. A comparison of Webster's Virginius with any of Fletcher's wordy warriors will suffice to show how much nearer to Shakespeare than to Fletcher stands Webster as a tragic or a serious dramatist. Coleridge, not always just to Fletcher, was not unjust in his remark 'what strange self-trumpeters and tongue-bullies all the brave soldiers of Beaumont and Fletcher are;' and again almost immediately—'all B. and F.'s generals are pugilists, or cudgel-fighters, that boast of their bottom and of the *claret* they have shed.' There is nothing of this in Virginius; Shakespeare himself has not represented with a more lofty fidelity, in the person of Coriolanus or of Brutus, 'the high Roman fashion' of austere and heroic self-respect. In the other leading or dominant figure of this tragedy there is certainly discernible a genuine and thoughtful originality or freshness of conception; but perhaps there is also recognizable a certain inconsistency of touch. It was well thought of to mingle some alloy of goodness with the wickedness of Appius Claudius, to represent the treacherous and lecherous decemvir as neither kindless nor remorseless, but capable of penitence and courage in his last hour. But Shakespeare, I cannot but think, would have prepared us with more care and more dexterity for the revelation of some such redeeming quality in a character which in the act immediately preceding Webster has represented as utterly heartless and shameless, brutal in its hypocrisy and impudent in its brutality.

If the works already discussed were their author's only claims to remembrance and honour, they might not suffice to place him on a higher level among our tragic poets than that occupied by Marston and Dekker and Middleton on the one hand, by Fletcher and Massinger and Shirley on the other. *Antonio and Mellida*, *Old Fortunatus*, or *The Changeling*—*The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Duke of Milan*, or *The Traitor*—would suffice to counterweigh (if not, in some cases, to outbalance) the merit of the best among these: the fitful and futile inspiration of *The Devil's Law-case*, and the stately but subdued inspiration of *Appius and Virginia*. That his place was with no subordinate poet—that his station is at Shakespeare's

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right hand—the evidence supplied by his two great tragedies is disputable by no one who has an inkling of the qualities which confer a right to be named in the same day with the greatest writer of all time.

Æschylus is above all things the poet of righteousness. 'But in any wise, I say unto thee, revere thou the altar of righteousness:' this is the crowning admonition of his doctrine, as its crowning prospect is the reconciliation or atonement of the principle of retribution with the principle of redemption, of the powers of the mystery of darkness with the coeternal forces of the spirit of wisdom, of the lord of inspiration and of light. The doctrine of Shakespeare, where it is not vaguer, is darker in its implication of injustice, in its acceptance of accident, than the impression of the doctrine of Æschylus. Fate, irreversible and inscrutable, is the only force of which we feel the impact, of which we trace the sign, in the upshot of *Othello* or *King Lear*. The last step into the darkness remained to be taken by 'the most tragic' of all English poets. With Shakespeare—and assuredly not with Æschylus—righteousness itself seems subject and subordinate to the masterdom of fate: but fate itself, in the tragic world of Webster, seems merely the servant or the synonym of chance. The two chief agents in his two great tragedies pass away—the phrase was perhaps unconsciously repeated—'in a mist:' perplexed, indomitable, defiant of hope and fear; bitter and sceptical and bloody in penitence or impenitence alike. And the mist which encompasses the departing spirits of these moody and mocking men of blood seems equally to involve the lives of their chastisers and their victims. Blind accident and blundering mishap—'such a mistake,' says one of the criminals, 'as I have often seen in a play'—are the steersmen of their fortunes and the doomsmen of their deeds. The effect of this method or the result of this view, whether adopted for dramatic objects or ingrained in the writer's temperament, is equally fit for pure tragedy and unfit for any form of drama not purely tragic in evolution and event. In *The Devil's Law-case* it is offensive, because the upshot is incongruous and insufficient: in *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfy* it is admirable, because the results are adequate and coherent. But in all these three plays alike, and in these three plays only, the peculiar tone of Webster's genius, the peculiar force of his imagination, is distinct and absolute in its fullness of effect. The author of *Appius and Virginia* would have earned an honourable and enduring place in the history of English letters as a worthy member—one among many—of a great school in poetry, a deserving representative of a great epoch in literature: but the author of these three plays has a solitary station, an indisputable distinction of his own. The greatest poets of all time are not more mutually independent than this one—a lesser poet only than those greatest—is essentially independent of them all.

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The first quality which all readers must recognize, and which may strike a superficial reader as the exclusive or excessive note of his genius and his work, is of course his command of terror. Except in Æschylus, in Dante, and in Shakespeare, I at least know not where to seek for passages which in sheer force of tragic and noble horror—to the vulgar shock of ignoble or brutal horror he never condescends to submit his reader or subdue his inspiration—may be set against the subtlest, the deepest, the sublimest passages of Webster. Other gifts he had as great in themselves, as precious and as necessary to the poet: but on this side he is incomparable and unique. Neither Marlowe nor Shakespeare had so fine, so accurate, so infallible a sense of the delicate line of demarcation which divides the impressive and the terrible from the horrible and the loathsome—Victor Hugo and Honoré de Balzac from Eugène Sue and Émile Zola. On his theatre we find no presentation of old men with their beards torn off and their eyes gouged out, of young men imprisoned in reeking cesspools and impaled with red-hot spits. Again and again his passionate and daring genius attains the utmost limit and rounds the final goal of tragedy; never once does it break the bounds of pure poetic instinct. If ever for a moment it may seem to graze that goal too closely, to brush too sharply by those bounds, the very next moment finds it clear of any such risk and remote from any such temptation as sometimes entrapped or seduced the foremost of its forerunners in the field. And yet this is the field in which its paces are most superbly shown. No name among all the names of great poets will recur so soon as Webster's to the reader who knows what it signifies, as he reads or repeats the verses in which a greater than this great poet—a greater than all since Shakespeare—has expressed the latent mystery of terror which lurks in all the highest poetry or beauty, and distinguishes it inexplicably and inevitably from all that is but a little lower than the highest.

Les aigles sur les bords du Gange et du Caÿstre
Sont effrayants;
Rien de grand qui ne soit confusément sinistre;
Les noirs pæans,

Les psaumes, la chanson monstrueuse du mage
Ezéchiel,
Font devant notre œil fixe errer la vague image
D'un affreux ciel.

L'empyrée est l'abîme, on y plonge, on y reste
Avec terreur.
Car planer, c'est trembler; si l'azur est céleste,
C'est par l'horreur.

L'épouvante est au fond des choses les plus belles;
Les bleus vallons
Font parfois reculer d'effroi les fauves ailes
Des aquilons.

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And even in comedy as in tragedy, in prosaic even as in prophetic inspiration, in imitative as in imaginative works of genius, the sovereign of modern poets has detected the same touch of terror wherever the deepest note possible has been struck, the fullest sense possible of genuine and peculiar power conveyed to the student of lyric or dramatic, epic or elegiac masters.

De là tant de beautés difformes dans leurs œuvres;
Le vers charmant
Est par la torsion subite des couleuvres
Pris brusquement;

À de certains moments toutes les jeunes flores
Dans la forêt
Ont peur, et sur le front des blanches métaphores
L'ombre apparaît;

C'est qu'Horace ou Virgile ont vu soudain le spectre
Noir se dresser;
C'est que là-bas, derrière Amaryllis, Électre
Vient de passer.

Nor was it the Electra of Sophocles, the calm and impassive accomplice of an untroubled and unhesitating matricide, who showed herself ever in passing to the intent and serious vision of Webster. By those candid and sensible judges to whom the praise of Marlowe seems to imply a reflection on the fame of Shakespeare, I may be accused—and by such critics I am content to be accused—of a fatuous design to set Webster beside Sophocles, or Sophocles—for aught I know—beneath Webster, if I venture to indicate the superiority in truth of natural passion—and, I must add, of moral instinct—which distinguishes the modern from the ancient. It is not, it never was, it never will be and it never can have been natural for noble and civilized creatures to accept with spontaneous complacency, to discharge with unforced equanimity, such offices or such duties as weigh so lightly on the spirit of the Sophoclean Orestes that the slaughter of a mother seems to be a less serious undertaking for his unreluctant hand than the subsequent execution of her paramour. The immeasurable superiority of Æschylus to his successors in this quality of instinctive righteousness—if a word long vulgarized by theology may yet be used in its just and natural sense—is shared no less by Webster than by Shakespeare. The grave and deep truth of natural impulse is never ignored by these poets when dealing either with innocent or with criminal passion: but it surely is now and then ignored by the artistic quietism of Sophocles—as surely as it is outraged and degraded by the vulgar theatricalities of Euripides. Thomas Campbell was amused and scandalized by the fact that Webster (as he is pleased to express it) modestly compares himself to the playwright last mentioned; being apparently of opinion that *Hippolytus* and *Medea* may be reckoned equal or superior, as works of tragic art or examples of

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ethical elevation, to *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfy*; and being no less apparently ignorant, and incapable of understanding, that as there is no poet morally nobler than Webster so is there no poet ignobler in the moral sense than Euripides: while as a dramatic artist—an artist in character, action, and emotion—the degenerate tragedian of Athens, compared to the second tragic dramatist of England, is as a mutilated monkey to a well-made man. No better test of critical faculty could be required by the most exacting scrutiny of probation than is afforded by the critic's professed or professional estimate of those great poets whose names are not consecrated—or desecrated—by the conventional applause, the factitious adoration, of a tribunal whose judgments are dictated by obsequious superstition and unanimous incompetence. When certain critics inform a listening world that they do not admire Marlowe and Webster—they admire Shakespeare and Milton, we know at once that it is not the genius of Shakespeare—it is the reputation of Shakespeare that they admire. It is not the man that they bow down to: it is the bust that they crouch down before. They would worship Shirley as soon as Shakespeare—Glover as soon as Milton—Byron as soon as Shelley—Musset as soon as Hugo—Longfellow as soon as Tennyson—if the tablet were as showily emblazoned, the inscription as pretentiously engraved.

The nobility of spirit and motive which is so distinguishing a mark of Webster's instinctive genius or natural disposition of mind is proved by his treatment of facts placed on record by contemporary annalists in the tragic story of Vittoria Accorambuoni, Duchess of Bracciano. That story would have been suggestive, if not tempting, to any dramatic poet: and almost any poet but Shakespeare or Webster would have been content to accept the characters and circumstances as they stood nakedly on record, and adapt them to the contemporary stage of England with such dexterity and intelligence as he might be able to command. But, as Shakespeare took the savage legend of Hamlet, the brutal story of Othello, and raised them from the respective levels of the Heimskringla and the Newgate Calendar to the very highest 'heaven of invention,' so has Webster transmuted the impressive but repulsive record of villainies and atrocities, in which he discovered the motive for a magnificent poem, into the majestic and pathetic masterpiece which is one of the most triumphant and the most memorable achievements of English poetry. If, in his play, as in the legal or historic account of the affair, the whole family of the heroine had appeared unanimous and eager in complicity with her sins and competition for a share in the profits of her dishonour, the tragedy might still have been as effective as it is now from the theatrical or sensational point of view; it might have thrilled the reader's nerves as keenly, have excited and stimulated his curiosity, have whetted and satiated his appetite for transient emotion, as

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thoroughly and triumphantly as now. But it would have been merely a criminal melodrama, compiled by the labour and vivified by the talent of an able theatrical journeyman. The one great follower of Shakespeare—'haud passibus æquis' at all points; 'longo sed proximus intervallo'—has recognized, with Shakespearean accuracy and delicacy and elevation of instinct, the necessity of ennobling and transfiguring his characters if their story was to be made acceptable to the sympathies of any but an idle or an ignoble audience. And he has done so after the very manner and in the very spirit of Shakespeare. The noble creatures of his invention give to the story that dignity and variety of interest without which the most powerful romance or drama can be but an example of vigorous vulgarity. The upright and high-minded mother and brother of the shameless Flamineo and the shame-stricken Vittoria refresh and purify the tragic atmosphere of the poem by the passing presence of their virtues. The shallow and fiery nature of the fair White Devil herself is a notable example of the difference so accurately distinguished by Charlotte Brontë between an impressionable and an impressible character. Ambition, self-interest, passion, remorse and hardihood alternate and contend in her impetuous and wayward spirit. The one distinct and trustworthy quality which may always be reckoned on is the indomitable courage underlying her easily irritable emotions. Her bearing at the trial for her husband's murder is as dexterous and dauntless as the demeanour of Mary Stuart before her judges. To Charles Lamb it seemed 'an innocence-resembling boldness;' to Mr. Dyce and Canon Kingsley the innocence displayed in Lamb's estimate seemed almost ludicrous in its misconception of Webster's text. I should hesitate to agree with them that he has never once made his accused heroine speak in the natural key of innocence unjustly impeached: Mary's pleading for her life is not at all points incompatible in tone with the innocence which it certainly fails to establish—except in minds already made up to accept any plea as valid which may plausibly or possibly be advanced on her behalf; and the arguments advanced by Vittoria are not more evasive and equivocal, in face of the patent and flagrant prepossession of her judges, than those put forward by the Queen of Scots. It is impossible not to wonder whether the poet had not in his mind the actual tragedy which had taken place just twenty-five years before the publication of this play: if not, the coincidence is something more than singular. The fierce profligacy and savage egotism of Brachiano have a certain energy and activity in the display and the development of their motives and effects which suggest rather such a character as Bothwell's than such a character as that of the bloated and stolid sensualist who stands or grovels before us in the historic record of his life. As presented by Webster, he is doubtless an execrable ruffian: as presented by history, he would be intolerable by any but such readers or spectators as those

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on whom the figments or the photographs of self-styled naturalism produce other than emetic emotions. Here again the noble instinct of the English poet has rectified the æsthetic unseemliness of an ignoble reality. This 'Brachiano' is a far more living figure than the porcine paramour of the historic Accorambuoni. I am not prepared to maintain that in one scene too much has not been sacrificed to immediate vehemence of effect. The devotion of the discarded wife, who to shelter her Antony from the vengeance of Octavius assumes the mask of a raging jealousy, thus taking upon herself the blame and responsibility of their final separation, is expressed with such consummate and artistic simplicity of power that on a first reading the genius of the dramatist may well blind us to the violent unlikelihood of the action. But this very extravagance of self-sacrifice may be thought by some to add a crowning touch of pathos to the unsurpassable beauty of the scene in which her child, after the murder of his mother, relates her past sufferings to his uncle. Those to whom the great name of Webster represents merely an artist in horrors, a ruffian of genius, may be recommended to study every line and syllable of this brief dialogue.

Francisco. How now, my noble cousin? what, in black?
Giovanni. Yes, uncle, I was taught to imitate you
In virtue, and you [? now] must imitate me
In colours of your garments. My sweet mother
Is—
F. How! where?
G. Is there; no, yonder: indeed, sir, I'll not tell you,
For I shall make you weep.
F. Is dead?
G. Do not blame me now,
I did not tell you so.
Lodovico. She's dead, my lord.
F. Dead!
Monticelso. Blest lady, thou art now above thy woes!

. . . . . .

G. What do the dead do, uncle? do they eat,
Hear music, go a hunting, and be merry,
As we that live?
F. No, coz; they sleep.
G. Lord, Lord, that I were dead!
I have not slept these six nights.—When do they wake?
F. When God shall please.
G. Good God, let her sleep ever!
For I have known her wake an hundred nights
When all the pillow where she laid her head
Was brine-wet with her tears. I am to complain to you, sir;
I'll tell you how they have used her now she's dead:
They wrapped her in a cruel fold of lead,
And would not let me kiss her.
F. Thou didst love her.
G. I have often heard her say she gave me suck,

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And it should seem by that she dearly loved me,
Since princes seldom do it.
F. O, all of my poor sister that remains!—
Take him away, for God's sake!

I must admit that I do not see how Shakespeare could have improved upon that. It seems to me that in any one of even his greatest tragedies this scene would have been remarkable among its most beautiful and perfect passages; nor, upon the whole, do I remember a third English poet who could be imagined capable of having written it. And it affords, I think, very clear and sufficient evidence that Webster could not have handled so pathetic and suggestive a subject as the execution of Lady Jane Grey and her young husband in a style so thin and feeble, so shallow in expression of pathos and so empty of suggestion or of passion, as that in which it is presented at the close of *Sir Thomas Wyatt*.

There is a perfect harmony of contrast between this and the death-scene of the boy's father: the agony of the murdered murderer is as superb in effect of terror as the sorrow of his son is exquisite in effect of pathos. Again we are reminded of Shakespeare, by no touch of imitation but simply by a note of kinship in genius and in style, at the cry of Brachiano under the first sharp workings of the poison:

O thou strong heart!
There's such a covenant 'tween the world and it,
They're loth to break.

Another stroke well worthy of Shakespeare is the redeeming touch of grace in this brutal and cold-blooded ruffian which gives him in his agony a thought of tender care for the accomplice of his atrocities:

Do not kiss me, for I shall poison thee.

Few instances of Webster's genius are so well known as the brief but magnificent passage which follows; yet it may not be impertinent to cite it once again.

Brachiano. O thou soft natural death, that art joint twin
To sweetest slumber! no rough-bearded comet
Stares on thy mild departure; the dull owl
Beats not against thy casement; the hoarse wolf
Scents not thy carrion; pity winds thy corpse,
Whilst horror waits on princes.
Vittoria. I am lost for ever.
B. How miserable a thing it is to die
'Mongst women howling!—What are those?
Flamineo. Franciscans:
They have brought the extreme unction.
B. On pain of death, let no man name death to me;
It is a word infinitely terrible.

The very tremor of moral and physical abjection from nervous defiance into prostrate fear which seems to pant and bluster and

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quail and subside in the natural cadence of these lines would suffice to prove the greatness of the artist who could express it with such terrible perfection: but when we compare it, by collation of the two scenes, with the deep simplicity of tenderness, the childlike accuracy of innocent emotion, in the passage previously cited, it seems to me that we must admit, as an unquestionable truth, that in the deepest and highest and purest qualities of tragic poetry Webster stands nearer to Shakespeare than any other English poet stands to Webster; and so much nearer as to be a good second; while it is at least questionable whether even Shelley can reasonably be accepted as a good third. Not one among the predecessors, contemporaries, or successors of Shakespeare and Webster has given proof of this double faculty—this coequal mastery of terror and pity, undiscoloured and undistorted, but vivified and glorified, by the splendour of immediate and infallible imagination. The most grovelling realism could scarcely be so impudent in stupidity as to pretend an aim at more perfect presentation of truth: the most fervent fancy, the most sensitive taste, could hardly dream of a desire for more exquisite expression of natural passion in a form of utterance more naturally exalted and refined.

In all the vast and voluminous records of critical error there can be discovered no falsehood more foolish or more flagrant than the vulgar tradition which represents this high-souled and gentle-hearted poet as one morbidly fascinated by a fantastic attraction towards the 'violent delights' of horror and the nervous or sensational excitements of criminal detail: nor can there be conceived a more perverse or futile misapprehension than that which represents John Webster as one whose instinct led him by some obscure and oblique propensity to darken the darkness of southern crime or vice by an infusion of northern seriousness, of introspective cynicism and reflective intensity in wrongdoing, into the easy levity and infantile simplicity of spontaneous wickedness which distinguished the moral and social corruption of renascent Italy. Proof enough of this has already been adduced to make any protestation or appeal against such an estimate as preposterous in its superfluity as the misconception just mentioned is preposterous in its perversity. The great if not incomparable power displayed in Webster's delineation of such criminals as Flamineo and Bosola—Bonapartes in the bud, Napoleons in a nutshell, Cæsars who have missed their Rubicon and collapse into the likeness of a Catiline—is a sign rather of his noble English loathing for the traditions associated with such names as Cæsar and Medici and Borgia, Catiline and Iscariot and Napoleon, than of any sympathetic interest in such incarnations of historic crime. Flamineo especially, the ardent pimp, the enthusiastic pandar, who prostitutes his sister and assassinates his brother with such earnest and single-hearted devotion to his own straightforward self-interest, has in him a sublime fervour of rascality which recalls rather the man of Brumaire and of Waterloo

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than the man of December and of Sedan. He has something too of Napoleon's ruffianly good-humour—the frankness of a thieves' kitchen or an imperial court, when the last thin figleaf of pretence has been plucked off and crumpled up and flung away. We can imagine him pinching his favourites by the ear and dictating memorials of mendacity with the self-possession of a self-made monarch. As it is, we see him only in the stage of parasite and pimp—more like the hired husband of a cast-off Creole than the resplendent rogue who fascinated even history for a time by the clamour and glitter of his triumphs. But the fellow is unmistakably an emperor in the egg—so dauntless and frontless in the very abjection of his villainy that we feel him to have been defrauded by mischance of the only two destinations appropriate for the close of his career—a gibbet or a throne.

This imperial quality of ultimate perfection in egotism and crowning complacency in crime is wanting to his brother in atrocity, the most notable villain who figures on the stage of Webster's latest masterpiece. Bosola is not quite a possible Bonaparte—he is not even on a level with the bloody hirelings who execute the orders of tyranny and treason with the perfunctory atrocity of Anicetus or Saint-Arnaud. There is not, or I am much mistaken, a touch of imaginative poetry in the part of Flamineo: his passion, excitable on occasion and vehement enough, is as prosaic in its homely and cynical eloquence as the most fervent emotions of a Napoleon or an Iago when warmed or goaded into elocution. The one is a human snake, the other is a human wolf. Webster could not with equal propriety have put into the mouth of Flamineo such magnificent lyric poetry as seems to fall naturally, however suddenly and strangely, from the bitter and bloodthirsty tongue of Bosola. To him, as to the baffled and incoherent ruffian Romelio in the contemporary play of *The Devil's Law-case*, his creator has assigned the utterance of such verse as can only be compared to that uttered by Cornelia over the body of her murdered son in the tragedy to which I have just given so feeble and inadequate a word of tribute. In his command and in his use of the metre first made fashionable by the graceful improvisations of Greene, Webster seems to me as original and as peculiar as in his grasp and manipulation of character and event. All other poets, Shakespeare no less than Barnfield and Milton no less than Wither, have used this lyric instrument for none but gentle or gracious ends: Webster has breathed into it the power to express a sublimer and a profounder tone of emotion; he has given it the cadence and the colour of tragedy; he has touched and transfigured its note of meditative music into a chord of passionate austerity and prophetic awe. This was the key in which all previous poets had played upon the metre which Webster was to put to so deeply different an use.

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Walking in a valley greene,
Spred with Flora summer queene:
Where shee heaping all hir graces,
Niggard seemd in other places.
(*Tullies Loue*, p. 53, ed. 1589)

Nights were short, and daies were long;
Blossoms on the Hauthorns hung:
Philomele (Night-Musiques King)
Tolde the comming of the spring.
(*Grosart's Barnfield* [1876], p. 97.)

On a day (alack the day!)
Love, whose month is ever May,
Spied a blossom passing fair
Playing in the wanton air.
(*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act iv. Sc. iii.)

And now let us hear Webster.

Hearke, now every thing is still,
The Scritch-Owle, and the whistler shrill,
Call upon our Dame, aloud,
And bid her quickly don her shrowd:
Much you had of Land and rent,
Your length in clay's now competent.
A long war disturb'd your minde,
Here your perfect peace is sign'd.
Of what is't, fooles make such vaine keeping?
Sin their conception, their birth, weeping:
Their life, a generall mist of error,
Their death, a hideous storme of terror.
Strew your haire with powders sweete:
D'on cleane linnen, bath[e] your feete,
And (the foule feend more to checke)
A crucifixe let blesse your necke:
'Tis now full tide 'tweene night and day,
End your groane, and come away.
(*The Tragedy of the Dutchesse of Malfy*: 1623: sig. K, K 2.)

The toll of the funereal rhythm, the heavy chime of the solemn and simple verse, the mournful menace and the brooding presage of its note, are but the covering, as it were, or the outer expression, of the tragic significance which deepens and quickens and kindles to its close. Æschylus and Dante have never excelled, nor perhaps have Sophocles and Shakespeare ever equalled in impression of terrible effect, the fancy of bidding a live woman array herself in the raiment of the grave, and do for her own living body the offices done for a corpse by the ministers attendant on the dead.

The murderous humourist whose cynical inspiration gives life to these deadly lines is at first sight a less plausible, but on second thoughts may perhaps seem no less possible a character than Flamineo. Pure and simple ambition of the Napoleonic order is the motive which impels into infamy the aspiring parasite of Brachiano: a savage melancholy inflames the baffled greed of Bosola to a pitch

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of wickedness not unqualified by relenting touches of profitless remorse, which come always either too early or too late to bear any serviceable fruit of compassion or redemption. There is no deeper or more Shakespearean stroke of tragic humour in all Webster's writings than that conveyed in the scornful and acute reply—almost too acute perhaps for the character—of Bosola's remorseless patron to the remonstrance or appeal of his instrument against the insatiable excess and persistence of his cruelty; 'Thy pity is nothing akin to thee.' He has more in common with Romelio in *The Devil's Law-case*, an assassin who misses his aim and flounders into penitence much as that discomfortable drama misses its point and stumbles into vacuity: and whose unsatisfactory figure looks either like a crude and unsuccessful study for that of Bosola, or a disproportioned and emasculated copy from it. But to him too Webster has given the fitful force of fancy or inspiration which finds expression in such sudden snatches of funereal verse as this:

> How then can any monument say
> 'Here rest these bones till the last day,'
> When Time, swift both of foot and feather,
> May bear them the sexton kens not whither?
> What care I, then, though my last sleep
> Be in the desert or the deep,
> No lamp nor taper, day and night,
> To give my charnel chargeable light?
> I have there like quantity of ground,
> And at the last day I shall be found.

The villainous laxity of versification which deforms the grim and sardonic beauty of these occasionally rough and halting lines is perceptible here and there in *The Duchess of Malfy*, but comes to its head in *The Devil's Law-case*. It cannot, I fear, be denied that Webster was the first to relax those natural bonds of noble metre 'whose service is perfect freedom'—as Shakespeare found it, and combined with perfect loyalty to its law the most perfect liberty of living and sublime and spontaneous and accurate expression. I can only conjecture that this greatest of the Shakespeareans was misguided out of his natural line of writing as exemplified and perfected in the tragedy of Vittoria, and lured into this cross and crooked byway of immetrical experiment, by the temptation of some theory or crotchet on the score of what is now called naturalism or realism; which, if there were any real or natural weight in the reasoning that seeks to support it, would of course do away, and of course ought to do away, with dramatic poetry altogether: for if it is certain that real persons do not actually converse in good metre, it is happily no less certain that they do not actually converse in bad metre. In the hands of so great a tragic poet as Webster a peculiar and impressive effect may now and then be produced by this anomalous and illegitimate way of writing; it certainly suits well with the thoughtful and fantastic

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truculence of Bosola's reflections on death and dissolution and decay —his 'talk fit for a charnel,' which halts and hovers between things hideous and things sublime. But it is a step on the downward way that leads to the negation or the confusion of all distinctions between poetry and prose; a result to which it would be grievous to think that the example of Shakespeare's greatest contemporary should in any way appear to conduce.

The doctrine or the motive of chance (whichever we may prefer to call it) is seen in its fullest workings and felt in its furthest bearings by the student of Webster's masterpiece. The fifth act of *The Duchess of Malfy* has been assailed on the very ground which it should have been evident to a thoughtful and capable reader that the writer must have intended to take up—on the ground that the whole upshot of the story is dominated by sheer chance, arranged by mere error, and guided by pure accident. No formal scheme or religious principle of retribution would have been so strangely or so thoroughly in keeping with the whole scheme and principle of the tragedy. After the overwhelming terrors and the overpowering beauties of that unique and marvellous fourth act in which the genius of this poet spreads its fullest and its darkest wing for the longest and the strongest of its flights, it could not but be that the subsequent action and passion of the drama should appear by comparison unimpressive or ineffectual; but all the effect or impression possible of attainment under the inevitable burden of this difficulty is achieved by natural and simple and straightforward means. If Webster has not made the part of Antonio dramatically striking and attractive—as he probably found it impossible to do—he has at least bestowed on the fugitive and unconscious widower of his murdered heroine a pensive and manly grace of deliberate resignation which is not without pathetic as well as poetical effect. In the beautiful and well-known scene where the echo from his wife's unknown and new-made grave seems to respond to his meditative mockery and forewarn him of his impending death, Webster has given such reality and seriousness to an old commonplace of contemporary fancy or previous fashion in poetry that we are fain to forget the fantastic side of the conception and see only the tragic aspect of its meaning. A weightier objection than any which can be brought against the conduct of the play might be suggested to the minds of some readers—and these, perhaps, not too exacting or too captious readers—by the sudden vehemence of transformation which in the great preceding act seems to fall like fire from heaven upon the two chief criminals who figure on the stage of murder. It seems rather a miraculous retribution, a judicial violation of the laws of nature, than a reasonably credible consequence or evolution of those laws, which strikes Ferdinand with madness and Bosola with repentance. But the whole atmosphere of the action is so charged with thunder that this double and simultaneous shock of

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moral electricity rather thrills us with admiration and faith than chills us with repulsion or distrust. The passionate intensity and moral ardour of imagination which we feel to vibrate and penetrate through every turn and every phrase of the dialogue would suffice to enforce upon our belief a more nearly incredible revolution of nature or revulsion of the soul.

It is so difficult for even the very greatest poets to give any vivid force of living interest to a figure of passive endurance that perhaps the only instance of perfect triumph over this difficulty is to be found in the character of Desdemona. Shakespeare alone could have made her as interesting as Imogen or Cordelia; though these have so much to do and dare, and she after her first appearance has simply to suffer: even Webster could not give such individual vigour of characteristic life to the figure of his martyr as to the figure of his criminal heroine. Her courage and sweetness, her delicacy and sincerity, her patience and her passion, are painted with equal power and tenderness of touch: yet she hardly stands before us as distinct from others of her half angelic sisterhood as does the White Devil from the fellowship of her comrades in perdition.

But it is only with Shakespeare that Webster can ever be compared in any way to his disadvantage as a tragic poet: above all others of his country he stands indisputably supreme. The place of Marlowe indeed is higher among our poets by right of his primacy as a founder and a pioneer: but of course his work has not—as of course it could not have—that plenitude and perfection of dramatic power in construction and dramatic subtlety in detail which the tragedies of Webster share in so large a measure with the tragedies of Shakespeare. Marston, the poet with whom he has most in common, might almost be said to stand in the same relation to Webster as Webster to Shakespeare. In single lines and phrases, in a few detached passages and a very few distinguishable scenes, he is worthy to be compared with the greater poet; he suddenly rises and dilates to the stature and the strength of a model whom usually he can but follow afar off. Marston, as a tragic poet, is not quite what Webster would be if his fame depended simply on such scenes as those in which the noble mother of Vittoria breaks off her daughter's first interview with Brachiano—spares, and commends to God's forgiveness, the son who has murdered his brother before her eyes—and lastly appears 'in several forms of distraction,' 'grown a very old woman in two hours,' and singing that most pathetic and imaginative of all funereal invocations which the finest critic of all time so justly and so delicately compared to the watery dirge of Ariel. There is less refinement, less exaltation and perfection of feeling, less tenderness of emotion and less nobility of passion, but hardly less force and fervour, less weighty and sonorous ardour of expression, in the very best and loftiest passages of Marston: but his genius is more uncertain, more fitful and

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intermittent, less harmonious, coherent, and trustworthy than Webster's. And Webster, notwithstanding an occasional outbreak into Aristophanic license of momentary sarcasm through the sardonic lips of such a cynical ruffian as Ferdinand or Flamineo, is without exception the cleanliest, as Marston is beyond comparison the coarsest writer of his time. In this as in other matters of possible comparison that 'vessel of deathless wrath,' the implacable and inconsolable poet of sympathy half maddened into rage and aspiration goaded backwards to despair,—it should be needless to add the name of Cyril Tourneur—stands midway between these two more conspicuous figures of their age. But neither the father and master of poetic pessimists, the splendid and sombre creator of Vindice and his victims, nor any other third whom our admiration may discern among all the greatest of their fellows, can be compared with Webster on terms more nearly equal than those on which Webster stands in relation to the sovereign of them all.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

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THE CRUSADE AGAINST SILVER.

MANY and wide as are the differences among economists in regard to the wisdom and efficiency of problems of vital interest to nations, they are, none the less, in decided agreement as to the absolute necessity every State is under to aim at the possession of a sound system of currency. This, at first sight, may appear a truism, but it cannot be denied that, in the tumult of faction and the whirl of party polemics, this wholesome canon is constantly and culpably lost sight of. We see perpetrated momentous and fundamental alterations in currency laws, deeply fraught and bound up with the weal or woe of the toiling masses. We find social economic revolutions effected without one in a thousand having the remotest conception of the grave import of that which they regard in the passive attitude of complacent spectators. Lord Liverpool's Mono-metallist Bill and the action of Germany, coupled with the spasmodic treatment of silver by the Latin Union during the past decade, are notable instances in point. In what manner, and to what extent, this Crusade against Silver—considered in the light of the recent phase of it in America—has conduced to the continuous and phenomenal depression of trade it is the aim of this paper to elucidate. When it is remembered that silver is a currency metal holding undisputed sway in countries counting their population by hundreds of millions, that it must continue, for ages to come, to hold this paramount position, and that it is the mainspring regulating the vast volume of our commerce with the East, the importance and interest of the subject will readily be conceded.

Gold and silver have from time immemorial been conjointly instrumental in supplying the currency requirements of the world. About the end of the last century, owing doubtless to the great multiplication of mercantile houses and banking institutions, long-headed financiers began to cast about them for the establishment, on a solid basis, of an international and sound system of financial law. Obviously a disturbance of the comparative position of the two metals was apprehended. To obviate this catastrophe, it was sought to obtain a ratio as between the exchangeable value of these, representing the average both of their normal production and their relative current

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values. By this it was hoped, and rightly so, to impart a fixity of legal exchange to the currency of the two metals. Such a stability was then considered eminently desirable. With the extension of the knowledge of political economy, and greater ramifications of commerce, new and hitherto unknown needs had been created. These needs had to be provided for, and safeguarded against any probable dislocation of metallic values. Larger and more multifarious became the demand on the monetary functions of the two metals. The floating of loans, which has since risen to the dignity of modern financial science, began to be contemplated and undertaken. Discoveries promising yields of untold wealth of mineral ore also threatened to throw seriously out of gear the harmonious and satisfactory working of currency laws having prescription and an unwritten charter, so to speak, for their guidance. It is therefore evident that a serious attempt had to be made to secure these, on which depended the delicate and complex fabric of domestic currency and international exchange. France boldly took the lead, and, as the result of her initiative, the various European nations unanimously decided that 15½ of silver should be the exchangeable value of that metal for 1 of gold. This law received the necessary assent, and, though not considered immutable, was, nevertheless, loyally adhered to, and enjoyed an untroubled existence, snug under the sanction it derived from the force of international compact and reciprocal benefit. The virtual effect of this fiscal law of the year 1803 was that Great Britain became, by tacit agreement, a supporter of its provisions. In 1816 Lord Liverpool's Government, on the resumption of specie payments, elected the exclusive employment of gold for the discharge of this monetary function. Silver was therefore summarily repudiated, and a momentous social change effected, with the consequence that the interest of the creditor was directly favoured, to the detriment of the debtor class. This untoward contingency might have been foreseen, on consideration of the fact that the debtor class, having contracted their indebtedness while the country's currency standard was practically *Bi*-metallic, had imposed on them (by a stroke of the legislative pen) onerous obligations, in having to pay in a metal which this very legislation helped to make the rarer, costlier, and more likely to be appreciated of the two. The presumption of the contingent enhancement of gold has since been too well verified. It may here be incidentally remarked that, consequent on the discoveries of gold-fields in California and Australia, a reversal of the present metallic conditions had depreciated gold ten per cent. Professor Jevons said in 1863: 'The country may be said to be looking calmly on while every contract, including that of the National Debt, is being violated against the intention of the contracting parties.'

The oppressive and injurious features of this reliance on a single hard-worked metal were not felt at the time, owing, probably, to

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Great Britain being then a kind of 'close' territory, and they were relieved by the fact that the white metal could be obtained in France at a fixed ratio. With the disappearance of Protection and retaliatory tariffs the old state of things gave way to a one-sided, yet healthy system of commerce, benefiting those of our population who most needed the advantages of Free Trade. A low basis of prices is an undoubted boon to the community at large, but an abnormal and incessantly fluctuating basis is quite another thing. It does not even possess the proverbial virtue of an 'ill wind.'

To resume: thanks to progressive improvements in the arts and sciences, and to the opening up of new markets—and in spite of monometallism—immense strides were made in our agricultural industries and manufacturing enterprises. Our commerce, aided by British pluck, endurance, and colonising aptitude, struck root all the world over. The nation, at the commencement of the decade of 1870, was on the verge of the unexampled prosperity which culminated in 1874. Bismarck, in the flush of the colossal indemnity from France, beheld with covetous eyes this marvellous exhibition of our national development. The Iron Chancellor, with characteristic impulsiveness, persuaded himself that he could start a fierce rivalry against us, so as to establish Germany's prowess by sea as well as by land. 'Beati possidentes' was not then in fashion. The order went forth that Great Britain was to be aped in every way. Colonies were to be founded, coaling stations and places of arms to be maintained and garrisoned, destructive ironclads were to be commenced, and finally, a gold standard was henceforward to be considered the only fitting one for such proud victors. The 'ideas' of national aggrandisement were to be as thorough in execution as they were high and mighty in conception.

Alas for the frailty of human calculations, and the infirmity of human will! The portion of these ideas that admitted of being carried out, failed to produce the brilliant results anticipated. Huge armaments and halycon times do not usually consort together, and the adoption of a costly policy, with the object of pacifying and conciliating Socialism, proved a dismal and unmitigated failure. Into the question of the Colonies and the extension of the Navy it is not our province to enter, but a bold move is certainly to be recorded in the effort to discard the white metal for the yellow. Silver, which had stood at 60⅛*d.* per oz. with infinitesimal variations for fifty years or more until 1873, rapidly dwindled under the baneful influence of German sales to the unprecedented price of 46½*d.* per oz. three years later. At rates between these prices Germany succeeded in disposing of one moiety of her silver thalers. The loss resulting from this transaction—always in furtherance of the same Imperial policy, be it remembered—is computed, according to all reliable sources, at no less than 5,000,000*l.* Patriotism for the Fatherland is a good ticket

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on which to go to the electorate, but when it was found that in the pursuit of even an insignificant part of this patriotic scheme such heavy lossess were being incurred, a suspension of these ruinous sales was summarily decreed. Left with 25,000,000*l.* worth of silver thalers, which pass current as legal tender at the nominal gold equivalent, Germany thus, by sheer force of circumstances and probably by the change of opinion of her Chancellor, once more became a full-blown Bi-metallic State. In the Reichstag an influential representative of the Conservative party expressed the belief of his friends, as well as that of the Clerical party (associated together to agitate for a real—in place of a hybrid—Bi-metallism) that the adoption of mono-metallism has been, and is, 'the ruin of Germany.' Of course, we are aware that the other side stoutly deny this assertion, but it is nevertheless an open secret that Prince Bismarck's belief tends in the same direction. A powerful league has been started there to agitate for a free coinage, and the establishment of a double standard.

Germany's sales of silver regardless of the sacrifice involved naturally awakened the fears of France and the rest of the Latin Union. They were imbued with natural alarm at the threatening prospect of being inundated with a disused and discredited metal. A general stampede was anticipated, and a universal *sauve qui peut* ensued. France and her associates resolved out of hand to bar their mints from any further coinage of silver. Gratuitous and unlimited coinage was relegated to the planets. In 1876 matters reached a crisis, the metal became a drug, and there were 'none so poor to do it reverence.' From that time silver has oscillated between 53*d.* and 46¼*d.* per oz. with incessant and disturbing fluctuations rendering its prospective exchangeable value in relation to gold—and in fact, to all commodities—a matter of as great uncertainty as the future prices of copper or pig-iron.

The history of metallic standards in the United States, America, briefly summarised, is this. Ever since the foundation and consolidation of the United States, down to 1873, gold and silver were freely coined, and as freely used, in their recognised ratio on the strength of the then existing European custom and monetary law—expressed or implied—that of 15 to 1 until 1834, and thence down to 1873 at the ratio of 16 to 1. Mr. Alex. Delmar—a United States official—graphically described, at the Institute of Bankers, the accidental circumstance out of which arose the necessity for the passing of the Bland Bill. The official who was charged with the duty of codifying the various currency regulations surreptitiously omitted the word 'dollar' from the list of coins that the mint was authorised to produce. This strange suppression of 'the blessed word' was detected by Mr. Delmar two years after, and Mr. Bland's attention being drawn to it, the famous Bill bearing his name was formulated and passed by the United States Legislature, after a sharp wrangle between the partisans

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of the two metals. His leading provision was the authorisation to coin yearly a maximum of 5,000,000*l.* worth of silver dollars.

Having shown the salient and positive contributory causes which led to the disturbance of the time-honoured metallic relations, it is instructive to note one fact of a negative nature with respect to the production of silver. Although a strongly debated point, a cursory glance at statistics would help to dispel the debatable view that is taken of it. People jump to the conclusion that it must have increased beyond all reckoning because there is a fall in its price. This is surely begging the question with a vengeance. To attribute an effect with a sublime indifference to the cause which it is alleged contributed to it may be a convenient mode of argument, but it labours under the disadvantage of running counter to common sense and the plainest logic. Irrefutable figures point to the fact that so far from silver having been overproduced, stocks have virtually remained stationary. From Mulhall's *History of Prices* we find that whereas the stock of gold, coined and uncoined, in 1870 was 1175 millions sterling, as against 2715 millions sterling of silver, in 1885 the figures are gold 1504 and silver 3054 millions sterling. This shows clearly that the depression of silver, ascribable as it may be to its growing disuse as a money unit, and to its substitution by electroplate for art and ornamental purposes, or to other causes, can assuredly not be owing to over-production. Mr. Mulhall points out, in further proof, that 'the quantity of silver is now only nineteen times that of gold, whereas in 1850 it was thirty-two times, and yet, strange to say, silver has fallen.'

Thus, on a survey of the whole of the foregoing, sufficient evidence has, we think, been adduced—in the limited space at our disposal—to prove that in this abnormal condition, in a monetary sense, to which we find silver reduced, and the consequent powerful combination arrayed against it for the annihilation of its legal-tender capacities, we trace Germany's wrong-headed action as the *fons et origo mali*. Hers is the unenviable distinction of having let loose the flood-gates of every disintegrating element under which mono-metallists cherish the belief that silver bids fair to succumb. Not only that, but the defensive attitude of the other States, has naturally aggravated the rush of the avalanche which any one of them was as powerless as reluctant, single-handed, to stem.

With a prognosis of the problem down to its latest development before us, we shall now endeavour to diagnose the acute symptoms which the diseased state of an important member of the currency system has produced on the trade of the world. The reader will be in a position to discriminate and appreciate the accurate nature of the effects resulting from the very general displacement of silver as an essential auxiliary to gold, since these effects refer to existing facts, and can be verified by a glance at statistics; while the

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causes for the most part may be regarded in the light of controversial historical statements. In France we have a country with a bi-metallic standard—gold and silver circulating side by side, both being legal tender to unlimited amounts; and but for the policy pursued by its formidable rival it would have still had its free-mintage laws in active operation. Complaints, loud and deep, come from across the Channel of stagnation of trade and agricultural enterprise. How far these troubles can be assigned to the oppressive octroi duties and the other burdens of taxation, or to the fall in silver, may to some extent be a moot point—although the French bankers appear to incline unmistakably to the belief that the disturbed relations between the two metals have conduced in a great measure to the actual condition of things. It cannot, however, be denied that the unrestricted rivalry which India, aided and abetted by a phenomenally profitable exchange, is enabled to wage against French indigenous productions, exerts a most baneful influence on Gallic industrial activity.

These observations apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the economic position of Germany and Italy. Little wonder, then, that they, in common with the other constituents of the Latin Union, should be eager for a termination of this unstable and mischievous factor in their exchanges. Austria and Russia are—the one wholly, the other partially—silver mono-metallic countries, and appear to fare better than their neighbours in the prevailing cataclysm of low prices. This may be accounted for by the circumstance that the result of their products, as measured by their values in the gold-paying countries, bears a decidedly favourable comparison with that of countries not similarly situated. The inelastic character of their resources, however, and the absence of any indication of immediate improvement, lead us to hope that they will adhere, *nolens volens*, to their silver standard.

In America, the state of feeling disclosed during the agitation to suspend the operation of the Bland Bill, and the signal failure which has happily attended it, show the importance which the bulk of that enterprising nation attach to the necessity of upholding silver at all costs. Bankers, and other 'gold bugs,' desirous of turning an 'honest penny' by securing an artificial enhancement of their bonds and other gold-bearing obligations, have, for the present at least, to bow their diminished heads, and submit to the inevitable. The idea of the necessity of arresting the degradation of silver is growing in importance, not through any influence—insignificant at the best—of the silver-mining interest, but by the awakened intelligence of the masses themselves. In this connection, it may be noted that the Americans display greater acuteness and foresight than the British public. They recognise the close relation which silver, in its monetary capacity, bears to the prosperity of their staple products. They clearly perceive the expediency of the proper recognition of a metal on which depends the maintenance of their industries, and the neglect of which would sorely embar-

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rass the development of the farming interest. They are also shrewd enough to realise the inadequacy of the present prospective supply of gold bullion to sustain with even tolerable steadiness the level of prices, or to prevent further shrinkage in values—already low enough in all conscience, and imminently threatening to prove a source of the greatest disquietude to lovers of law and order. It is true that the President and a coterie of Treasury officials favour the bankers' view, and we admit that they are inspired by patriotic motives. In the words of the late Secretary to the Treasury, 'the suspension of the silver coinage would do much to bring about, on the part of the European States, action in its favour.' Considering that the immediate effect would be to aggravate the depreciation of silver and emasculate the power of the Latin Union in their endeavour to restore it, it does seem that the value of the Secretary's advice bears in an inverse ratio on the real good of his country. However this may be, anti-silver legislation, judging from the course of the proceedings of the House Coinage Committee, is decidedly unpopular, and by no means *une affaire résolue*; so much so that the New Bland Bill, advocating *unlimited* coinage, was only thrown out by a majority of one—leaving the former bill in full force, it having thus emerged scatheless from the crucible of monopolies and other vested interests.

To review briefly the state of affairs in India arising from the altered condition of the use of silver in Europe, we find results fascinating perhaps to the superficial observer, but to an interested student the position must seem hopelessly and radically unsound. There are those who regard the vast volumes of Indian exports as an infallible barometer of benefits accruing from low exchanges. These, however, are benefits which the position of India as a tributary nation, and other economical considerations, go far to qualify. The first of these peculiarities consists in the serious injury occasioned by the adverse rate at which her silver tribute is exchanged to pay her gold obligations in England, the loss representing a sum of no less than 4,000,000*l.* per annum; so that India's accumulations in the shape of Insurance Funds and other contingent provisions are engulfed in this ever-yawning abyss. The other striking feature is its distinctly protective nature and tendency. The extension of a nation's productive capabilities, where it can be traced to natural causes, cheapened methods of production, or to any other substantial development of resources, cannot but be a matter of satisfaction; in this particular instance, however, one witnesses the phenomenon of a country receiving a vast stimulus to its agricultural energies in the absence of any such legitimate aids, simply and solely by the operation of the factitious disturbance of currency relations as between silver and gold standard States. Protection in any form we are sufficiently advanced to consider heretical; *à fortiori*, in the transient and harassingly fluctuating condition in which it operates on India it is extremely proble-

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matical whether the inflated prosperity it engenders can be regarded as otherwise than ephemeral. The cotton factories, under the spur of an unprecedented shrinkage in silver (in its gold ratio) are daily driving the Lancashire manufacturers out of the field in all silver-using countries. Thus both the 'land and hand interests' are enlarging the sphere of their operations under what must be characterised a delusive feeling of confidence and security, so that when the day of reaction arrives—either in the shape of an augmented employment of silver in Europe or a diminished out-turn of the mines—it will bring with it widespread mischief to all forms of industrial activity.

The wealthy classes it may not concern so much to look ahead, but the effect on the wage-earning community of such a grave dislocation of their respective occupations cannot be overrated. Mr. Hope, an official of wide experience of India, recommended, in view, no doubt, of the deplorable lack of appreciation of the gravity of affairs displayed by the Home Government, direct overtures being made to the Latin Union for some international basis of action. An unofficial member, at a meeting of the Supreme Council, declared his conviction of the evil tendency of a perpetually recurring fall in silver. Sir Auckland Colvin, after pointing out that, if things are allowed to continue to drift, fifty crores of rupees will have been withdrawn from the pockets of the people by the end of a decade—urged that 'he did not see where any compensating advantage is to come to them;' and, further, 'when I am told that a currency the value of which relatively to gold is what ours has now become, will be the source of unmixed prosperity, I cannot but hesitate to accept these glad tidings of great joy, and to inquire whether other causes have not been at work to which, in great part, the improvement of our revenues may be assigned.'

Simultaneously with the news of anti-silver agitation in the States, the Indian Council, during Lord Randolph Churchill's active *régime*, were credited with a plan (intended as a counterblast) for an absolute or partial cessation of free mintage in India. Considered in the abstract, there may be much to recommend the idea—such as the necessity of controlling an unlimited coining of what may be fast becoming a generally demonetised metal, or the expediency, for State reasons, of checking a violent drop in the sale of the Secretary of State's bills on India. But then there are obvious economic reasons which militate against a step of this kind being taken, unless in a grave emergency. The disturbance to the Indo-Chinese trade, which would be very great, has also to be considered. It was also bruited about that the fixing of an arbitrary rate for Council Bills might be recommended as an accompaniment to the closing of the mints but any such artificial expedients for maintaining silver at a given level is so obviously pernicious in principle,

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and would prove so vexatious in practice—encouraging illicit coining, &c.—that it seems doubtful whether any Government would seriously contemplate its adoption. What, therefore, is wanted, if Indian resources are to be permanently benefited, is that the war of standards should be brought to an end by an international agreement, having for its leading object the fixing of a reasonable relative value which the two metals are to bear to each other—the average value of, say, the last twenty-five years being taken as a basis for determining the ratio to be observed in future. A term of years might be agreed upon as the term of the Convention, when—all parties being willing—it would receive a fresh lease of existence. We shall treat further of the matter later in this paper: but on a dispassionate retrospect of the smoothness with which the former arrangement worked, and how mutually helpful they were, we hope to be acquitted of the charge of formulating an extravagant proposition. There is, we affirm, no greater force in the argument for divesting silver of its monetary character than there was in the agitation to discard gold twenty-five years ago.

Here we come to the crux of the matter, viz. the extent and degree to which the continuous depression of affairs at home may be ascribed to the disturbance in the currency values of the two metals. Is there a palpable and increasing scarcity in the gold supply? Has this scarcity, coupled with larger demands on gold, caused a corresponding contraction in our currency? To these two questions we say 'Yes,' as we have not yet read any authoritative refutation of these premises. Neither are we straining these too much in assuming that, in consequence, an undue inflation and enhancement of gold have occurred, increasing its purchasing power as against silver and every other commodity. And what does this increase of power signify other than low, unremunerative prices all round—a positive check to all forms of industry, leading to partial cessation of labour, enforced lowering of wages, and a general paralysis in almost every branch of commercial and industrial enterprise? The farmer, for instance, keenly feels the brunt of the formidable competition with Indian cereals—an assertion easy of demonstration.

Let us take the case of a parcel of Indian wheat. Previous to the rush to demonetise silver, Indian wheat (which was worth in India then what it is worth now) shipped to Great Britain netted, say, 1,000*l.* This sum remitted to India at the then exchange realised 10,100 Rs., whereas a similar parcel of wheat sells now—duly allowing for the fall in the value of wheat here since—for, say, 900*l.* nett, which at the present exchange realises no less a sum than 12,000 Rs., or 1,900 Rs. more than the Indian grower and exporter would have received in days when the stable element was existent. In showing this advantage, which has arisen in favour of Indian cereals, we of course do not take into account the reduction in freights

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and railway charges, and the increased facilities afforded by the Suez Canal, such being natural and perfectly legitimate stimulants.

And do not the looms of Lancashire and Bradford tell the same tale of woe and despondency? Again our task of proving low-priced silver to be the chief factor in these troubles is simplified by reference to well-known facts. Manufactured articles shipped to India can only be said to be disposed of there in the form of barter, for the proceeds have to be converted into English currency; and what sudden kaleidoscopic changes each succeeding account sales can display! When differences varying from 15 to 25 per cent. occur in exchange, he would be a bold merchant who would undertake to calculate, even approximately, what the result of his ventures is likely to be. The same test as applies in the case of wheat, instanced above, may be used in the case of cotton and other textile fabrics—*i.e.* the difference between the former normal rate of exchange and the rate ruling at present, which—caused undoubtedly by the low price of silver—is no less than 20 to 25 per cent.; a sort of shifting ponderous millstone by which British manufacturers and farmers are handicapped and overborne. These must, in sooth, be long-suffering individuals—in a matter where the exercise of such forbearance is quite misplaced—if they do not rise to a right conviction of the gravity of the situation, and think the matter out for themselves. Their sturdy reliance on their own exertions, and refusal to own to any inferiority, enable them to regard with some equanimity our sorely tried system of free trade; but the unfair competition, however, to which they are subjected, because of our insular views of the sanctity attaching to 'The Golden Calf,' entails a refinement of gratuitous and self-imposed burdens. Then the consumer—who is always trotted out in connection with this matter—is, it cannot be too much borne in mind, amply protected by our fiscal tariff: and the wage-earning consumer will awake to find that low prices may be too dearly purchased. Does it not seem right that this canker to our industries should be arrested by means which need not partake of any heroic character, provided such means are taken in due time; while the disease, if allowed to continue on its headlong course, uncontrolled and unchecked, may before long become the parent of irreparable mischief? And the awakening will be a rude one!

Silver has ever acted as a vivifying element in infusing wholesome blood into the material circulation of national and international relations when these were threatened with constitutional impoverishment each time a contraction of the gold supply occurred; and we contend that for the fulfilment of such a salutary operation it is yet eminently suited. Is it in pursuance of any rational principle that the world now turns round to divest itself of this function? Would not the restoration of its compensatory functions favourably react on the level of prices and conduce—if anything can conduce—to a revival

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of activity and prosperity? People talk glibly of our position as a gold country. In so doing, do they not mistake cause for effect? For is not such a position the consequence and not the cause of our vast accumulation of wealth? Gold we shall always have in our coffers, simply because of our acknowledged commercial pre-eminence. National affluence will always control and command it. Other nations can only denude us of our gold when they succeed in capturing Portsmouth or making themselves comfortable at Dover. Macaulay aptly remarked, 'Where wealth is, there power must inevitably be.'

Various schemes have been placed before the public with the view to the adoption of remedial measures. We propose noticing two or three of these. One is an ingenious plan for the issue of notes against an equal reserve of gold and silver bullion, the latter to be daily calculated at its gold equivalent, and the reserve to be diminished or augmented according as the market value of silver rises or falls; the notes to have certificates attached representing their value, payable on presentation at the treasury, a moiety in gold and the other moiety in silver coin or bullion calculated at the price of the day. The object of the certificate does not seem quite clear, unless as affording additional security in the event of the loss of the notes. The elaborate machinery necessary for working such a scheme, and its somewhat intricate character, would not render it very practicable.

Then there is the proposition to issue notes against silver bullion, on the condition that the exchange is to be effected subject to the varying value of the metal. These notes would not represent any recognised medium of exchange. Their currency value would oscillate with every turn of the silver market, and from their extremely unpopular character we do not see how they could serve any useful purpose in alleviating the gold pressure, and the idea may be dismissed as impracticable.

Next comes the proposal formulated by the Bi-metallic League—an institution which, though only of recent growth, possesses a council of thoroughly practical and representative members, including two ex-governors of the Bank of England. This is, that England should encourage the idea of an International Convention by 'taking her due share in the settlement of a question so vital to the well-being of the Empire and so essential to the interests of commerce everywhere.' This does not necessarily imply the adoption by England of Bi-metallism pure and simple. The Bank of England has the power of placing a proportionate reserve of silver bullion to the extent of five millions sterling. This authority has been allowed, for prudential considerations, to remain a dead letter, but concurrently with the security against a serious fall in silver which an International Monetary Convention would afford, we do not see why the Bank should not revert to its former practice in this respect. The amount might be increased to ten millions sterling, as a basis for an increased issue of paper currency of a lower denomination than that now in vogue. This

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concession we can safely offer in return for Germany's co-operation towards the restoration of silver. By the Latin Union our support would be construed as seconding the efforts of those Powers who will only act eagerly and promptly when confident in the strength of our moral adhesion to their views. A trifling modification in our currency laws would ensure the necessary alteration being carried out without any friction. On behalf of the Indian Government, a pledge might easily be tendered assuring the unrestricted coinage of silver by every Indian mint, concurrent with the strict fulfilment of the provisions of an International Convention which has already been referred to in an earlier part of this paper. It may not be amiss to observe that the pledge would only be—having regard to India's silver mono-metallism—a sort of nominal concession, but it is the moral worth of the promise that would give it a *bonâ-fide* force.

But there seems no valid objection to Parliament granting an inquiry with a view to the appointment of an International Convention, to find suitable means for the restoration to silver of its former stability. Most of the chambers of commerce are practically agreed as to the necessity of Government inquiring thoroughly into the question.

In former times *autocratic* governments did not scruple to tamper with the currency of a nation. We have Professor Jevons' authority for apprehending that 'the danger lies quite in the opposite direction: that *popular* governments will not venture upon the most obvious and necessary improvement of the monetary system without obtaining a concurrence of popular opinion in its favour; while the people, influenced by habit, and with little knowledge of the subject, will never be able to agree upon the best scheme.'

It will not appear that the views held by our Bi-metallists generally are either ambitious in scope or pretentious in character, and, bearing in mind the absence of any desire to tamper with the recognised legal-tender qualities of either metal, it may be hoped that public opinion will not consider the proposals in any querulous, grudging spirit; particularly when the matter comes to be clearly placed before them, and its importance pointed out. Our co-operation would tend to the establishment and promotion of a friendly understanding, which would add immensely to the chances of a solution meeting with general acceptance and favour. Such a solution of the Battle of the Standards, based on the principle of compensatory action, would (the Bi-metallists claim) materially conduce to—

1. The economising of the gold supply and consequent diminution of pressure on it.

2. The decreased wear of our gold coins (a waste of wealth not sufficiently realised).

3. The raising to a figure that will admit of profit to producers the prices of commodities, by counteracting the serious appreciation of gold.

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4. The stimulus to our manufactures.

5. The much-sought-for relief to agriculturists from the present unhealthy competition.

6. The employment of a greater number of hands, and the check to overcrowding in large towns.

7. The elimination of the disturbing element in the world's currency.

Circumstances are daily and visibly forcing the merits of an equilibratory system of currency prominently forward. The notions concerning the merits of silver as a standard of value generally held here, and our attitude of insular abstention in respect to it, will, it is hoped, thaw before the fast-advancing warmth of enlightened and cosmopolitan views.

Then, again, the wage-earners, after well revolving the matter in their minds, will furnish a steady phalanx of advocates to press the altered condition of affairs on the consideration of our rulers. Facts and figures are stubborn materials to resist, and they can be shown to prove that a money metal which has, from time immemorial, ministered to the needs of two-thirds of the nations of the globe, and to a large portion of the rest (we mean bi-metallic nations) naturally recoils from its treatment as a *quantité négligeable*. Bi-metallism is not a fad, it is a living force. It claims to restore to silver its legitimate and undisputed position of usefulness, from which it is now sought to oust it. The covert sneers and assumed contempt of gold crotchet-mongers will serve only to incite the advocates of silver to greater and sustained exertions. The vitality of the cause scorns holding an equivocal position—one which may be compared to that illustrated by Stephenson's well-known reference to 'the coo.'

It may be interesting here to allude to the remarkable declaration of Lord R. Churchill's, in his speech at Manchester—a declaration important from the fact of its being the first speech of its kind coming from a distinguished statesman, as also from the enlightened interest which he, as the late Secretary of State for India, brought to bear in the consideration of the question of affording a fair degree of stability and steadiness to Indian Budgets. His lordship said:—

> It will be for you in Lancashire to turn your attention most anxiously to the dark and apparently unfathomable question of the relative value of silver and gold, and to endeavour to ascertain by your ingenuity and by your experience whether some policy in the nature of fixing permanently the relative value of these two metals may not possibly bring not only security to Indian finances, but may be a real remedy for decaying trade, and may be the means of reviving British commerce and enterprise.

We are sensible, in conclusion, of the elementary style in which we have tried to throw light on the various bearings of the question; but we were persuaded that if anything is to be done to raise the question from the slough of theory to the domain of practical discus-

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sion and ultimate action, it was necessary so to handle it. We trust that comprehensiveness has not been sacrificed on the altar of simplicity. If any apology is due, it must be the expression of a regret that the nature of the subject precluded an interesting or inspiriting treatment. We trust, at the same time, that no proposition has been advanced and no conclusion deduced in any dogmatic spirit; and if any collateral issue has been overlooked, or any point not thoroughly sifted, we must invoke Montesquieu's dictum—'It is not always advisable so completely to exhaust a subject as to leave nothing to be done by the reader; the important thing is, not to be read, but to excite the reader to thought.'

EDWARD ALBERT SASSOON.

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WOMEN AND POLITICS.

SINCE the passing of the second reading of the Women's Suffrage Bill, the discussion has been somewhat hotly carried on as to whether or no women themselves really desire to have votes, and on what grounds they can demand them. The argument for or against has been made to turn almost exclusively on the advantages women might secure from the change, and on the assumption that a hostile principle inherent in man has, since the beginning of the human race, been struggling to overcome another and antagonistic principle inherent in woman. The good government of the state and the general progress of mankind ethically and spiritually appear to be left very much out of consideration.

The question of women's influence in politics should not be approached from the point of view of Women's Rights, if by the expression Women's Rights is meant the right of women to be treated as the duplicate, and not the complement, of man in the scheme of humanity. Men and women have each their special attributes and characteristics, and the two points to be considered by an impartial observer are, whether the possession of voting power by women would be of advantage to the community, and whether the effect would be to alter materially their present social position and character. At the same time, the two are so closely bound together that it is very difficult to consider them separately; they cross and recross continually in the discussion.

There are not a great many politicians who seriously object to enfranchise all ratepaying women, and the general feeling seems to be that if they really desire a vote, there is no very valid political reason against their possessing it. An intelligent and educated woman who pays rates and taxes is quite competent to have a voice in the government of her country; her interests in the State are identical with those of men, and woman's suffrage is the logical outcome of the extension of the franchise. The general argument for the admission of ratepaying women to the franchise of course excludes the idea of married women having votes; and although, no doubt, married women's views may be adequately represented by their husbands, it seems very desirable that some means of procuring votes should be put at their disposal if the measure is to pass into law.

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The political subjects in which women's knowledge might be of advantage to the State are more especially connected with their experience of home life; and the influence they might bring to bear upon their unmarried sisters would be derived from a wider and more complete view of human affairs, while all exaggerations would be kept in check by their more intimate acquaintance with the men of their family. There is no reason why they should not, if they please, hold household property in their own hands, which should entitle them to a vote; or might they not be placed on the register, if they desired it, by some arrangement of a lodger franchise? There is nothing unwomanly in recording a vote by ballot, and between man and wife it would make no more difference than does the fact that a woman may now hold separately property of her own.

In the democratic tendency of the day, the theories of government by the people and by the absolute majority have superseded the theory that government is to be conducted by the enlightened and capable—the aristocracy in the strict sense of the word—for the benefit of the masses. One of the political results of the admission of women to the suffrage might be to show the fallacy of these modern doctrines, and somewhat to weaken the belief in the wisdom of purely popular government. Men who regard women as incapable of political thought would perhaps have their confidence shaken in their idol, the will of the people; for women are in a majority, therefore women would govern, which would seem to them manifestly absurd. This would not be the real result. As regards ordinary political questions women would continue to be guided by the men amongst whom they live to just the same extent as before. They act and react upon each other, and are dependent on each other. There is no antagonism between them; men have not one set of political opinions and women another; and patriotism, justice, and desire of good government may well be considered principles common to both. Women would never become as deep thinkers as men, and so long as the stronger being has the stronger intellect, so long would he continue to govern the State. Not that women are more ill-educated or ignorant than men. Both in the upper and lower classes this is distinctly not the case. In the middle class there is, perhaps, more tendency on the part of Englishmen to treat women as inferiors, and unfitted to form opinions political or otherwise, chiefly from a not irrational belief that in a well-organised society one set of duties belong to men and another to women. The higher the education of woman, in its true sense, the greater will be her capacity to appreciate distinctions, and to understand exactly the extent of her powers without usurping those of man, or claiming an impossible equality. Each would fit into the right place—the round brick into the round hole, and the square into the square. In one sense women's minds are more practical than men's, while in another they are more romantic and

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sentimental. It is said that their interference might increase the spasmodic and changeable tendency of modern politics, and that women are always under the influence of their emotions, while men are governed by their reason; but might it not be said with equal justice that men are governed by their passions, and that the true instincts of women would tend to modify the dangers of democracy towards which those passions would impel them? They would perhaps be more easily swayed by a master mind, and more impressed by great eloquence. They would, however, require a high political morality in the character of any great leader, whose increase of power would in that case be of no disadvantage to the State. Women might well be called upon to take a deep and practical interest in the important questions of social reform, education and religion. Their freedom from the business cares of life should give them time to know and appreciate the true wants of their fellow creatures, and their home life should teach them to understand the educational requirements of their country. It must be borne in mind that the advocacy of these subjects would require the judgment of married as well as of unmarried women to be really advantageous to the State. They should adopt the position and the power formerly held on these subjects by the Church, and keep steadily before Parliament the necessity of some form of religious teaching, and the recognition of Divine authority as essential to the well-being of the community. It would be in opposing the modern Radical notion that religion and morality can be divorced, that the true and highest influence of women would be most justly felt in politics.

The great danger in giving voting power to women is that those best qualified would hold aloof from those whose distorted views of their social duties and surroundings would lead them to seek a public life, and women's views would be represented by the noisiest and least womanly of their sex. If, as Mrs. Chapman says, the majority of women do not wish for the suffrage, and a large proportion are satisfied to vote as it were by proxy, it must be taken into consideration that once in possession of what might seem to be a weapon, an energetic minority would use it in the direction of what they consider emancipation. This movement belongs to a mistaken estimate of women's true influence, and each step taken which puts them into competition with men tends to destroy those attributes which specially qualify them for a voice and opinion on the social side of politics. A glance through English history shows what power women have always hitherto wielded. The special virtues of Boadicea may perhaps be put aside, but Margaret of Anjou is an imposing figure, and no one now denies to Queen Elizabeth the right to rank with the greatest English kings. She had the faculty of judging men, and governed the country with a firm will and purpose, while at the same time she was a woman in her faults and failings. The sovereign qualities of

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our present Queen, and the power for good that she has exercised, are too well known and appreciated to need recalling here. The further risk is that some women might wish to take an active part in politics even so far as to enter Parliament themselves. A seat in Parliament, it is said, would not absorb more time or strength than many other of their pursuits, though as a pleasure it does not seem very attractive, and as a career it would certainly not be very lucrative. The objections which exist against their adopting some other professions may not seem so evident here; no particular or very heavy course of study is needed to make a man a dabbler in politics or a member of Parliament, and in the present day all educated women probably care more for politics than for anything else outside their home duties and their charities. It has been objected that their presence would exaggerate the unbusiness-like defects of the House of Commons, and render it even more of a debating club than it is at present; but it has not been found that they in any way hinder public business by taking part in the work of citizens as members of School Boards, and as Guardians of the Poor. Here it is that their special characteristics of sympathy and love of their fellows make their presence and work most useful, and it is very much to be desired that they would take even keener interest in these departments. Whilst, however, for the sake of argument it has been admitted that some few advocates of Women's Rights might attempt to follow a political career, and that their doing so might produce no detrimental effect, yet the incongruity and absurdity of their sitting in Parliament, or taking office as members of a Government, bring such ridicule on the whole subject that these possibilities cannot be considered serious or practical objections to the proposed extension of the suffrage. One or two enthusiasts trying to rival men and asserting imaginary rights would not affect the social status of women at large; and actual competition being almost impossible, it does not seem likely that the franchise will in any way diminish their personal or moral influence, which latter is far more valuable to most of them than any amount of consideration as citizens.

Mrs. Fawcett seems to argue that with the greater opportunities of development accorded to Englishwomen during the present century, not only have their intellectual powers increased, but their special work has been done with greater zeal and intelligence, and implies that this is due to a large extent to the Women's Rights Movement. It is almost impossible to prove or disprove such assertions. It would be very easy to make a list of thinkers and workers among women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which would compare favourably with the names given by Mrs. Fawcett, and we may cite in reply to her statements the opinion of bygone poets and writers. No one will deny that such great men as Spenser, Dante, Shakespeare give an ideal of woman and her powers and work such as no living author can surpass. Their heroines are not depicted as

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useless, ignorant, or inactive. Neither did they require special legislation or look upon themselves as denied the rights of human beings. The advancement made, if any such there be, has only kept pace with the advancement of civilisation throughout the human race, and women as well as men have floated with the wave of intellectual activity and mental energy which has been flowing over the world since the Renaissance. Mrs. Fawcett also asserts that the French Revolution was the beginning of the recognition of woman's true position. The answer is easy. In almost all religions men have deified womanhood as well as manhood. In the ancient mythologies of the Greeks and Romans, wisdom and knowledge were personified as women. Athênè was a woman, the Sibyls were women, and the Muses. Woman's place in Western civilisation was given to her by Christianity, and by the very doctrine which has now become an error in the Roman Church. The Chivalry of the Middle Ages was its first result. The idea from which St. Paul takes his text is not so much the absolute submission of women to men as that they were too precious for ordinary life in the world, and it taught reverence and respect quite as much, or at any rate at the same time, as the need of protection and support. Women have left their mark on every page of history, and one is sometimes tempted to wish that they were irresponsible for their actions, as well as for the misery and misfortune of which they have been the cause, from the days of Helen of Troy downwards. That they should become more and more aware of the part allotted to them in dispelling the clouds of passion and selfishness which have overhung the past, and that it is important that they should maintain their softening and civilising effect on the rougher natures of men, will not be denied. An educated, intelligent, and refined woman has an ideal to which she hopes to attain as far above the ideal of the keenest advocate for 'Women's Rights' as the song of the nightingale is above the song of other birds. Such a woman does not dream of equality with men; her power is motive rather than active, and she rightly resents any doctrines which would seem to deprive her of this. The ancient saying that woman was made for man takes a new meaning for her, and she is as far removed from the butterfly existence as she is from the woman who apes men's ways and tries to prove herself the equal if not the superior of man. She prefers to accentuate her special characteristics, being fully imbued with the feeling that the moral and intellectual existence of man is incomplete without her as her moral and intellectual existence is incomplete without man. The elements which each can supply are two currents which must meet and harmonise to accomplish the destiny of humanity. The conclusion is, then, that, precisely because of their differences from men, women's influence in politics, apart from their influence through men, may be of definite value, and would be increased

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in a right direction by giving the married as well as unmarried the franchise, and that it would not materially alter their social standing. Might and right will always go together; and although there may be a majority of women in the country, this fact would be neutralised by man's stronger position intellectually and physically. Woman must always remain the weaker vessel, and as such will be able to exact the deference and respect she now receives in all educated societies. The wider scope given to her faculties, and her deeper interest in human affairs, need not distract her nor lead her to desert her true mission in the world.

> Let her make herself her own
> To give or keep, to live, and learn to be
> All that harms not distinctive womanhood;

for, says the Laureate,

> Woman is not undeveloped man
> But diverse.

M. A. A. GALLOWAY.

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ALLOTMENTS.

An exceedingly curious 'survival' of the old condition of land tenure in England was still to be found up to 1845, in a Buckinghamshire village. The manor belongs to the charity of Ewelme for poor brethren, and had continued in the same condition as when given to the charity in 1441.

The account, in Domesday Book, of the parish shows an earlier phase of ownership. Edward the Confessor had bestowed one hide (120 acres) of very good land 'to Christ and St. Peter at Westminster,' by which the Dean, their successor, still profits. A man called 'Bondus the Standard-bearer,' his name showing that he or his father had been a bond-slave, held a large portion under the Earl of Morton: 'Alric held under him, and had four hides for his manor.' *Graviter miserabiliter* is added—not an engaging description. The manor of Marsh Gibbon was taken possession of by the Conqueror, and bestowed on his son, the Earl of Cornwall. After passing through two or three other hands, it was given by the Earl of Suffolk to Ewelme; but under all the changes above, the subordinate manner of culture and of holding continued apparently the same. The property consisted of 2,752 acres, which were divided into 3,509 strips of land set at every possible angle, from nine to thirty feet wide and about nine or ten chains long, with a grass path called a balk between each. As a number of lots belonged often to the same holder, each ownership was marked by some sign, such as a pitchfork, a pair of pincers, a hook, or a letter. The allotments were an acre or half an acre in size, the clerk by right of his office holding about six acres in seven or eight strips at the time of the last change.

The number of farmers had much diminished, and some had as much as three 'yard lands' (a yard land is thirty acres). The whole parish was entirely uninclosed, and the agriculture most primitive. A threefold course was enforced on the arable land, which was divided into three portions, on each of which a sequence of corn, beans (or potatoes), and then a fallow, was rigorously carried out. No man was allowed to cultivate his pieces as he pleased; the succession of crop, or no crop, on each parcel must be complied with by all alike. The village chronology was calculated by the rotation, e.g. 'The child as were born two year sin the lower field was in beans,' &c. Another

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portion was in pasture, half of which was alternately mown and fed, 'the lands' being apportioned by lot, and an old man who gave the account said that a 'land was one swathe of the scythe and a bit wide, and may be nine or ten chains long.' When the grass was cut for hay, the boundaries were marked out by stones, at the head and tail of the strips. Outside the apportioned land lay common, where the cattle and sheep were tethered to prevent their wandering over and destroying the crops, as there were no fences, ditches, or walls in any direction, and no roads, only muddy ways across the strong clay soil, and a right of turning the ploughs on a cross strip at the end called the 'headland.' 'Many as had no claim to the arable had rights of pasture for so many sheep and cattle on the common.' In order to secure a fair distribution of the 'ploughing' 'you had the shady side of the balk one year, and the sunny side the next,' so that there was little temptation to improve land which would not be in your possession for more than a year.

No tradition or memory remained in the village as to the reasons or the history of the numerous, perplexing, and most inconvenient customs, restrictions and laws of the manor. But when we turn to the different account of Village Communities, all is clear.

> The oldest discoverable forms of property in land were collective. A number of families inhabited a village, held the land of the village in common, and cultivated the arable lands in lots. The cattle grazed on the common pasture, the householder felled wood in the common forest, the cultivated land of the community was divided into three great fields, with a rude rotation of crops, corn, beans, and a fallow once in three years. Each householder had a lot in each of the three fields which he tilled for himself with his sons and his slaves, but he could not cultivate as he pleased: he must sow the same crop as the rest, and let his lot lie fallow with the rest, he must not interfere with the rights of other householders to pasture their sheep and oxen on his fallow and on his stubble,

says Sir Henry Maine.

The number of minute and intricate rules, of what they might and might not do, constituted a pure despotism. To insure equality the lots were shifted from year to year. These common fields were divided into long strips, separated by green balks of turf, the pasturage on these, which were not more than three yards wide, amounted in one manor to eighty acres. 'The waste and inconvenience of such an arrangement may be still seen in parts of Germany.' There is but one voice as to the barbarousness of the agriculture in the common arable field, and as to the quarrels and heart-burnings of which the 'shifting severalties' in the meadow land have been the source.

At length, in 1845, the much abused Inclosure Commissioners—who did good service in the case of Marsh Gibbon at least—consolidated the whole of the strips, giving to each holder a piece of ground equal to that of their several parcels, minus a fixed portion which had to be sold to pay for the expenses of the redistribution, fencing, &c.

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Mr. Seebohm describes how the evidence for twelve hundred years from the seventh century, in the laws of King Ine quoted by King Alfred, shows a similar state of things. The yard land was the unit—the normal holding, and consisted of a bundle generally of thirty scattered acres, ten in each of the three divisions, in strips of acres and half acres, tilled by work rendered to the manorial lord of the ham or tun. The acre was a furlong—furrow-long, i.e. the length of the drive of the plough before it is turned, which by long custom was fixed at forty rods—two or four rods or roods in width, lying side by side. Access was given to these by the headland, at right angles to the strips, on which there was a right to turn the ploughs; the owner of the headland must, therefore, wait to till his land till all the strips are ploughed. Each yard land was bound by lot to provide two oxen for the co-operative village plough-team of eight, yoked four in a line, the ploughman in front going backwards to keep the team straight. The lots seem to have been shifted perpetually, till at length the pieces were scattered all over the fields. The yard land of thirty acres in one case contained eight half-acre strips of arable land, three rood-strips of arable land, two doles, one acre of pasture, three half-acres of pasture, and one half-acre of meadow. 'If the holding continued of the same size from one generation to another, it was a sign that it was servile and did not belong to a free village.' As time went on 'there was a gradual tendency,' says Seebohm, 'to greater freedom.'

The slaves the Theows bought and sold in the market and exported across the sea were far below the villeins, predial serfs, bound to the soil. Lastly, tenants at will, becoming by custom *adscripti glebæ*, and therefore tenants for life, gradually gaining the right of undivided succession. The freedom of individual enterprise and property, which marked the new order, shows a rebellion against the communism and forced equality of serfdom and tribal communities. Such systems are not likely to be the economic goal of the future.

The course which the tenure of land has passed through seems to be as follows:—In the earliest times property did not apply to land which was common to all, but only to the possession of slaves, sheep, and cattle, 'the proof of which is,' says Mommsen, 'that, amongst the Romans, fortune was called *pecunia*, from *pecus*, a flock.' The earliest metallic money bore the stamp of an ox. Each family had a right of common pasturage, so that cattle could be received as payment, which would have been useless to a landless man.

When society became more settled, and the land belonged to a village or a community, it was cultivated jointly; but 'the exceeding quarrelsomeness of these little societies, and the frequency of war between the tribes,' soon brought about a change, as the conquerors after a fight either took the land or forced the conquered to hold it as serfs under them. A large share was often given to the chief of the clan or to a successful leader in war.

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Some form of collective property seems to have been common to all countries, and it is still to be found among wild tribes such as the Afghans, where Colonel Stewart, when on the Frontier Commission, found it in full force. The system produces, he says, frightful blood-feuds, the man whose lot had fallen to him in pleasant places, such as rich land near a stream, often refusing to give it up at the end of his rightful term (which in Afghanistan lasts from ten to fifteen years), for the stony mountain bit, which may be his next share, and he fights rather than yield. Intermarriages are almost obligatory from the necessity of keeping the family together, and losing none of the rights belonging to the sept.

The inconveniences and disputes entailed by the minute rules and interferences with free action, which were necessary to carry out the intricate system of collective culture, at last produced everywhere, at least in Europe, a division of the soil among the different families. In the middle ages, however, says Laveleye,

These communities seem to have been universal, for the cultivation of the soil, the association of a great number of the same family under the same roof and on the same property, having their work and their profits in common, was the characteristic feature of France at that period. Agriculture was then carried out all over the country by co-operative associations of peasants—work, indeed, of all kinds was performed in common—by the religious communities, peasant communities, trade corporations. The benefits especially which were conferred by the monks in cultivating waste places, and farming parts of the country desolated by war, have been immense. Probably in the middle ages less was talked of the spirit of association, but that spirit was far stronger than now.

A great number of instances of these family ownerships are then given, some of which still exist in such isolated provinces as Auvergne and Brittany.

Family communities were also very general in Italy, and there still exist traces of them in the different provinces. A landowner prefers them to small isolated holdings, as an association has more resources for the payment of rent and the execution of contracts, it is more capable of undertaking cultivation on a wider scale, of resisting loss in bad years, and the other inseparable accidents of farming. The communities consist generally of four or five households living in common, under a chief who regulates the work, buys and sells, &c., and of a female head called massara, who looks after the domestic economy. But they are dying out. The taste for independence, the desire to grow rich, the modern spirit in one word, have undermined these ancient institutions, as on the borders of the Danube, and as of old in France. Count Jacini (says M. Laveleye) has well analysed the feeling which will bring about their entire disappearance. Men begin to say, Why should we remain with our families under the authority of a chief? It would be much better that each one should work and think for himself. If each individual works for his own profit, the common revenue suffers, and dissensions and quarrels about money destroy the unity. The women also cannot stand the authority of the massara. They all want to have an household to themselves.

A socialist farm in Hampshire—Queenwood—came to an untimely end, greatly because the women would not endure the co-operative teapot. 'We like to make our own tea in our own pot,' they said.

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'Many of the associates see the advantages of the scheme, but the desire of living independently carries the day and the community is broken up.'

The last stage of the tenure of land is when separate ownership became general, the result of the modern spirit of individualism, shown as much in the large properties of England as in the particularism-run-mad of the tiny peasant properties abroad. Another set of evils pertaining to the excess of subdivision in many parts of Europe is causing the greatest anxiety to the different Governments, while the French and German political economists are trying to persuade the peasants once more to combine.

The almost intolerable obstacles to all improvement, to the use of machines, of proper drainage, &c., in the smallness and excessive entangling of the morsels, often situated at every point of the horizon in a commune, render good cultivation impossible. How could a hay-cutting machine, even if there were one, harvest the thirty or forty parcels, or a steam plough turn around in a piece of an acre or less in size? The expense, when land is used by the peasant owners to grow crops the most unsuitable to the soil, of change to a better system can only be carried out by large proprietors.

Nothing can be worse for the trade of a country than a population of peasant proprietors who buy nothing the absence of shops which in a French village is most remarkable. In the *Commune Agricole*, by M. Bonnemère, he says:

The peasant insists on obtaining everything from his land in this extreme subdivision, and to have nothing to buy. Whether the nature of the soil allows it or not, he must have corn for himself, barley for his chickens, oats for his horse, potatoes for his pigs. Every one must have a morsel for his vineyard and for vegetables, and a corner for hemp, to occupy his wife and daughters during the long leisure of the melancholy winter. All these on soil the most unfit for their culture, and even though he may be obliged to sink a well close to that of his neighbour, which he must not use. Indeed, it seems as if they had solved the problem of obtaining the worst possible produce, by the most expensive, laborious, and repugnant of processes.

In the beautiful fertile regions near Aix, in Savoy, and in the Auvergne country, when we asked what was cultivated on such of the tiny plots as were not vineyards, the answer was always the same: '*Un peu de tout.*'

Protection, of course, is their universal creed. The candidate for a rural district in the last French election writes: 'All our social organisation rests on the little owner, and he cannot exist unless his home-grown produce is protected against the cheaper products from abroad.' The peasant, therefore, eats his expensive corn, spade-tilled, his high-priced beetroot sugar, &c., and comforts himself by believing that it is economical, whereas in England 'wages,' says Mr. Bright, 'have nearly doubled since Free Trade,' while the consumption of bread, sugar, tea, &c. has enormously increased among our working classes.

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The consequence of this style of farming is, says Lafargue,[1] that

There are ten millions of small proprietors in France who, with the help of their families, consume as much as they produce; they eke out a scanty subsistence and vegetate miserably, condemned by their voluntary isolation to a labour as severe as it is unproductive. . . . The condition of agriculture brought about by our subdivision of the land, and the distance from each other of the morsels belonging to one owner, condemns a man to work such as animals and machines ought to execute, and not only reduces him to the level of a beast but curses the soil with sterility; the consequence is that 3,000,000 of the small proprietors are on the pauper list of France.

The peasants cannot be sold up by the State, as they are only life owners, for it is always forgotten that the entail on their children is far more strict than any in England. Nearly one half of France, excluding the mountain pastures, is under corn and potatoes, two white crops in succession, followed by a bare fallow, which means no less than 16,000,000 of acres yearly growing nothing, and Mr. Jenkins declares that notwithstanding its sparse population, and its variety of climate and culture, France cannot be regarded as much more than self-supporting.

The chief remedy proposed is the return to the system of co-operation. It is suggested that the 'methods of cultivating large farms should be applied to small properties, fusing together a number of little domains which might be farmed by one man, the small owners carrying their work elsewhere; both the expenses and the gains to be in common, so as to enable them to buy machines, to drain, &c. Instead of a system of each man for himself, the advantage of an association, each for all and all for each,' are set forth. If, however, the two or three acres belonging to a small owner are melted down into fields of a proper size in a large farm, his interest cannot be much more absorbing than that of 10*l.* in a bank. 'Property,' says Mr. Druce, 'has an excellent effect upon a man,[2] but not more in land than in any other form,' unless immediately under his own eye and cultivated by his own hands.

'The spirit of fraternity which rendered possible the co-operative associations of old has, however, died away,' says Laveleye. 'The spirit of individuality which characterises modern times brings about their ruin. Moreover, the abolition of serfage and of mortmain has taken away one of the most powerful incentives to village communities. Serfs could only inherit under a *régime* of collective property, but when the rights of the lord of the manor took the form of rent, the peasants yielded to the new desire to become independent owners and divided the common property. The new aspirations were fatal

[1] *Relèvement de l'Agriculture.*

[2] Lord Houghton used to tell a story of A. de Vigny's excellent cook, who in '48 was furiously *rouge*, indeed *écarlate*. The following year, when he returned to Paris, he inquired after her. 'Oh, elle a fait une petite succession, et elle est devenue *réac* !' (the then slang for *réactionnaire*). The mollifying effect of property had had its result, but it was money, not land, that had changed the views of the scarlet cook.

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to institutions which rested only on invariable rules of ancient custom, not on written law, and the quarrels and difficulties thus entailed brought them to an end.'

There is a curious report in 1783 concerning one of these family communities, addressed to the provincial assembly at Berri. It says

> The associates only tried to cheat each other for their individual benefit. Every one wished to profit by the advantages of the association without taking his part of the charges. With many hands but little work is done. The chief of the association, it is complained, administered, but would not work. No one would tell of his individual profits, they hide their beehives and sheep, and will do nothing for the community. The real co-operative spirit is dead.

It is almost pathetic to see, in the whirligig of time, how common property and co-operative associations have been tried in every possible form in past times, and thrown aside as unsuccessful, how the new golden age was supposed to be coming with the introduction of individual ownerships, and how now the hopes of the future are centred in a return to some form of co-operation, better and bigger than before.

That the method should be tried in farming, as in other trades, is no doubt well, but the prospect of success in a general application of the principle does not seem to be great. Good results have been hitherto obtained from distributive rather than from productive co-operation. The head of such a farm must be of exceptional intelligence, probity, and knowledge of business in order to succeed, and the supply of such men, as may be seen in the small co-operative shops, is very much less than the demand. Collective action, however, in the form of a dairy, where the milk of small owners could be made into butter and cheese, or in fruit to be supplied to large towns, eggs, poultry, &c., in quantities too small to be worth sending alone, might be of great use.

Much has been said of the admirable effects of common land. As to the 'waste,' the disposal of which has of late created so many heart-burnings, the Buckinghamshire village has here useful experience to give. Roadside waste is merely a part of the adjoining fields, which before the days of hard roads was necessarily left vacant to enable vehicles of any kind to choose fresh ground, and avoid 'the slough of Despond' into which the direct way always sank during the winter and in wet weather, and which Bunyan must have known to his cost.

Among the old Claydon papers, Sir Ralph Verney, driving down from London with his own horses, describes, as a quite ordinary occurrence, how his 'coch' was 'dug out near Aylesbury by a neighbouring farmer.' In a clay soil, this 'waste' often extended over two or three hundred yards in width, still belonging to the owner of the field. Hedges enclosing the space are a very modern invention. Under the old lax management of estates, when land was of little value, these pieces, when near villages, were taken possession of and built upon, of course without payment and without permission.

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About fifty such squatters were to be found on the Charity lands at Marsh. Sometimes the piece on which their huts were put up (it could not be called built) measured only about twelve feet square. The walls were of mud, boards, hurdles, withy, and a little brick and stone, with a pigsty alongside. They consisted often of only one room, sometimes with a loft above reached by a ladder, the slope of the roof, through which the sky could be seen, beginning at the floor. 'One of these,' said our informant, 'held two beds, and the children had to climb across their parents for to get to theirn inside, and when they got big, and the mother's father came to live wi' em, he had to do the like.' An eye-witness described

The squalid misery of the poor wretched woe-begone men and women, above all of children, from whom happiness of any wholesome kind seemed hopelessly gone. Hungry, half-starved families crowding round a miserable bowl of potatoes, often without a bit of bacon, eked out with bread and weak tea. Miserable girls of fifteen and sixteen, with still more miserable puny babies in their arms, clothed in rags, illegitimate children, as a matter of course, with such houses, and the reckless sullen fathers ready to hate and curse, and, with very little encouragement, to do worse.

Pig-stealing, thefts of all kinds, hardly any honest labour, lawlessness and misery within, filth, undrained and unclean surroundings without, gave little encouragement to the idea of the advantages to the labourer of settling on the waste.'

There is another kind of waste—the heathery commons and rough corners of land. The quantity of these has been enormously exaggerated. The returns in 1875 showed the amount of common land to be 1,524,647 acres, the greater part mountain sides and rocky slopes in Wales &c. fit only for sheep. 'The waste consists everywhere of the worst land of a country,' said Lord Salisbury to a deputation of the unemployed who proposed to cultivate it, as a panacea for the improvement of the agricultural working class. 'The waste lands are the bad lands of a country. If at present it does not pay to cultivate good land, how can we hope much from the results out of bad?' Those acquainted with districts like the No Man's Land in the New Forest know the sort of poaching, thieving, wretched life that is led by the people, the hovels in which they dwell, their neglect of cultivation and sanitary requirements, &c. In a journal by John Smith, of Nibley, born in the 'sweet and salutary aire of Cotswold,' and priding himself on being a 'hundreder of Berkeley,' he mentions, about 1610—

the observation of many wise men, 'that the more large the waste of grounds of a manor are, the poorer are the inhabitants.' Such commons or waste grounds, used as they commonly are, yield not the fifth part of their true value, draw many poor people from other places, burden the township with beggarly cottages, inmates, ale houses, and idle people, where the greater part spend most of their days in a lazy idleness and petite thieveries, and few or none in profitable labour.

Most of the Scotch boroughs have found out these evils and sold their 'commonties.'

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Economy in the use of man's labour, of all the most valuable and expensive, is the object sought after by the best thinkers. Mr. Jenkins, secretary to the Royal Agricultural Society, says that 'in England seven and a half persons are engaged in cultivation of one hundred acres of land, nine per cent., that is, of the whole population, which may be said to amount to eighty-five for each hundred acres, leaving seventy-seven and a half who can be otherwise occupied.' In Belgium, which is held up for our imitation, the proportion of the population is eighty-eight to every hundred acres of cultivated land. Thirty-one per cent. are engaged in agriculture, i.e. twenty-seven and a quarter of the eighty-eight are engaged in tilling the soil, leaving only sixty and three-quarters who can work elsewhere. As to the comparative food of the two nations, the average consumption of meat per head in Belgium is forty-three pounds per annum, as against ninety-five pounds consumed in England. France is one of the countries most extravagant in labour. M. Bonnemère declares that five to six millions in England perform the agricultural work which it takes more than double the number in France to accomplish, while they obtain less than half as much produce.[3]

To diminish the cost of production is the great object of all economic calculation, while the new doctrine is, that the largest number of hands should be employed in performing agricultural work—'to restore the labourer to the land,' as it is called. In this case Russia has achieved the highest result of all. She employs more men to produce less corn than any other country, i.e. eighty-five per cent. of population to produce sixteen hectos. Italy comes next in the scale, while Great Britain employs only twelve men to produce forty hectos of grain.

The experiment of cutting up large estates into small properties all over the country, which is the panacea of the new land reformers, has been already tried in Russia. In a report (1885) to Parliament by the British Consul at Taganrog, we are told that 'the rich and influential class of landed proprietors is fast disappearing, the majority are ruined. When the serfs were emancipated in 1861, a portion of land from eight to nine acres per head was allotted throughout Russia to the peasants, who naturally took to cultivating their own ground. The landowners had great difficulty in obtaining labour, they attempted an improved system, with machines, on their properties, with money borrowed from the Land Banks. They knew little of farming, however, and did not generally reside on their estates, while their stewards only looked after their own interests. Taxes increased, bad years followed, the interest was not paid, thousands of mortgages were foreclosed by the banks. One-half at least of these estates cannot be sold, though the village communes, where there had not

[3] 'Agriculture is the art of making the earth produce the largest crop of useful vegetables at the smallest expense.'

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been land available to give the legal proportion, have bought many of them.

'It has taken only thirteen years to ruin the landed aristocracy of Russia, who are being everywhere replaced by peasant proprietors; and the same fate seems to be in store for a large number of the little owners who work out the soil and are utterly improvident. As almost the whole country will be in the possession of bankrupts, the system is fraught with serious consequences for the country. The greatest poverty prevails, and capital cannot be employed under such conditions. The amount of land which was considered enough twenty-five years ago to enable the peasants to live is now quite insufficient, when communal and government taxes have all increased, the price of corn has gone down, and the seasons have been bad. Agriculture is wretched, scarcely any manure is used, the produce is from two and a half to four and a half of the quantity sown, whereas in England it varies from fifteen to twenty. Although rents are only about 2*s.* an acre for large holdings, and for garden ground from 11*s.* to 15*s.*, the peasants cannot at the present time live and pay their taxes. Their cattle are often seized, but more often the taxes have to be remitted. The peasants constantly renounce their allotments, varying from eight and three-quarters up to forty-seven acres, and pay an annual tax (obrok) to the commune to be allowed to go and work elsewhere.' The freedom of the English labourer to carry his labour where he pleases, unclogged by the tie of land which binds the peasant proprietor in France and elsewhere, is said by Mr. Chadwick to be a great advantage to him.

Last of the forms in which land is held is the peculiarly English one of allotments, and here, too, the Buckinghamshire village has some extremely instructive experience to offer.

The question has become a burning one, making and unmaking Ministries, and used as a party weapon of offence, while few speakers or writers on the subject have taken the pains to refer to that not very recondite form of information, the Parliamentary Blue Book. In a report, 1882, by Mr. Druce, one of the assistant agricultural commissioners, he gives the latest intelligence concerning allotments and little takes, having carefully examined fifteen of the Middle and Eastern counties of his district. The five Northern counties may practically be left out of the calculation, as the condition of farm labourers is there different, and their wants are supplied in a different manner. Wages are very high, and the labourers very prosperous; they live to a great extent in the farmhouses, and the farmers give cow-runs (far more healthy for the cow than three or four acres), and a portion of the ploughed manured land for potatoes, a great advantage, as these require more fresh ground than one small patch can give.

Taking the Midland counties as a whole (he says) almost every village has its allotment ground, ranging from one-eighth to half, and sometimes a whole

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acre. They are let at reasonable rents, when it is remembered that the holders pay no rates, taxes, or tithe, have no roads or drains to keep up, and no buildings to keep in repair.

The number of allotments in England is very large—242,342, exclusive, be it remembered, of large gardens. In Leicestershire the number of allotments is greater than that of the labourers—17,168; Northampton, 16,447; Suffolk, 11,664; Warwick, 12,794; Wilts, 16,445; Buckinghamshire, a small county, has 8,632. Individual landowners, such as Lord Tollemache, have whole districts let out in allotments. There are 900 on Lord Pembroke's Wiltshire estate alone; Mr. Mark Rolle has 1,000; the Duke of Bedford 2,079, &c. It is not, however, the large numbers upon great estates which raise the total so much as those on the land of smaller proprietors, glebes, common lands, &c., which are to be found almost everywhere.

But it is not in all places that they are found to be popular. In a great number of instances they have been thrown up by the labourers. Lord Fortescue mentions several cases on his own property of good land let at agricultural rents. At Marsh Gibbon a field of one hundred acres and another of twenty-five were divided about forty years ago into plots from one to one and a half acres, with larger takes up to fourteen or fifteen acres in grass. These were all worked out, corn crops having been grown successively with hardly any manure, and the land utterly ruined, when it was let to a farmer for almost nothing. The twenty-five acres were divided between ten or twelve labourers, and also thrown up. Thirty acres of grass land close to the village were cut up into thirty allotments, the last of which was given up about five years ago. In many cases the labourers part with their portions, and sometimes fourteen or fifteen fall into the hands of one man, showing that the rent was not too high, forming a little farm, to which there is no objection, but proving that the supply exceeded the demand. They are often neglected and left in a very foul condition; while labourers in general much prefer a large garden near their cottages, the supply of which is very large.

As for small holdings, Mr. Druce declares that the most remarkable results shown by the tables given in the reports, in the face of all that has been said about their deficiency in England, is that nearly three-quarters of the farms are of 50 acres and under in size; of the remainder the largest part are from one to three hundred acres.

He considers that the owner is far worse off than the occupier:

If a man has 1,000*l.* to spend, he can buy ten acres of land, and have still sufficient capital to work them; but as a tenant-farmer he can farm one hundred acres with a capital of 10*l.* an acre, and will make more money, as he has the advantage of using his landlord's capital at very low interest, whereas if he buys the land the money is sunk.

The comparison between the results of foreign and English systems, by so competent a judge as Mr. Jenkins, who has studied the question in France, Belgium, Germany, and the North, is thus

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summed up: 'A peasant proprietor does not live half so well as the English labourer, and works twice as hard.'

Benjamin Franklin, most democratic of republicans, pronounced, above a hundred years ago, that: 'He who tries to persuade the workman that he can arrive at fortune otherwise than by industry and thrift is a liar and a criminal.' 'A true and wise maxim,' says a French economist, 'which ought now to be laid to heart.' The schemes now proposed, such as the compulsory supply of allotments, which already exist so largely—systems of public works and public wages, which are now carried out to such an extent in France, and are ruining her finances, the supply of which must, moreover, be exhausted ere long, so as only to afford temporary relief—*ateliers nationaux*, which brought on the destruction of the French republic of 1848, or for 'taking the land and not paying either its rent or its price'—the substitution of small needy farmer owners for the landlords in Ireland, where the possession of land seems hitherto to be chiefly valued as giving an opportunity for borrowing, and the security of tenure given by Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill of 1870 was the signal for the appearance of the 'gombeen man,' the local usurer, whose tyranny is described as now so great among Irish tenant farmers—these can be of no avail. They may seriously injure the country, but cannot really benefit the people.

The present distress, agricultural and commercial, extends all over the world; it is as great or greater in France, the most democratic country in existence; and in the United States, governed by the people in the widest sense. All classes are suffering; and it is only by the union of classes, not by setting one against the other, that the crisis can be met. Wrecking shops will not help the town workmen, nor will the agricultural labourer be benefited by the compulsory expropriation of the owners of land for allotments, which have already been provided to so large an extent by the ordinary course of supply and demand since the beginning of the century.[4]

In a book by Mr. Wren Hoskyns, sanctioned by the Cobden Club, and quoted by Mr. Druce, he says:

> Laws cannot decide as to large or small holdings, no result of argument can bring this within the proper sphere of legislation, which can do no more than remove every obstruction to the wholesome operation of that spontaneous action which regulates the distribution of land by laws as inflexible as those that govern the tides. . . . King Canute (he goes on to say) might well have reversed his chair and spoken also of the littleness of human power when it attempts to govern the laws that *govern the land.*

F. P. Verney.

[4] In Cobbett's *Rides*, 1820, 'the productive and well-cultivated gardens round the cottages' are mentioned as the distinguishing feature of England.

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THE GREEK HOME ACCORDING TO HOMER.

In a note at the end of the English translation of the *Odyssey* of Homer done by S. H. Butcher and A. Lang (p. 413) is an attempt to plan the house or hall of Odysseus.

The note is nominally on book xix.; but, as references are to be found in Homer to an architectural arrangement that seems to have been much the same whether the site were placed in Ithaca or elsewhere, I shall only take the home of Penelope as one among other illustrations.

The authors of the note in question endeavour to get at the plan of the house of the hero by following his movements, somewhat in this fashion: He stands by Argos, the dog which lies before the doors that open either from the public way to the court or from the court to the hall. He follows the swineherd into the house and sits down on the ashen threshold within the doors; there Telemachus sees him and, add our translators, sends him food from the high table at the other or upper end. Behind this high table doors open on passages leading to the women's rooms and to the store chamber. On the day of the slaughter the hero is called by Telemachus to this, the upper end of the hall. Here he places Odysseus, who thence slays the wooers. The translators, it is only fair to say, see the difficulty of this arrangement and the impossibility of reconciling with it the speech of Melanthius (xxii. 136). I would venture to add that the speech of Eurymachus is rendered equally unintelligible, for indeed the whole effort of the wooers (after a time) was to drive the unconquerable slayer from the entrance doorway, so that some might pass him and go through the city to raise the cry.

Now, before we attempt anything like a plan of the Homeric house, let us look first at the descriptions given in the poem of houses other than that of Odysseus. In Nestor's house (book iii.) we find a gateway, an echoing corridor (all Homer's corridors are echoing [1]) in which jointed bedsteads are set up for his unwed son and distinguished bachelor guests. Nestor himself sleeps within the inmost chamber of the lofty house, and at dawn we see him seated on two polished, white, glistening stones before the lofty doors.

In the house of Menelaus (book iv.) we have again the bedsteads

[1] Loud-sounding—*ἠρίδουπος*.

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set out beneath the corridor. There are stalls for the horses, but no coach-house, for we find the inlaid car or chariot tilted against the shining faces (the broad stone piers) of the gateway.

Most of the house is covered with plates of silver, gold, bronze, amber, and ivory, so that the place gleams with the light as it were of sun or moon. There is a treasure chamber, to which descend both Menelaus and Helen, whose bed is in the inmost chamber of the lofty house, and this chamber is vaulted and scented.[2]

The palace of King Alcinous (books vi. and vii.) reveals a courtyard, the usual corridor, a great, high-roofed, columned chamber or hall, passing through which, we reach the pillared inner room, where the thrones are, and where the queen sits weaving in the light of the fire, and beyond this is the king's bedroom. The floor of the hall is of bronze; the walls are brazen and surmounted with a dark frieze; the doors and the door hooks are golden, the lintel and door posts of silver set on a brazen threshold. Against the walls are seats where the chieftains sit to eat and drink. Outside the courtyard, close by the gate, is a great garden of tall fruit trees hedged on either side, and there we find two fountains, one for the garden and the other for the palace, for, after running beneath the threshold of the courtyard, it issues by the lofty house whither the people come to draw water.

The house of Circe (book x.) is built of polished stone, has shining doors, a great hall and a flat house-top, without parapet, reached by a ladder.

The farmhouse of Laertes (book xxiv.) is surrounded by the huts wherein the thralls dwell, eat and sleep.

Here and there are isolated references that have a bearing on the subject; thus (book iv.) we have a watch tower in Agamemnon's palace. Round the city of King Alcinous is a high wall with towers (book vi.), and in the house of Æolus folk sit on the threshold by the pillars of the door (book x.)

Now let us turn to the house of Odysseus. Here, as in the others, we have an outer courtyard, a corridor, a lofty house containing a hall and inner rooms, but the inmost room is curiously built round a tree, and there are upper chambers, among which are a treasury and armoury (two store-rooms), as well as a vaulted treasure house and a tholos, translated by our authors 'kitchen dome,' but which was possibly a family mausoleum, as the cooking seems to have been done in the hall.

This general arrangement, which Homer, as we have seen, constantly gives, appears to have been not unlike some of the Egyptian temples: that of Talmis, for instance, founded by Amenophis the Second and restored under the Ptolemies, a plain, simple example, the study of which will help us in forming an idea of the Homeric palace.

The world-renowned house at Ithaca is described in scattered

[2] Fragrant or scented chambers were probably so called from having cedar wood used in their construction. See *Iliad*, xxiv. 191.

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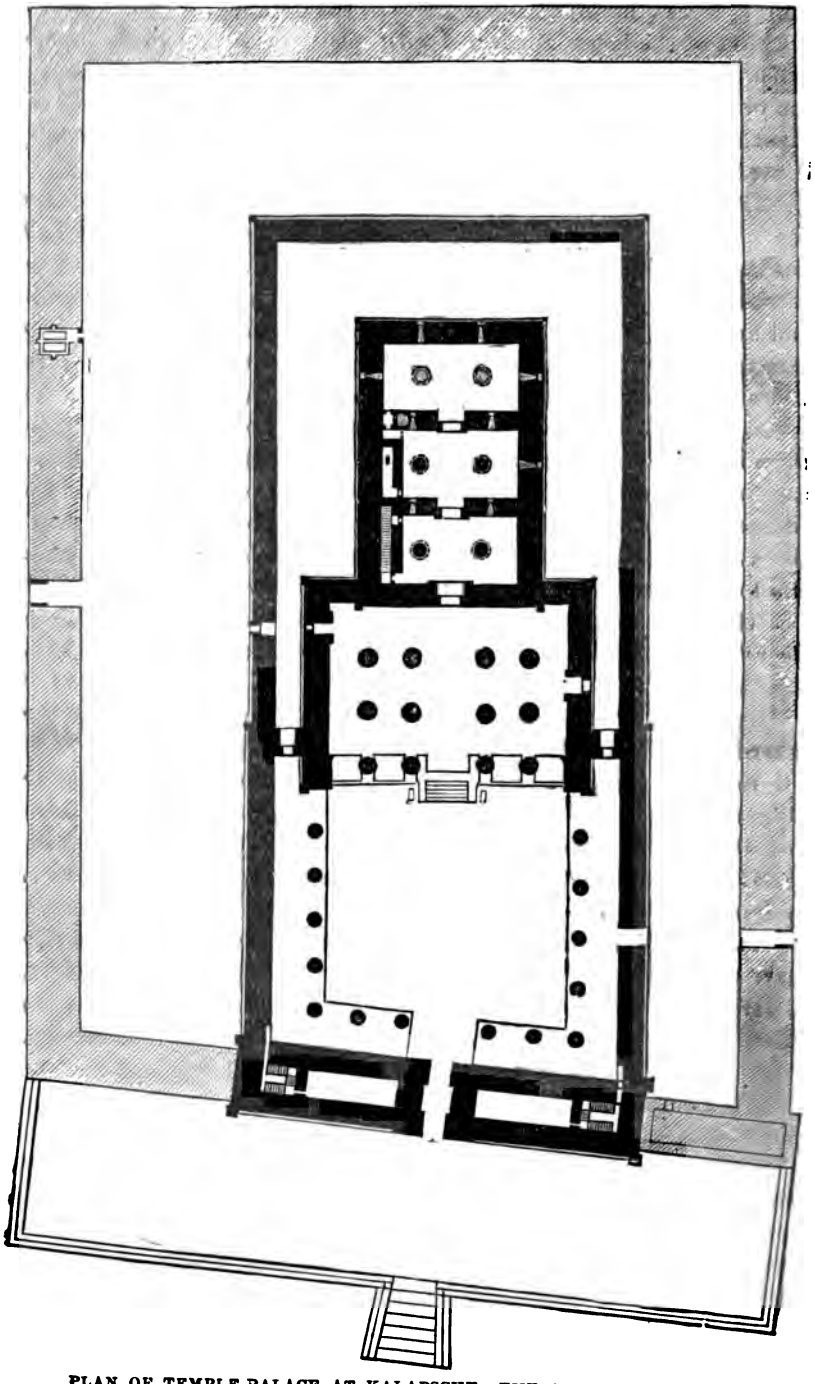
detail through many books of the *Odyssey*. Gathering these descriptions together and keeping before us the accounts already given of



PLAN OF TEMPLE-PALACE AT KALAPSCHE—THE ANCIENT TALMIS.
(From J. B. Lesueur's *Histoire et Théorie d'Architecture.*)

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other Homeric houses, we shall arrive, I trust, at a ground plan and view that will bear at least the stamp of likelihood. First, then at the hall feasted—accepting the poet literally—108 princely wooers besides strangers; the household included fifty maids, twelve mill women, and ten serving men, to say nothing of the many other attendants necessary, and the host of unnecessary hangers-on; when besides all this we have to make room for an enormous live stock of poultry, mules, goats, and kine—although I do not know Ithaca nor whether any foundations remain of this famed palace—I think that we should not be doing justice to its dimensions if we put down the enclosure at anything much less than 200 by 400 feet. This enclosure was fenced by a lofty, well-built stone wall surmounted by a battlement (xvii.) The great courtyard probably occupied about one-half the site; the entrance to this was by folding doors in the centre of the end wall, and the three sides of the court formed by the outer walls—perhaps also the side against the house—were occupied by a corridor covered possibly by a flat roof, serving on three sides as a walk behind the battlements and reached by a postern gate from the hall. This corridor would towards the court present the appearance of a series of pillars and lintels enclosed by skins or thick curtains when the beds were set up. Fenced in by hurdles or white-thorn, the live stock would be tethered in those portions of the corridor nearest the gateway. Here too, taking up their lodging with the beasts, would be found the herdsmen, the labourer and the old Greek equivalent to the modern frequenter of the tap room and stable. Such a corridor would possibly be from ten to twelve feet wide, and from eight to twelve feet high.

The great gateway does not appear to have been large enough to drive a chariot through, for we have seen that even in the luxurious palace of Menelaus the chariot was tilted like an Irish car against the piers of the gateway.

The doors, we are told, were folding or double, and for the general form of the outer entrance we may well accept the gate of the lions at Mycenæ. Outside this gate, piled against the walls, were heaps of manure and house refuse, and on one side or in front of the gate—on the other side of the road so to speak—was an open green sward where the wooers took their pleasure in outdoor games, and when wearied retired to the cool shelter of corridor or awning, where they played at draughts, sitting on hides of oxen spread on the great threshold. This threshold of the hall or inner entrance was no doubt large and well paved,[3] and the gates turned on pivots, but the rest of the floor of the court and corridors, except under the altar, was only of earth.

[3] The usual threshold of an Irish cabin is an enormous slab of stone with a good fall outwards. The Greek word *οὐδός* in Homer means something more than a mere door-cill, as the word *threshold* in its modern usage implies. I take it to mean the whole of the floor or paved space in the doorway or passage whereon the door is set. Thus the *οὐδός* of the gate of the lions at Mycenæ is about 10 feet by 8.

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In the centre of the quadrangle stood a well-wrought altar dedicated to Zeus. This, I conclude, was fenced in, for we read that boars freely roamed the courtyard, feeding on what scraps they could find, and the altar, it is fair to assume, would scarcely be exposed to them.

Opposite the great gates, and forming the fourth side of the courtyard, rose the house itself, consisting, broadly speaking, of two parts—first, the lofty and pillared hall, and second the private apartments at the rear of it in two stories, 'building upon building.' At one side between the house and the wall of enclosure were low buildings devoted to the different offices—the mills, the bakehouse, &c. The great room or hall was entered from the court by wide folding doors (xvii.), and may have had a corridor or portico in front. All the pillars were squared of cypress wood and supported lintels or beams of pine, and on these rested cross beams to the aisles jutting out into the central space which was covered by a flat roof at a higher level than the aisle roof.

This central space had no better floor than the bare earth, but the aisles, which I believe extended all round the four sides of the hall, were evidently fairly floored and raised a step or two above the earthen floor, the spaces in the doorways being of stone and the rest possibly of ash. 'The fair spaces between the pillars,' more than once mentioned, can, I think, be nothing else but the fair *floor* space of the aisles or inmost parts of the hall as distinguished from the wide central earthen space.[4]

The high seats or couches of the wooers would thus be placed against the walls, as in the palace of King Alcinous, and before them would be set small circular, square, or oblong tables easily moved and convertible at a moment's notice into shields or bucklers. We shall find also in the treasury a raised floor on which the coffers stand ranged against the walls, like the seats of the wooers in the hall.

I cannot recognise in the descriptions taken together any arrangement like that of a college hall, with a daïs at one end for the 'high seat,' such as Messrs. Butcher and Lang take for an illustration. At the further end of the hall—that is, in the wall opposite the entrance—a door led into the inner chamber or the women's room, the stairs leading to the upper story being close inside this door. In the body of the hall three braziers were lighted towards evening, to give warmth and light. Beyond the inner chamber was yet another room, called the inmost chamber; this was the bedroom of the chief or master. Here in Ithaca it was a curious and somewhat exceptional room, possibly circular and detached, or semidetached, built of stones set round about an olive tree that grew in the inner court, well

[4] The μεσόδμαι *may* be only the wrought wooden steps between the pillars. Anyhow, as in *Od.* xx. 354 they appear with the walls to be sprinkled with blood, I am disinclined to regard μεσόδμαι as overhead or roof beams. The cross plank of a ship (the μεσόδμης of *Od.* ii. 424) in relation to its mast is more like the step on which the columns rest than the beam they support.

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roofed over and having close-fitting doors. How far this was removed, if at all, from the house proper does not appear, but it is quite an exceptional way of constructing the room which in other Homeric houses is described as the innermost or the back room of the house.

The vaulted treasure chamber at Ithaca, like that in the palace of Menelaus, is approached by descending or stepping down. Menelaus is described as going down to his fragrant treasure chamber,[5] and Telemachus steps down into his father's vaulted treasure house.[6] Whether this spacious store-room was entirely underground or only partly so is a question, but, as a place of security, it ought perhaps to be regarded as wholly below the surface. It was entered by close-fitting folding doors with well-fitted doorposts set in a threshold of oak planed cunningly; and its general form is possibly to be seen in the treasure or tomb house of Atreus. At the back of the palace was a garden or private court for the use only of the master and the women of his household.

Going back to the hall, we find that against one of the pillars is a polished spear stand; but spears were also sometimes set against the tall pillars or piers of the entrance doorway (xvii.) In the hall too was the usual place of the weapons of war: the spears bristled in their stands, whilst the shields, bows, and helmets were probably suspended from pins in the pillars. These, by order of Odysseus, his son removed before the day of slaughter, on the pretence that they were being damaged by the vapour of the fire, a most natural excuse, seeing the proximity of the pillars to the braziers. And here I would note the air of severe economy that obtains in the hall of Odysseus. The cypress wood of the pillars is deftly planed and made straight, but not overlaid with bronze or plates of silver, or inlay of gold, amber, or ivory, as in the house of Menelaus. We have here nothing of the costly metallic sheen that Homer spreads over the house of Alcinous. The hall of the great Odysseus is spacious, is well and truly built, but, with the exception of a few thresholds of stone, there is nothing to show that it is built of aught but the simplest materials—e.g. cypress for the piers, pine for the roof and walls,[7] ash for the floors of the raised aisles, and earth for the central floor. Indeed, throughout the whole account of the palace there is a very noticeable absence of words denoting display of wealth. There is a silver handle to the door of the chamber of Telemachus, on the upper floor of the house. For the treasure chamber there is a key of bronze with an ivory handle (the ivory overlaid, I fancy), and the folding doors are shining —i.e. either of polished wood or overlaid with metal in bands arranged like the Balawat gates. For the rest

[5] Αὐτὰρ ὃ εἰς θάλαμον κατεβήσετο κηώεντα.—*Od.* xv. 99.

[6] Ὣς φάν· ὁ δ' ὑψόροφον θάλαμον κατεβήσετο πατρός.—*Od.* ii. 337.

[7] Book xxii. The ashen spear thrown by one of the wooers sticks fast in the walls. The walls might, however, have been lined with wood to a certain height.

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all is well built; the doors fit closely, the pillars and thresholds are cunningly planed and straight as a line: in brief, the workmanship is as good and as knowing as it can be, and the proportions possibly excellent, but there is no luxury, no grand display of costly material in the building itself. Herein is a lesson for us of the nineteenth century, if we could but learn it.

Two features in the hall yet remain to be described, the postern and the windows as exhibited in book xxii. The postern (ὑρσοθύρη) is raised above the floor, and leads into an open passage, closed by well-fitted folding doors. This postern the swineherd is set to guard, because through it is the only approach by which relief can come to the wooers from outside, seeing that the mighty Odysseus is guarding the main entrance. One of the wooers calls for some one to 'climb' to this postern and 'give word to the people,' but he is answered that such an attempt would be useless, for the doors towards the court (i.e. the main entrance doors of the hall, where Odysseus stood) are grievously near to the postern, so that the entry to the passage is perilous, and 'one man would keep back a host.' I take it this postern was at the side, as one stood within the main door looking into the hall, that it was pierced in the side wall, was reached by a straight flight of steps or ladder, and opened out either directly or by an open passage to the battlements of the outer wall above the corridor of the great court. From this height a few steps would bring us to the flat roof of the aisle of the hall, by which access could easily be gained to the high or first floor over the women's rooms at the back of the hall. In support of this flat roof we recall the forest dwelling of Circe and the death of the young Elpenor, who, heavy with wine, lying apart from the rest on the housetop, was startled by the noise of his fellows, leaped suddenly up, and, forgetting where he was, instead of descending by the tall ladder, fell from the roof and broke his neck.

We have yet to deal with another part of the hall. In the 22nd book Telemachus, standing with his father on the great threshold on the raised floor, and just within the main entrance doors, says that he will fetch armour for his father, himself, and the two herdsmen. Thereupon he went forth by the chamber where his famous weapons were lying, but on leaving the chamber he omitted to shut and fasten the door. Melanthius, the goatherd, guessing at or seeing this, offers to fetch armour for the wooers, and forthwith climbs up by the windows of the hall to the inner chambers. Here he finds, as he supposed, the door open, and is able to secure twelve sets of armour. These delivered in the hall, he climbs up again to fetch another batch, but his intention being anticipated by the swineherd, the latter with the neatherd is sent by Odysseus to intercept the traitor. So the two herds went forth to the chamber, and found Melanthius seeking for the armour in 'the secret place of the chamber,' and they

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stood one on either side of the door waiting for him. Laden with helmets and shields, the traitor is caught as he is crossing the threshold, dragged in by the hair, bound hand and foot, and then hoisted 'up the lofty pillar' by means of a rope to near the roof beams until the slaughter of the wooers should be completed.

Now where was this armoury? and what were the approaches used by Telemachus and the faithful herds on the one hand and by the traitor Melanthius on the other? It will be remembered by the reader of Homer that Odysseus became somewhat alarmed when he saw the wooers arming themselves with the first lot of armour, and immediately thought either that one of the women had turned traitor or that it was the work of Melanthius. If we take the section of the hall to be like that of the south temple at Karnac, Homer's description becomes clear.

Telemachus ascends the postern steps and gains the flat roof of the aisle, traverses the whole length of this until he reaches the building of two stories containing the private apartments at the other end of the hall. Here, opening on to the flat roof by a doorway, is the chamber or wardrobe where a certain amount of armour has been stored. But as Telemachus ran along this roof-flat he passed the windows of the hall set in a kind of clerestory, and was spied by Melanthius, who after the return of Telemachus to the hall climbed to one of the windows, no doubt by one of the pillars in the upper end or side of the hall, and got out on the roof just by the door Telemachus in his haste had left open.

Apart from the dimensions of a building necessary to accommodate the number of Penelope's wooers, the castle of Odysseus on the Acropolis at Ithaca, according to Homer, can easily be traced in the general design of the minor temple palaces of Egypt, particularly in that of Kalapsche (ancient Talmis), which, though of Ptolemaic or Roman work, is acknowledged to be a restoration of a building designed in the time of Amenophis II. If we take away the pylons and change the back room to the particular form Homer gives to the bedroom of Odysseus, we can trace almost everything else the poet describes, and we have only to substitute for the thick inner walls of the Egyptian example the wooden framework of which Homeric palaces within the outer fortified enclosure were usually made, to complete the plan of Penelope's home. (See the plan here given.)

. . . . . .

Hirt's conjectural ground-plan of the Homeric house, which I have seen since writing the foregoing, is founded also on the Egyptian type, but has a much more civilised arrangement than I think warranted by the text. There is a stable court and separate stables and coach houses, and the corridor surrounding the great court is merely a covered way opening into chambers for guests and sons on one side and the mills on the other.

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I have also read, since my notes were in type, the account given by Dr. W. Dörpfeld of the excavations on the Acropolis of Tiryns.[8] Extremely interesting as these are, I cannot reconcile the complex ground-plan there exhibited with that indicated in Homer as the house of the Anax. In the *Odyssey* the women's rooms, for example, are always entered *through* the men's hall (*τὸ μέγαρον*), and the movements of the *dramatis personæ* cannot be followed if a plan like that at Tiryns be adopted.

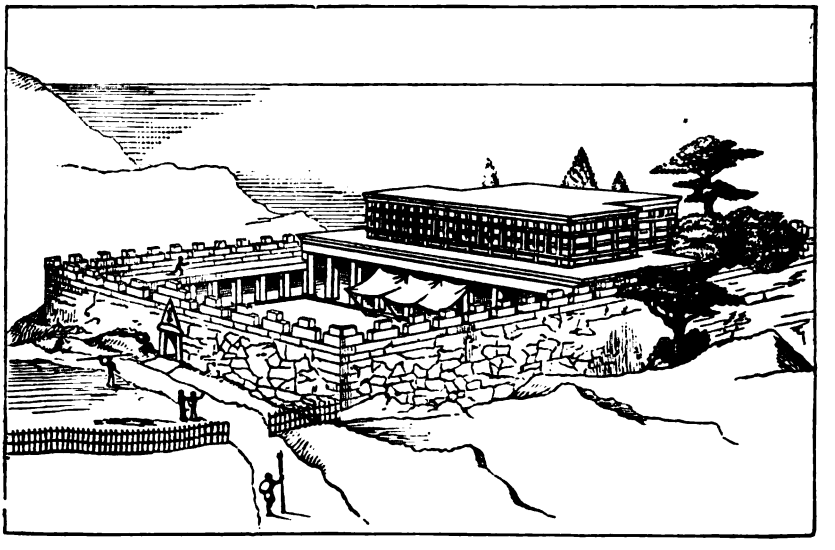
Tiryns seems to me to be thoroughly Eastern. It has its seraglio and its harem, and in some leading and peculiar features it is certainly curiously like the arrangement in the palace of Sargon,[9] although somewhat difficult to compare with it, for the harem court alone of the Assyrian king is equal to the entire fortress of the Tyrant or the Phœnician merchant who founded Tiryns, either one or the other of whom would have been imbued with Asiatic manners, keeping his concubines in seclusion, and demanding a plan such as that supplied at Tiryns, but quite unnecessary to the chieftain living the simple domestic life described by Homer.

The words—

> Ὦκα μάλα μεγάροιο διελθέμεν, ὄφρ' ἂν ἵκηαι
> Μητέρ' ἐμήν—(*Od.* vi. 304)

and the passage in book vii. 133–141 should be enough to warn us against accepting the Asiatic ground-plan of Tiryns for the Homeric house.

E. W. Godwin.



A CONJECTURAL BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE HOUSE OF ODYSSEUS.

[8] Dr. H. Schliemann's *Tiryns*. 1886.

[9] See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, tome ii. fig. 196.

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MR. GLADSTONE AND THE IRISH BILL.

A Nonconformist View.

When a member of the present Ministry, referring to the defection of the Duke of Argyll, the resignation of Mr. Forster, and the withdrawal of Mr. Bright from the Cabinet of 1880, said that Mr. Gladstone's full strength would never be understood until he had been deserted by all his colleagues, the statement was naturally treated as a mere piece of hyperbole. But recent events have proved it to be little if at all in excess of the truth. In the House of Commons the clever author of this striking diagnosis is the only colleague of any political weight who still adheres to his chief, and his most ardent admirers would hardly say that his resignation would materially affect the position of the Prime Minister. The brilliant array of former members of Liberal Cabinets opposed to him is very imposing; but, however impressive it may seem, it has proved utterly powerless to shake the faith of the people in their veteran leader. His popularity was never so great as at the present time. He has proposed a measure which offers nothing to the English nation, but, on the contrary, wears the appearance of a humiliating surrender to a people whom in their secret hearts they dislike; and yet he has received an enthusiastic support where he might rather have expected indignant and contemptuous opposition.

Some of the results of this extraordinary ascendency of the Prime Minister cannot be regarded with unalloyed satisfaction. It is not good for a party that it should yield itself up so completely to the will of any leader, however trusted and however venerable. It is still worse if this submission is so absolute as to mean the suppression of individual thought. True Liberalism can never flourish under an Act of Uniformity, especially if the conditions of the Act are to be liable to constant change at the will of an individual. The intolerance of all difference of opinion, and the consequent injustice done to men who have always been loyal to Liberal principles, and who but recently were popular idols, are among the most painful features of the present controversy. Six months ago an avowed Home Ruler would have found it difficult to get a patient hearing, and if a Liberal constituency had adopted him as its candidate, it would have been because his personal eminence led it to condone his political heresy.

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Now every Liberal is expected not only to accept the Home Rule shibboleth, but to pronounce it exactly as Mr. Gladstone does, at the risk of being condemned as an apostate and cast out of the synagogue. It is doubtful whether this will prove to be good policy, even for the hour; it certainly will not contribute to the solid strength and permanent success of the party.

It is easy, however, to exaggerate the significance of hostile demonstrations against individuals. Strong words have been spoken on both sides, but they only indicate the excited feeling of the crisis, and will soon be forgotten by those who utter them. Whether they will be as easily blotted out of the memory of those who smart under the injustice is more doubtful. The peculiarity of the present outburst of violence against the Radical opponents of Mr. Gladstone's policy is the strong personal element which enters into it. Seldom, if ever, has the supremacy of a leader been so absolute, and it is more so to-day than at any previous period of his own career. His enemies have contributed to this result in hardly less degree than his friends. They have misjudged, misrepresented, reviled, calumniated, harassed, and sought to crush him, and they have succeeded in exciting an admiration as passionate, and possibly in some cases as extravagant, as the relentless hate by which he has been pursued. Demos has keen instincts, and he is not slow to perceive that these fierce attacks are only a tribute to the fidelity of Mr. Gladstone to the popular cause, and that were he less loyal or less formidable he would be less obnoxious. Hence, the wilder the storm of passion which rages round him, the more intense the devotion with which the people seek to shield him from its fury.

Chivalrous sentiment counts for much more in popular contests than cynics seem able to understand. They are pleased to attribute the indifference which the people show to 'the wisdom and intelligence' of the country to the ignorance and stupidity of the masses. But the true explanation is far less flattering to their vanity. The people do not heed them because they do not understand the spirit of those to whom they speak, and, instead of addressing them with arguments against a policy, indulge in angry invectives against a man. This is the course which the *Times*, as the self-appointed representative of the 'Unionist' party, has taken throughout. It is to be assumed that it has strong arguments against Home Rule, and had these been urged with the force which the journal has at command, they might have produced their effect. But in vain have men looked to it for such light and leading. They have had the names of Liberal dissentients incessantly paraded before them, with an iteration which has become wearisome, and sometimes with an emphasis which was only ludicrous. They have had the well-worn platitudes about the 'disintegration of the Empire' and the perils of the Ulster Protestants served up with fresh garnishing. Above all, they have been treated to incessant

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denunciations of Mr. Gladstone, and the effect has been to strengthen Mr. Gladstone's position. There were not a few of his friends, who at first had misgivings and doubts in regard to his proposals, who have been helped to a decision in favour of them by the railing of the *Times*. They could not but regard it as a confession of weakness in argument; if it became a question of confidence and they had to choose between the statesman whom they had long followed and the editor who expressed the sentiments of society and the Stock Exchange, they could not hesitate. With the democracy generally the process will be still more summary. When the verdict of the constituencies has to be taken, the friends of Home Rule can desire nothing better than that the issue should practically be reduced to a vote for or against Gladstone.

According to Mr. Matthew Arnold, the people are entirely wrong in their judgment, and have, in fact, mistaken a great orator and past-master of parliamentary strategy for an eminent statesman. His opinion of the Liberal party and of its chief is the reverse of complimentary. Though a 'party of movement' it is 'bounded, and backward, and without insight, and is led by a manager of astounding skill and energy, but himself without insight likewise.' 'Insight' is a word which plays an important part in Mr. Arnold's statement. It is a pity that it is not defined. If taken to pieces, is this criticism on Mr. Gladstone anything more than an expression of dissent from his policy? No one who has studied the two men would suppose that there would be political sympathy between them. It is probably true, therefore, that one or other of them is lacking in insight; but it by no means follows that the deficiency is in Mr. Gladstone.

There is no doubt an extraordinary consensus of opinion amongst the leaders of the intellectual world against Mr. Gladstone. It would be entitled to more consideration if these celebrities gave more solid and convincing reasons for their judgment. This is not a subject on which the most distinguished artists or the most accomplished men of science, still less on which the most brilliant generals, can claim to speak with authority. They are entitled to the weight which their arguments possess, and to no more. And that certainly is not considerable. In truth, they do not attempt to reason. No one quotes them for the sake of what they have said, but simply because they have said it. Their charm is in their great name. When they are at their worst they rail with a fierceness as undignified as it is unscientific; at their best they only echo the clamour of the society of which they are such conspicuous ornaments. When they have some new light to shed upon the controversy, all will be eager to welcome it. Till then there is no presumption in doubting their right to give *ex cathedra* deliverances upon the scheme of the Prime Minister. If it is to be treated as a matter of authority, it would take a small army of artists or scientists to outweigh that of Mr. Gladstone.

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It is very cheap to despise the people, but it is possible that they know their own minds better than those who are anxious to think for them. At all events, the leader of a democracy must understand and trust the people. The popular sympathies, because of which all superior persons flout him, are an essential element of his strength. He must keep touch with the people if he is to lead them. If he cannot do it except by the surrender of principle, an honest politician can only stand aside and leave the work to others. But he may preserve a stainless loyalty to principle, while yet choosing his own time for seeking to embody it in practical legislation. There is a sense in which he must be an opportunist. He cannot outrun the convictions of the people, and an attempt to do so would not only mean failure, but would certainly retard the object he has at heart. This does not mean that he is to follow where he ought to lead, but only that, like every great general, he should so carefully study the temper of his army as to know the exact hour at which to strike.

In this lies the secret of wise political management. It does not consist in finesse, or in servile deference to opinion, or in skilful manipulation of political forces, but in a correct estimate of the will of the people. Mr. Arnold gives Mr. Gladstone credit for being a great parliamentary manager, but denies him insight; but this is in truth the very quality by which he has commanded success. There could hardly be a better illustration than is supplied by his Irish policy. The more closely his speeches during the last electoral campaign are studied, the more clearly will it be seen that he, almost alone among our statesmen, perceived how critical a point the Irish problem had reached. Assuredly no such foresight was shown by his rivals, for had they possessed it they would have hesitated before they committed themselves to the tacit understanding with the Irish Nationalists which gave them forty seats but left them a discredited and impotent party. In their eagerness to save a Church which was in no peril they overlooked the real point from which danger threatened the institutions about which they profess such deep concern. According to them Home Rule means the dismemberment of the Empire, and yet Lord Salisbury could not dissemble the joy with which he received the manifesto in which Mr. Parnell breathed out threatenings and slaughter against all Liberals, unconscious that the gain thus secured for his party was at the cost of his country. Could his lordship have foreseen the events of the last six months, he would have adopted another tone and a different policy. He is now insisting on the necessity for twenty years of firm government in Ireland, but when he had the opportunity he showed himself unequal to the strain even of seven months. He and his friends are railing at a movement which they are unable to arrest; but in the fierceness of their invectives, they forget that their own short-sightedness was one of the chief factors in creating the force which has now become irresistible.

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Mr. Gladstone, on the contrary, saw as with prophetic eye the situation, and warned friend and foe alike of its perils. He insisted with characteristic emphasis and force on the urgency of the Irish problem, and contended that if it was to be wisely dealt with a Liberal Minister ought to have a free hand, and in order to this a large majority. Some of his critics complain that his subsequent conduct has been in contradiction to this stirring appeal. It has, on the contrary, been in perfect harmony with it. The appeal was refused, a number of Tory seats were secured by the help of the Irish Nationalists, and Mr. Parnell thus became master of the situation, and up to the present moment no one has shown how he can be dislodged from the position. The conditions of the problem were thus changed, and changed chiefly by the action of those who claim to be *par excellence* the defenders of the constitution. A solution which would have been possible had Liberals been returned for constituencies wrenched from them by the strange combination of Tory and Nationalist votes became simply impracticable, and Mr. Gladstone had to seek another.

It is not within the intention of this article to discuss the merits of the specific provisions in this measure. The debate on the second reading has at all events shown that there is need for a more thorough discussion of some of them. Even in relation to the most important of all, the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster, it is clear that there has been misapprehension on both sides. There is, therefore, room for legitimate difference of opinion among those who heartily accept its fundamental principle, but no criticism of details can affect our estimate of the courageous patriotism and the far-seeing wisdom by which it has been inspired. The great merit of the Bill consists in its frank recognition of the right of the Irish people to self-government, and that recognition is an evidence of the author's insight. He saw that the time was past for any halting measure, and that a generous policy appealing to the gratitude of a warm-hearted people was the course of wisdom and of safety. He saw also that the English people were prepared for a settlement to an extent which was not understood by superficial observers or partisan politicians. The event has justified his forecast. The people have rallied to his side with an earnestness and unanimity which must have astonished even himself. There is no more senseless chatter than the cuckoo-cry about the wire-pulling of the caucus. In a large number of cases the wire-pullers have been on the opposite side, but the popular feeling has been too strong for the Associations and their Committees. What is equally noteworthy is that the feeling in favour of the Prime Minister has been a steady growth, and that it is steadily gathering force and volume. He has once more proved himself able to move the hearts of the people as well as to touch their imagination. If this be not insight, it is hard to say what it is.

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But Mr. Arnold tells us that though Mr. Gladstone has secured brilliant victories he has not achieved success. It would require an article of some length to meet such a statement fully. If it be true, however, the English nation must be of all people the most credulous and gullible. Mr. Gladstone's career has been of extraordinary length, and has been marked by continued movement. It is strange, to say the least, that the nation should have been induced again and again to renew its confidence in a statesman whose policy has been one continued failure. But the story of England during the last thirty years in which his influence has been predominant is the answer to the charge. We have been silently passing through a great political and social revolution, and if the progress has been made in peace this has been largely due to the beneficent influence of the great statesman. He has enlisted against himself the force of all the privileged classes, and yet they ought rather to be grateful to one who has often saved them from the consequences of their own folly, and has so moderated the action of the reforming forces that change has been gradual, and therefore less severely felt. It is true he has not cured the disorders of Ireland. The wrongs of centuries are not to be thus easily redressed, still less is their memory to be effaced; but the Acts he has passed have been part of a policy of justice, and are on that account worthy of all honour. To compare them with the policy of Bismarck is to betray a singular lack of true insight. A policy of 'blood and iron' cannot be compared as to its immediate results with a policy of conciliation whose only instrument is moral force. The ultimate effect of Bismarck's foreign policy has yet to be seen. His experiments in domestic legislation have, for the most part, been gigantic failures; his successes have been achieved in another field by an unscrupulous diplomacy and a perfect military organisation. A free State would not brook such a Minister. It needs a statesman who can trust the people and who is trusted by them in return.

But while thus seeking to do full justice to the nobility of Mr. Gladstone's aims, to the courageous statesmanship shown in his policy, and to his extraordinary influence in the country, it would be worse than folly to deny that this is a crisis in his fortunes, and that by his present action his place in history will be very largely determined. Those who encourage him to refuse such concessions as would unite all Liberals who are prepared to accept the principle of a statutory Parliament for Ireland are betraying him into what may possibly be present disaster, but will certainly be an injury to his permanent reputation. The differences of opinion which exist in the Liberal ranks are not surprising. Mr. Gladstone's proposals are bold, novel, and startling; and if they had been at once adopted by a mechanical majority, it would have said little for the intelligence or independence of the party. That independence deserves respect even from a leader

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so powerful as the Prime Minister. He is strong enough to show it, and in showing it he will act in conformity with the spirit of his first speech, and will materially strengthen his own authority. If he stoops to conquer, he will be irresistible. Should he, on the other hand, resolve to crush out all opposition, his success (all confident assurances of electoral agents notwithstanding) is problematical, and even if won would be secured at too heavy a cost. Assuredly he could give no better proof of his own 'insight' and magnanimity, or more completely refute the evil sayings of his adversaries, than by showing himself able to reunite those who at heart are his true supporters, and, so to secure the triumphant carrying of the great measure on which he is set.

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

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MR. GLADSTONE AND THE IRISH BILL.

A French View.

I.

Les gravures anglaises qui ont, à des millions d'exemplaires, popularisé M. Gladstone sous la figure d'un bûcheron abattant à coups de hache des chênes séculaires, ont depuis longtemps passé le détroit. A nous aussi, à ceux-là mêmes qui s'occupent seulement de loin des questions de politique extérieure, le grand vieillard apparaît comme un gigantesque bûcheron. S'il aime à se délasser, dans ses heures de loisir, en pratiquant des coupes sombres dans les hautes futaies de Hawarden, c'est qu'il s'est fatigué, dans ses heures de travail, à donner de terribles coups de hache dans cette forêt des abus et des injustices qui est vieille comme le monde et où il est toujours si difficile de faire pénétrer la lumière et l'air. Profession magnifique, mais périlleuse ! les *élus*, les bûcherons qui travaillent pour la cause de la liberté et du progrès, n'ont pas seulement à redouter la haine des propriétaires égoïstes de la forêt noire ; ils ont encore à redouter que l'arbre qu'ils veulent abattre ne se venge en tombant sous leurs coups et, dans sa chute, ne les écrase de son poids.

M. Gladstone, mieux que tout autre, parce que plus d'années ont neigé sur sa tête, sait ces choses, et cependant, confiant dans la bonté de sa cause, non moins confiant en lui-même, il continue. On peut sur tels et tels points de détail dans les bills irlandais, on peut sur les bills eux-mêmes, différer radicalement d'avis avec M. Gladstone. Mais, pour peu qu'on ait dans l'âme le sentiment de la noblesse morale, pour peu qu'on ait bu une gorgée à la source sacrée de la Justice, à la véritable Hippocrène, alors on ne peut refuser sa profonde admiration à l'homme qui entreprend une œuvre pareille. Et remarquez combien, à ce qu'on pourrait appeler le point de vue esthétique, tout est beau dans cette suprême tentative, tout concourt à embellir encore ce couronnement d'une carrière bien remplie. L'homme qui a entrepris, par des moyens qu'on peut discuter, mais à qui le seul fait d'avoir été proposés par M. Gladstone donnera dans l'avenir une force invincible—l'homme qui a entrepris de mettre un terme aux maux dont l'Irlande souffre depuis des siècles, c'est le plus anglais—*the most thorough Englishman*—de tous les hommes d'Etat anglais de ce siècle ; plus qu'en Cobden et qu'en Robert Peel, le génie anglais,

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dans ce qu'il a de meilleur, s'incarne en lui ; plus que de Lord John Russell et de Lord Palmerston lui-même l'odeur du terroir se dégage de lui. Et c'est cet Anglais-là, ce *true insular*, qui risque hardiment sa chère popularité anglaise pour donner à l'Irlande la liberté et la paix !—Second contraste qui ne manque pas non plus de quelque grandeur artistique : c'est un ancien tory, un ancien favori des classes riches, égoïstes et conservatrices, qui s'est fait aujourd'hui, pour renouveler de fond en comble la législation de l'île-sœur, le chef de la démocratie britannique et du radicalisme anglais. M. Chamberlain a pu écarter de lui plus d'un tiers de ses lieutenants et sous-officiers parlementaires ; mais M. Gladstone a pris à M. Chamberlain près des deux tiers des masses profondes qui, l'année dernière seulement, ont reçu le baptême de la vie politique, oui, les deux tiers de Birmingham et du Caucus lui-même. Victor Hugo disait que Ney, devenu maréchal de France, et Murat, devenu roi de Naples, pouvaient montrer avec orgueil l'un le fouet de postillon, l'autre le marteau de tonnelier, qu'ils avaient maniés dans leur jeunesse ; mais que lui, devenu démocrate et républicain, avait le droit de montrer avec plus d'orgueil encore son manteau de pair et ses odes royalistes d'autrefois. De même M. Gladstone : il est né parmi les heureux et les puissants ; c'est pour les déshérités et les humbles qu'il veut travailler jusqu'à son dernier souffle.—Enfin, l'âge même du lutteur ajoute à la grandeur de l'entreprise, la plus formidable révolution que le dix-neuvième siècle aura vue en Angleterre. M. Gladstone avait assez fait pour sa gloire, assez pour la satisfaction de sa conscience, assez pour la cause de ceux que Gambetta appelait 'les nouvelles couches sociales,' et qui, partout aujourd'hui, ébranlent et remplacent les vieux *strata*. Rappelé au pouvoir par le suffrage enthousiaste des milliers d'hommes dont il avait fait des électeurs, des participants à la puissance législative du plus grand royaume constitutionnel du monde, il pouvait se reposer et faire, par une administration paternelle, patienter l'Irlande. Il ne l'a pas voulu. A tort ou à raison, mais avec une sincérité absolue et que des ennemis politiques seuls peuvent contester, il a cru qu'il y avait encore pour lui une belle œuvre à accomplir. Et malgré ses soixante-seize automnes, au risque de perdre des amis très chers et des disciples favoris, sachant d'avance à quelles injures et à quels outrages il s'exposait, il s'est remis à l'œuvre et a retroussé ses manches pour manier la hache d'un bras plus assuré.

Eh bien, cela est grand et cela est noble. Et alors qu'en plein palais de Westminster il se trouve des hommes pour traiter M. Gladstone de mauvais citoyen, qui disent, avec un ricanement, qu'il faut remonter aux républiques antiques ou italiennes pour trouver l'exemple d'un pareil démagogue, je suis heureux de pouvoir lui apporter, dans une revue anglaise, le témoignage de mon admiration. Etranger, j'ose écrire que rien, depuis un demi-siècle, n'a plus fait d'honneur à la vieille Angleterre que d'être le pays d'un pareil novateur. Je suis loin de tout trouver digne d'éloge dans la vie politique de M. Glad-

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stone: comment pourrais-je avoir oublié la cruelle neutralité de 1870? Mais je suis l'élève de quelqu'un qui avait coutume de dire: 'Il faut être juste, plus que juste;' et rien du passé ne saurait m'empêcher de trouver beau ce qui me paraît beau dans le présent. Il est consolant d'ailleurs pour le confort de l'humaine conscience qu'un même temps ait produit, à côté d'un Bismarck qui ne rêve jusqu'à la fin que de semer la haine entre les peuples, un Gladstone qui n'a jamais été plus épris de justice et de progrès qu'à l'heure où le soleil descend pour lui à l'horizon.

II.

Il s'est produit en France, depuis quelques mois, un vif mouvement de sympathie en faveur de M. Gladstone, et c'est de cette sympathie que je suis ici l'écho. 'Soit!' me disent les adversaires du Premier, 'mais que pense-t-on en France de son bill irlandais?'

Je répondrai franchement: à part quelques hommes politiques et quelques journalistes, on en pense en France tout juste ce qu'on pense en Angleterre des grandes questions qui agitent notre pays: on n'en pense rien du tout. Les peuples, en effet, dans leur grand ensemble, ne prennent parti dans les affaires de leurs voisins qu'autant que ces affaires touchent aux leurs. Or, on n'aperçoit pas, de notre côté du Canal, en quoi le vote ou le rejet du Home Rule pourrait nous importer. On se doute à peine que le retour au régime tory et à la répression impitoyable ouvrirait une ère de révolutions où l'Angleterre serait affaiblie, ce que quelques-uns considéreraient comme un avantage pour la France et ce que, pour ma part, malgré tous les mauvais procédés que nous avons rencontrés dans les affaires de Tunisie, d'Egypte, du Tonkin et de Madagascar, je considérerais comme un irréparable malheur pour l'humanité. On soupçonne encore moins, malgré les Cassandres qui l'ont annoncé et prédit, que si le câble qui rattache l'Irlande à l'Angleterre était entièrement coupé—ce n'est pas le bill de M. Gladstone, mais c'en pourrait être une conséquence dans l'avenir—l'Irlande deviendrait fatalement la cliente de la grande république américaine et que l'entrée des Etats-Unis dans la politique européenne serait un événement d'une incalculable portée.

Maintenant, puisque je suis convié à donner mon opinion personnelle, voici ce que je penserais de la question si j'étais Anglais:

Sans entrer d'abord dans le détail, il me paraîtrait qu'après toutes les expériences qui ont été tentées depuis la conquête de l'Irlande, et surtout depuis vingt-cinq ans, il n'y a plus que deux principes en présence: celui du Home Rule, entier ou mitigé, et celui de la Répression, relativement douce si les Irlandais restent tranquilles, plus sanglante encore que sous Cromwell si une véritable révolution était provoquée à Dublin.

La répression est-elle une théorie défendable, digne de l'Angleterre, acceptable au dix-neuvième siècle? Je ne puis le penser. C'est aux temps barbares qu'une nation pouvait s'arroger le droit d'en exterminer une

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autre, parce qu'elle était la plus forte et que l'autre était la plus faible. A notre époque, après le christianisme, après la révolution française, on ne le saurait sans honte et sans infamie. Je sais bien qu'on a procédé ainsi même aux époques modernes et contemporaines, que les Indiens d'Amérique, par exemple, ont subi un traitement auprès duquel celui que les Hébreux ont fait souffrir aux Madianites et aux Amalécites est chose anodine et clémente. Mais qui pourrait accepter sans horreur, non pas même une pareille hypothèse, mais celle seulement d'un renouvellement de la terrible répression dont Cromwell a été le bourreau en chef? Et cependant, si l'on rentre dans la voie de la répression, il faudrait tôt ou tard en arriver là, à un duel à mort, à des guerres *plus que civiles*. Ecoutez les cris de haine qu'on pousse dans l'Ulster; écoutez l'impolitique et coupable écho que ces cris trouvent sur la rive orientale du canal St. Georges; et vous ne direz pas que j'exagère. La répression, c'est, à une échéance plus ou moins rapprochée, la bataille des sœurs-ennemies, d'Albion-Etéocle contre Erin-Polynice.

Si j'étais Anglais, je ne voudrais pas d'une pareille solution, et malgré le peu de sympathies que m'inspireraient les Irlandais—un vrai Anglais n'aime point les Irlandais à la passion, et cela s'explique —malgré tous les périls d'une aussi redoutable expérience, je me prononcerais, à la suite de M. Gladstone, pour le Home Rule.

Maintenant, pour quel Home Rule? Car il y a presque autant de Home Rule que de députés et de journalistes: *tot homines, tot Home Rule.*

Il y a d'abord le Home Rule radical, complet. Je serais *contre*, et j'ai déjà indiqué pourquoi. Comparant le Canada et l'Irlande, M. Gladstone disait, dans son discours du 10 mai, en répétant un mot spirituel d'O'Connell, que la différence entre les deux situations résulte principalement de ceci, 'que les chefs du Home Rule canadien avaient porté des noms qui finissaient en O (Papaneau), et que les chefs du Home Rule irlandais ont l'O avant leur nom.' Eh bien! n'en déplaise au Premier, il existe encore, entre le Canada et l'Irlande, une autre différence qui ne me paraît pas négligeable: c'est que l'océan Atlantique est un peu plus large que le canal St. Georges. Ah! si le canal était dix fois plus large, combien la chose serait plus aisée! Mais, quoi! il ne l'est pas, et il faut bien en tenir compte. Ce n'est la faute de personne si la révolution géologique qui a séparé en des temps inconnus l'Irlande et l'Angleterre n'a pas emporté l'Irlande, comme une autre Atlantide, à l'extrémité opposée de l'Océan. Mais à quoi bon se fâcher contre les choses? Stobée a dit que cela ne leur faisait rien du tout, et je suis de son avis. Et je conclus: puisque la révolution géologique d'autrefois a été incomplète, il ne faut pas traiter l'Irlande comme un simple Canada. Le faire, ce serait faire de l'Irlande le pied-à-terre de l'Amérique en Europe.

Il y a ensuite le Home Rule de M. Chamberlain. L'éminent député de Birmingham accepte l'idée d'un parlement irlandais, par-

lement à attributions très-étroitement limitées, parlement minuscule, quelque chose d'intermédiaire entre les conseils généraux de France et les assemblées des 38 Etats de l'Union. Mais il n'admet pas l'exclusion des députés irlandais du parlement impérial siégeant à Londres. Sur la nature particulière, sur l'étendue et sur la portée des attributions de l'assemblée de Dublin, M. Chamberlain et ses alliés sont prêts à discuter, à négocier, à transiger avec M. Gladstone et ses amis. Mais sur la représentation des Irlandais dans le parlement impérial et royal, ils n'admettent pas de transaction. L'unité de l'Empire exige cette représentation : ils ne consentiront jamais à porter atteinte à cette unité, à ébranler (car on le met aussi de la partie) le principe du vote de l'impôt par les représentants de tous les contribuables. Ils n'accepteront pas de *modus vivendi* ; leur *sine quâ non* est formel. M. Gladstone a ajourné à des temps éloignés, quoique fixés dans sa pensée, le second bill irlandais sur l'expropriation des landlords ; la partie du premier bill relative à la représentation irlandaise à Londres, c'est aux calendes grecques que M. Chamberlain la veut ajourner.

Je l'avoue : je ne comprends pas. Comment ! c'est pour sauvegarder l'unité menacée, sinon déjà compromise, de l'Empire que combat M. Chamberlain, et c'est seulement sur la question de la représentation irlandaise à Londres qu'il élève le conflit. Mais, en vérité, est-ce que le fait d'établir à Dublin une assemblée distincte n'est pas beaucoup plus grave au point de vue de l'unité que celui d'exclure de toute représentation à Londres les Irlandais, qui, sauf dans l'Ulster, ne demandent pas mieux ? Ou je comprends aussi peu les choses de la politique anglaise que celles de la procédure criminelle anglaise, ou il est certain que ce qui ébranle l'unité impériale, c'est la partie du bill qui donne à l'Irlande une assemblée spéciale, particulière, locale. Dès lors, si j'étais un partisan intraitable, irréductible, *intransigeant* de l'unité impériale, je repousserais, du premier au dernier paragraphe sans distinction, tout le bill de M. Gladstone. Mais si, transigeant avec le principe de l'unité (ce que je ferais évidemment en acceptant *a separate council in Ireland*), je devais voter ce qui constitue en somme le principe même du Home Rule, alors, au moins, je voudrais avoir *un avantage certain* de cette mesure et je débarrasserais le parlement qui siège à Londres du bataillon compacte qui suit M. Parnell. Donner à l'Irlande une chambre à elle et garder, par-dessus le marché, ses quatre-vingts représentants qui pèsent d'un poids si lourd sur toutes les affaires anglaises, qui tiennent vraiment en main le sort de toutes les plus grandes affaires britanniques, qui ne se prononcent, dans un sens ou dans un autre, non pas selon l'intérêt supérieur de l'Empire, mais selon leurs intérêts particuliers du moment, leurs caprices, leurs passions et le vent qui souffle—franchement, c'est une opération dont je ne puis saisir les avantages. On porte atteinte à l'unité impériale, mais on continue à s'embarrasser de quatre-vingts Irlandais. Mais alors, au point

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de vue des intérêts purement anglais, je ne puis trouver aucune espèce de raison ni d'excuse au vote du Home Rule même le plus limité !

De ce que je trouverais illogique le projet de M. Chamberlain, est-ce que j'adhérerais purement et simplement au projet de M. Gladstone, qui est le troisième type de Home Rule, car je passe les variantes ? Est-ce que j'accepterais ce premier bill dans toutes ses parties sans exception ? Je ne le crois pas. Condamné par la force des circonstances à accepter le principe du Home Rule, certainement je voterais l'exclusion des Irlandais, et je la voterais surtout pour délivrer la chambre des communes de députés qui la gênent de toutes manières, l'oppriment, mettent en pièces de leurs rudes mains les fins rouages du beau régime parlementaire. 'Quand je mourrai,' disait Napoléon, 'le monde dira : *Ouf !*' Je me suppose Anglais, Anglais jaloux de la bonne tenue du parlement, Anglais jaloux de conserver intact le régime parlementaire que les Parnellistes détraquent tant qu'ils peuvent ; moi aussi, quand les Irlandais quitteraient Westminster, je dirais : *Ouf !* L'exclusion des députés irlandais, une atteinte de plus à l'unité impériale ? allons donc ! un heureux débarras, voilà tout ! Et c'est ailleurs que je chercherais les garanties de l'unité impériale, ou, pour parler plus correctement, de ce qui en subsisterait.

En effet, et c'est là où je me séparerai surtout de M. Gladstone, je trouve qu'en disant d'un Home Rule, même le plus restreint qu'on puisse imaginer, qu'il ne serait pas une atteinte à l'unité impériale, il commet une erreur, qu'il manque, au moins vis-à-vis de lui-même, de franchise. Non, la vérité c'est que le Home Rule, même le plus restreint, est une atteinte à la *vieille* unité. Cette atteinte est indispensable ? Alors consommez-la. Mais ne la niez pas. Et permettez-moi d'ajouter ceci : c'est parce que vous niez cette atteinte, parce que vous fermez les yeux à l'évidence, parce que vous ne voulez pas vous avouer à vous-même la gravité de ce que vous faites, que vous avez encore ajouté aux difficultés naturelles et déjà assez grandes de la situation.

Donc, atteinte à l'unité il y a, et ce qui reste à savoir, à mon avis, ce qu'il faut déterminer, c'est de quelle façon il convient de s'y prendre pour que cette atteinte, que vous jugez indispensable, soit la moins large, la moins grave, la moins préjudiciable.

Mais par quels moyens ? Evidemment d'une façon générale, par une délimitation très sévère des attributions du parlement irlandais, qui ne retiendrait que le soin des intérêts locaux, mais à qui serait retiré tout ce qui est d'un intérêt impérial, comme l'armée, la marine, la diplomatie. Je sais bien qu'il n'est pas toujours aisé de fixer les bornes en pareille matière, mais là précisément est la difficulté, difficulté qui n'est d'ailleurs pas insoluble, puisqu'elle a été résolue ailleurs, par exemple par la république fédérative des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et par la monarchie fédérative d'Autriche-Hongrie. Quelqu'un disait l'autre jour qu'il ne fallait accorder aux Irlandais que ce qu'on pourrait également accorder, à l'occasion et s'ils le demandaient, aux Ecossais

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et aux habitants du pays de Galles. Cette formule me paraît très juste, très sensée, mais je demande la permission de faire observer que c'est celle du régime fédéral. Chambres distinctes, séparées, locales, à Londres pour les affaires de l'Angleterre, à Edimbourg pour celles de l'Ecosse, à Dublin pour celles de l'Irlande, à Belfast pour celles de l'Ulster, à Cardigan, ou ailleurs, pour le pays de Galles; et puis à Londres, capitale de l'empire, pour toutes les affaires diplomatiques, militaires, maritimes, 'généralement politiques' du Royaume-Uni, un parlement impérial qui tiendrait à la fois du Congrès américain et des délégations austro-hongroises: telles sont les conséquences logiques de la formule que j'ai citée plus haut. La formule peut être bonne ou mauvaise. Mais les conséquences en sont inéluctables, mathématiques. Et si l'on veut toute ma pensée, je dirais que tôt ou tard, avec ou sans révolutions, le Home Rule irlandais, limité ou non, conduira à ce résultat la Grande-Bretagne tout entière. Le fédéralisme pour tout l'Empire, voilà la solution qui se dégagera avant peu d'années de la crise irlandaise. Est-ce que ce fédéralisme ne fournit pas, pour l'île-sœur, la solution du problème que poursuivent de nobles intelligences éprises de justice? Est-ce qu'il n'est pas compatible avec l'unité politique dont le Parlement ne veut consentir le sacrifice à aucun prix? Est-ce qu'il ne permet pas, bien au contraire, de rattacher à l'Empire, par le lien plus étroit de délégations ou représentations au Parlement impérial, des colonies qui se détachent de plus en plus et qui sont beaucoup plus, à cette heure, comme le Canada, des royaumes alliés et amis que des provinces sujettes? La France a passé l'Atlantique pour chercher, de l'autre côté de l'Océan, la république; l'Angleterre passera l'Océan pour en ramener le fédéralisme. Et quant à moi, si j'étais Anglais, à un royaume désuni de Grande-Bretagne, je préférerais sans hésiter la constitution franche, hardie, radicale des Etats-Unis de Grande-Bretagne.

Le Rubicon à passer, c'est le principe à voter. C'est là, il est nécessaire de le dire très nettement, la grande affaire, celle qui, je le comprends, peut et doit faire hésiter les plus loyales consciences anglaises. Seulement, soyez-en bien convaincus, une fois qu'à tort ou à raison le Rubicon aura été passé, vous ne pourrez plus le repasser dans l'autre sens.

JOSEPH REINACH,
Editor of the 'République Française.'

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INDEX TO VOL. XIX.

The titles of articles are printed in italics.

ABU

ABU-KLEA, the Battle of, 154–159
Achilles, philological explanations of, 52
Agricultural labourer, prospects in life of the, 79–85
Ahana, Mr. Max Müller's equation of, with Daphne, 51–52
Alcoholic beverages, effect of, on digestion, 272–274
Alfred, the historical name, 89–90
Algonkins, Great Hare superstition of the, 63–64
Allotments, 902–913
Alsace and Lorraine, 431
American View of Popular Government, an, 177–190
— *Home Rule*, 793–806
Angerstein (Mr.), house of, the first Reform Club house, 675–676
Anglo-Saxon, the term, 98
— names, rendering of, in modern English, 89–90, 665–672
Animal worship, 62–64
Anti-rent riots in New York State, 803–804
Ares, philological explanations of, 53 *note*
Army Reserve, have we an? 263–269
Arnold (Matthew), *The Nadir of Liberalism*, 645–663
Arnold-Forster (H. O.), *Shall we desert the Loyalists?* 215–225
Arouet, another name for Voltaire, 94
Artists' pigments, 850
Asylums, private lunatic, 258–259
Athene, the name, 53
Austria, Home Rule in, 443–465
Austria, constitutional relations of, with Hungary, 432–433
Austria-Hungary Home Rule in, 41–49

BUR

BACON's authorship of Shakespeare's plays, Mr. Donnelly's discovery relating to, 697–709
Barnett (Rev. Samuel A.), *Sensationalism in Social Reform*, 280–290
Beef-tea, a vulgar error as to, 276
Benefices, ecclesiastical, scheme of trust management for, 516–524
Bergaigne (M.), on the solar myth question, 51
Berkeley (Bishop), 841
Bible, the, of modern theology, 209–210
— natural science absent from the, 211
Birmingham, the Board School banks of, 546–547
Bishops in the House of Lords, 513
Bismarck (Prince), why a great and successful statesman, 648–650
— currency policy of, 884–885
Blackie (Prof.), *The Second Part of 'Faust,'* 528–538
'Bonaparte' *versus* 'Buonaparte,' 96–97, 670
Boroughs, state of, in Cobbett's time, 242
Brassey (Sir Thomas), *The Administration of the Navy*, 106–126
Brazil, the scheme for abolishing slavery in, by means of savings banks, 544–545
Brinton (Dr.), on the Great Hare superstition of the Algonkins, 63–64
Bryce (James), *Alternative Policies in Ireland*, 312–328
Bullen (Mr.), his edition of Middleton's works, 138–139
Burke, on the meaning of an empire, *quoted*, 30
— on the British Empire, *quoted*, 31
Burmah, annexation of, 719–721
Burnaby (Colonel), death of, 156

Digitized by Google

CAN

CANADA, Constitution of, in illustration of the Home Rule question, 426–430
Carlyle (Mr.), his spelling of foreign names, 88
Carpet-bag régime, the, in America, 798
Catholic Church, authority of, in matters of scientific belief, 735–739
Catholicism the stone of stumbling in Ireland, 659–660
Catholics, education of, in Ireland, 128–137
Chapman (Hon. Mrs.), *Women's Suffrage*, 561–569
— reply to, 740–748
Charlemagne, the name, 98, 668
Children, Thrift among the, 539–560
Chinese labour riots in America, 375–376
Chisholm murders, the, in the State of Mississippi, 802–803
Church, the, and the Villages, 507–527
Churchill (Lord R.) on the currency question, *quoted*, 894
Clairvaux, the central prison of, 414–423
Coaling stations, defence of, 124–125
Cobbett, William, 238–256
Coercion Acts, Irish, from 1800 to 1829, 39
Coffee, effect of, on digestion, 275, 278
Colonies, the bond between the mother-country and the, 31
— the Imperial Federation scheme for the, 32–34
Comets, whence came the? 689–696
Commerce, ratios of increase of, for the whole world, 592
Common land, 908–909
Congress, American, constitution and powers of, 26–27
Connecticut, a parallel in, to Irish outrages, 801–802
Cooke (C. Kinloch), *Samoa*, 291–311
Copernican theory, the Catholic Church and the, 725–726
Corn laws, alleged effects of their repeal on national prosperity, 590–594, 817–819
Crandall (Miss), 802–803
'Creation, Dawn of,' an Answer to Mr. Gladstone, 160–175
Creation, account of the, purpose with which it was written, 6–9
— its relation to modern science, 9–15

ELL

Creation, account of the, what divine knowledge it conveys to us, 15–17
— testimony of the nebular hypothesis to the, 201–203
— order of, according to geological discovery, 193–195
— the Pentateuchal story of, a myth, 198
Critics, examples of precocity in, 838–839
Croatia, autonomy of, 434–436
Cruisers, designs for, under the late Admiralty Board, 114–115
Currency question, the, 882–895

DAPHNE, Mr. Max Müller's equation of Ahana and, 51–52
Death, Hebrew views of, 350
Dekker the poet, 143, 146
Democracy, attitude of, towards scientific truth, 184–189
Diets, provincial, of the Austrian crown lands, 446–449
Digestion, Influence of Food Accessories on, 271–279
Disraeli (Mr.) on the Irish question, *quoted*, 630
Dods (Dr. Marcus) on the Biblical cosmogony tested by natural science, *quoted*, 208 *note*
Donnelly's Shakespeare Cipher, 697–709
Drummond (Prof. H.), *Mr. Gladstone and Genesis*, 206–214
Drummond (Thomas), administration of Ireland by, 628–629
Dufferin (Lord), the Reform Club banquet to, 684

EBRINGTON (Lord), *Liberal Election Addresses*, 606–619
Ecclesiastical benefices, scheme of trust management for, 516–524
Eden, the story of, 172–173
Education, Irish, 127–137
Education, thrift a part of, 549–552
Edward, the historical name, 89–90, 669
Egyptians, ancient, moral standard of the, 496–498
Election Addresses, Liberal, 606–619
Elections, Parliamentary, in Cobbett's time, 242–244
Ellice (Edward), foundation of the Reform Club by, 674
Elliot (Arthur D.), *Home Rule for Scotland*, 466–475

Digitized by Google

Elohim, Israelite views concerning, 351–355, 359
Endor, the story about the witch of, 348–350
Ephod, the, 357–358
Evolution of Theology, the, 346–365, 485–506
Evolution, Organic, the Factors of, 570–589, 749–770
Evolution, doctrine of, 17–18
— — its antiquity, 200
— — attitude of the Catholic Church towards the, 722–723
Ewelme, old land custom lately surviving in, 902–903
Exports and imports, the relation between, 386–394, 814–815

'*FAUST*,' *the Second Part of*, 528–538
Fawcett (Mrs.), *Women's Suffrage, a Reply*, 740–748
Federal Union with Ireland, 35–40
Federation, Imperial, the Fallacy of, 22–34
Fitzmaurice (Lord Edmond), *Home Rule in Austria*, 443–465
Food Accessories, their Influence on Digestion, 270–279
France, the system of school banks in, 540–544
Freeman (Prof.), his spelling of historical names, 89, 95–97, 664–672
Free-Trade Idolatry, the, 380–395, 590–605
Free trade, hostility of the United States to, 189–190
French Navy, expenditure on the, 108–110
— state of the, 120
— compared with the English, 121–124
French Prisons, 407–423

GALILEO, the Case of, 722–739
Galloway (Countess of), *Women and Politics*, 896–901
Garibaldi, the Reform Club banquet to, 683–684
Gaskell (C. Milnes), *William Cobbett*, 238–256
Genesis, Proem to, 1–21, 176
— *Mr. Gladstone and*, 191–214
Genius and Precocity, 827–848
Geology and creation, 194–197
George the Fourth, anecdote of, 247
— as Prince Regent, 249–250
German affairs in Samoa, history of, 298–310
Germany, Constitution of, in illustration of the Home Rule question, 430–431
— the currency question in, 884–885
Ghost superstitions the basis of all theology, 260
Giffen (Robert), *The Economic Value of Ireland to Great Britain*, 329–345
Gladstone (W. E.). *Proem to Genesis, a Plea for a Fair Trial*, 1–21, 176
— replied to by Dr. Réville, 160–175
— political difficulties of, 477
— government of Ireland by, 631–635
— not a successful statesman, 647–648, 650–652, 928
— speech of, in introducing the Government of Ireland Bill, 779–780
Gladstone, Mr., and Genesis, 191–214
— *and the Irish Bill, a Nonconformist View*, 923–929
— — *a French View*, 930–936
Godkin (E. L.), *An American View of Popular Government*, 177–190
— *American Home Rule*, 793–808
Godkin, Mr., on Popular Government, 366–379
Godwin (E. W.), *The Greek Home according to Homer*, 914–922
Goethe's 'Faust,' the second part of, 528–538
Government, Popular, an American View of, 177–190
Grattan's Parliament, 636
Greek mythology, origin of, 58–65
— philosophy, traces of the evolution doctrine in the, 200
Greek Home, the, according to Homer, 914–922
Grote (Mr.), his spelling of classical names, 88, 670

HANGER (Colonel) and the turkey and goose match, 250
Hare, Great, of the Algonkins, 63–64
Harrison (Frederic), *A Pedantic Nuisance*, 87–105
— *A few more Words about Names*, 664–672
Hartington (Lord), 478
Hastings, battle of, so-called, 97, 670
Hayter (Sir Arthur), *Have we an Army Reserve?* 263–269

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HER

Hera, the goddess, 167
Heracles, character of, 165
Hill (Frank H.), *Home Rule, the impending English Answer*, 476–484
— *The Government of Ireland Bill*, 779–792
Historians, examples of precocity in, 838–839
Home Rule for Scotland, 466–475
— *the Impending English Answer*, 476–484
— *in Austria-Hungary*, 41–49
— *Precedents*, 424–442
— *in Austria*, 443–465
— *American*, 793–808
Home Rule for Ireland, a scheme of, 36–38
— guarantees precedent to, 216–219
— what it involves, 320–326
— ruinous to Ireland, 640
— a Frenchman's opinion on, 932–936
Homer, interpretation of mythologic names in, 20–21
Homer, the Greek Home according to, 914–922
Hungary the Ireland of Austria, 41
— constitutional history of, 41–44
—beneficial working of Home Rule in, 48
—constitutional relations of, with Austria, 432-433
— concession of autonomy to Croatia by, 434–436
Huxley (Prof.), *Mr. Gladstone and Genesis*, 191–205
— *The Evolution of Theology*, 346–365, 485–506

IBRAHIM PASHA, the Reform Club banquet to, 682
Idiocy, treatment of, 262
'*Imperial Federation*,' *the Fallacy of*, 22–34
Imports, whether balanced by exports, 386–391, 814–815
Income tax in India, 715–717
India, effect of cheap silver on, 888–891
Indian Congress, the National, 710–721
Indo-Aryan mythology, origin of, 58–65
Insanity, how to deal with, 258–283
Ireland, Federal Union with, 35–40
— *Alternative Policies in*, 312–328
— *the Economic Value of, to Great Britain*, 329–345

LAN

Ireland, Three Attempts to rule justly, 620–635
— *Government Bill*, 779–792
Ireland, the case of the Loyalists in, 215–225
— nationality of, 467
— references to, in Liberal election addresses, 607–618
— character of the Nationalist Parliament for, 636–644
— Mr. Gladstone's plan of a Parliament for, 654–658
Irish crime, 223–224
— American parallels to, 798–804
Irish Education, 127–137
— *Bill, Mr. Gladstone and the, a Nonconformist View*, 923–929
— — *a French View*, 930–936
Ironclad, types of, sanctioned by the late Admiralty Board, 110–113
Israelites, theology of the, 347–360
— — compared with that of the Polynesians, 362–365, 485–493
Italy, Rural and Peasant Properties, 226–237
Ixion, the myth of, 165–166

JAHVEH, the Hebrew, 352–353, 359
Jessopp (Rev. Dr. A.), *The Little Ones and the Land*, 66–86
— *The Church and the Villages: What Hope?* 507–527
Joseph the Second of Austria, 447

KAY (David), *Home Rule in Austria-Hungary*, 41–49
Kropotkin (Prince), *In French Prisons*, 407–423
Ku-Klux Klan, the, 798–801

LABOURER, agricultural, prospects in life of the, 79–85
Lambert (Agnes), *Thrift among the Children*, 539–560
Land allotments, 911–912
— scheme of the 'Radical Programme,' 229–230
— question in Ireland, 660–661
— tenure, systems of, 902–912
Landowning, tendency to monopoly in, 75–79
Lang (Andrew), *Myths and Mythologists*, 50–65

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LEC

Lecky (W. E. H.), *A 'Nationalist' Parliament*, 636–644
Lefevre (G. Shaw), *Precedents for Home Rule*, 424–442
Liberal Election Addresses, 606–619
Liberalism, the Nadir of, 645–663
Light and Water-Colours, 849–860
Limerick, Treaty of, respect of William the Third for the, 620–623
Lion's Share of the World's Trade, the, 807–826
Little Ones, the, and the Land, 66–86
Liverpool, the Board School banks of, 546
Local Government not identical with Home Rule, 470–471
Louis, the name, 95–96
'Loyalists, the, shall we desert?' 215–225
Lunacy, A Court of, 257–262
Lunatic asylums, private and public, compared, 258–259
Lyons, the St. Paul prison at, 407–412

MACDONALD (Sir John), speech of, on the Canadian Confederation question, 427–428
Maine (Sir H. T.) on popular government, criticised, 177–190
— *Mr. Godkin on Popular Government*, 366–379
Malarce (M. de), school bank enterprise of, 540–544
Maria Theresa, Empress, centralising policy of, 446–447
Mariner's description of the Tonga islanders, 362
Martin (Sir T.), his translation of the second part of 'Faust,' 528–538
Mauley (Lord de), *A Court of Lunacy*, 257–262
Medley (George W.), *The Lion's Share of the World's Trade*, 807–826
Melbourne (Lord), government of Ireland by, 625–631
Meteors, origin of, from volcanoes, 693–694
Middleton, Thomas, 138–153
Militia, advantages of camp training for the, 268–269
Mill (J. S.) on the chemical method of philosophising, *quoted*, 180
Mivart (Mr.) on the condemnation of Galileo, reply to, 722–739
Molière, *see* Poquelin

PAR

Moon (Ernest), *Railway Traffic and Charges*, 771–778
Mulhall (Mr.), on the increase of commerce, *quoted*, 592
Müller (Prof. Max), Mr. Gladstone's reply to, 20–21
Murphy (Rev. J.), *The Case of Galileo*, 722–739
Musicians, examples of precocity in, 829–832, 845
Myths and Mythologists, 50–65

NAMES, orthography of, 87–105
Names, a few more Words about, 664–672
Napier (Sir Charles), the Reform Club banquet to, 683
'Nationalist' Parliament, a, 636–644
Navy, the Administration of the, 106–126
Nebular hypothesis, whether confirmatory or not of the Pentateuchal account, 201–203
New Zealand, image-worship in, 487
Novelists, examples of precocity in, 836–838

O'BRIEN (Barry), *Federal Union with Ireland*, 35–40
— *Three Attempts to rule Ireland justly*, 620–635
O'Connell, Repeal movement of, compared with the Home Rule demand, 639–640
Odysseus, house of, 914–922
Oil paintings, effects of light on, 854–855
Orangemen and Nationalists, 325–326
Ordnance, naval, 118–119
Organic Evolution, the Factors of, 570–589, 749–770
Orthography of proper names, 87–105

PAINTERS, examples of precocity in, 832–834, 846
Palæographic pedantry, 87–105
Palmerston (Lord), the Reform Club banquet to, 682–683
Pangopango harbour, 293–295
Pantaleone (Dr.), on universal suffrage, *quoted*, 370
Parliament, a 'Nationalist,' 636–644

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PAR

Parliament, elections for, in Cobbett's time, 242–244
— the proposed Irish, 36–38
— Irish representation in, an anomaly, 343
— the proposed exclusion of Irish representation from, 785–786, 927
Parliamentary franchise for women, reasons against, 561–569
— reply to, 740–748
—further observations on, 896–901
Parliaments, separate, reasons against, 472–474
Parnell (Mr.), Cabinet of, 35–36
Parson's freehold, the, 514–516
Peasant Properties, Rural Italy and, 226–237
Peasant proprietorship, 906–907
Pedantic Nuisance, a, 87–105
— a rejoinder to Professor Freeman, 664–672
Peerage, manners of the, in Cobbett's time, 245–246
Penzance (Lord), *The Free Trade Idolatry*, 380–395, 500–605
—a reply to, 807–826
Philo Judæus, teaching of, 502–503
Philosophers, examples of precocity in, 841–842, 847
Planets, origin of comets from, 693–695
Poets, examples of precocity in, 834–836, 846
Polynesia, features of Israelite theology common to, 362–365, 485–493
Poquelin, anecdote concerning the name, 94
Poseidon, the god, 166–167
Powerscourt (Viscount), *Irish Education*, 127–137
Prague, a Diet at, 448–449
Precocity, Genius and, 827–848
Prisons, French, 407–423
Proctor (Richard A.), *Whence came the Comets?* 689–696
Protection policy of the United States, 189–190
Prussia, relations of, with her provinces, 431
Punjab, results of the annexation of the, 717–719

QUARRY on the true function of revelation, *quoted*, 213–214

SCH

RAE (W. Fraser), *The Jubilee of the Reform Club*, 673–688
Railway Traffic and Charges, 771–778
Rawlinson (W. G.), *Turner's Drawings at the Royal Academy*, 396–406
Reform Club, the Jubilee of the, 673–688
Reinach (Joseph), *Mr. Gladstone and the Irish Bill*, 930–936
Religion, theology and, 19–20
— science and, 206–211
— importance of, in education, 130
Reserve, Army, have we an? 264–270
Revelation, the true function of, 213–214
— the supposed historical relation of the Homeric poems with, 163
Réville (Dr.), *'Dawn of Creation:' an Answer to Mr. Gladstone*, 160–175
Rifle drill the primary necessity of the soldier, 265–266
Rio Branco law for abolishing slavery, 544–545
Roberts (Sir W.) on food and digestion, 271–279
Robinson (J. C.), *Light and Water-Colours*, 849–860
Rogers (Rev. J. Guinness), *Mr. Gladstone and the Irish Bill*, 923–929
Rowley, the poet, 145–146, 150, 152
Russia, subdivision of land in, 910–911

SALISBURY Government, administration of the Navy under the, 106–126
Samoa, 291–311
Samoa, religious customs of, 486, 492
Sassoon (Edward Albert), *The Crusade against Silver*, 882–895
Saul and the witch of Endor, 348–350
Savages, psychology and myths of, with reference to comparative mythology, 58–65
Savaii, island of, 292
Savings banks for abolishing slavery, 544–545
Schiaparelli, speculations of, on the origin of comets, 690–691
Scholars, examples of precocity in, 838–839, 846
School banks, an experiment in South London, 539–540, 554
— in France, 541–544
— in Liverpool and Birmingham, 546–547

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SCH

School banks, Education Department circular relating to, 548
— machinery for working, 555–559
Schrötér (Madame) on the inculcation of thrift in children, 550
Science and Genesis, 206–214
— study of, by Catholics, 735–739
Scientists, examples of precocity in, 839–841, 846
Sciotheism, 493
Scotland, Home Rule for, 466–475
Sculptors, examples of precocity in, 832–834
Senlac, the name, 97
Shakespeare, spelling of the name, 102–104
Shakespeare Cipher, Mr. Donnelly's, 697–709
Sheol, the Hebrew belief in, 350, 359
Shipbuilding in the Navy, expenditure on, 107–109
— policy of the late Administration, 109–120
Silver, the Crusade against, 882–895
Sind, results of the annexation of, 717–719
Slagg (John), *The National Indian Congress*, 710–721
Smith (Goldwin) on Ireland, *quoted*, 786
Social Reform, Sensationalism in, 280–290
Solar theory of mythology, 21
— want of general accord among mythologists respecting the, 51–54
Soyer (Alexis), 679–682
Spencer (Herbert), *The Factors of Organic Evolution*, 570–589, 749–770
Spirits, ardent, their action on digestion, 272–273
Stars, origin of comets from, 695–696
Statesman, criterion of success in a, 648
Stewart (Sir H.), brigade order of, after the battle of Abu-Klea, 158–159
Story (Judge) on the United States Confederacy, *quoted*, 24
Suffrage, Women's, 561–569
Suffrage, universal, its effects on social and intellectual progress, 183, 372
Sully (James) on the antiquity of the doctrine of evolution, 200
— *Genius and Precocity*, 827–848
Swinburne (Algernon Charles), *Thomas Middleton*, 138–153
— *John Webster*, 861–881

VER

TALBOT (Colonel), *The Battle of Abu-Klea*, 154–159
Tannin in tea, 275
Tea, influence of, on digestion, 274–275
Teraphim, 356–357
Theology, the Evolution of, 346–365, 485–506
Theology, religion and, 19–20
— and natural science, 207–210
Thrift among the Children, 539–560
Thring (Henry), *The Fallacy of Imperial Federation*, 22–34
Thurlow (Lord), anecdote of, 247
Tiryns, discoveries at, 922
Tithes, abolition of, 510–511
Torpedo shipbuilding under the late Administration, 115–116
Totemism, 65
Trade, the World's, the Lion's Share of the, 807–826
Turner, water-colour drawings of, how to preserve, 859
Turner's Drawings at the Royal Academy, 396–406
Tutuila, island of, 293

ULSTER as affected by the Home Rule scheme, 325–326
Ulysses, house of, *see* Odysseus
Union, Act of, repealed by the Government of Ireland Bill, 781–782
United States, past and present Constitution of the, 23–30, 426
— character of the democracy in the, 186–189
— the tariff question in the, 189–190
— the Chinese labour riots in the, 375–376
— Constitution of, in illustration of the Home Rule question, 426, 793–794
— how Home Rule in the, was dealt with after the Secession war, 796–801
— the silver question in the, 887–888
University education in Ireland, 127–137
Upolu, island of, 292

VAN RENSSELAER riots in the United States, 803–804
Vergil, the name so spelt, 101
Verney (Lady), *Rural Italy and Peasant Properties*, 226–237

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VER

Verney (Lady), *Allotments*, 902–918
Volcanoes, origin of meteors from, 693–694
Voltaire or Arouet? 94
Volunteers, utilisation of the, 269

WALLACE (Percy M.), *Mr. Donnelly's Shakespeare Cipher*, 697–709
Walsh (Archbishop), on University education in Ireland, *quoted*, 131
Water-Colours, Light and, 849–860
Webster, John, 861–881

YEO

Westminster Reform Club, foundation of the, 673–674
William the Third, government of Ireland by, 620-625
Wine, influence of, on digestion, 274
— dietetic use of, 277
Women and Politics, 896–901
Women's Suffrage, 561–569
— *a Reply*, 740–748

YEO (Dr. Burney), *Food Accessories, their Influence on Digestion*, 270–279

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